



3 1761 08823995 9

UNIV. OF
TORONTO

THE FORUM

INDEX TO VOLUME LX

July 1918—Dec. 1918

15-0034
a/b/19

- A Japanese Print, by Ruth Mason Rice, 726.
- Aeroplanes, Must Have, To Win Quickly, by Frederic Villiers, 453.
- Aircraft Department Needed, An, by Hon. Harry S. New, 398.
- Aircraft Needs, What Our, by Edwin Wildman, 270.
- Aircraft "Nurses," Our Skilled, by Major-General William L. Kenly, 560.
- Aircraft Preparations, Our, by Edwin Wildman, 141.
- Airplane Plant, The Greatest Assembling, by Hamilton M. Wright, 280.
- Americanizing Our Foreign-Born, by Royal Dixon, 444.
- And the Dawn Came, by Leonie Davis Collister, 656.
- Atlanta Now, How's, by Dudley Glass, 603.
- Bolshevism, The Red Flag of, by Hon. James A. Reed, 745.
- Bowman, John—Food Conservationist de Luxe, by John Bruce Mitchell, 216.
- Chicago Now? How's, by Ben Hecht, 181.
- Contracts, The Evils of Cost-Plus, by Perley Morse, C. P. A., 200.
- Democratic Campaign of 1918, by Homer S. Cummings, 289.
- Dollar Must Be Stabilized, The, by Irving Fisher, 613.
- Doughboys' Own Story, Our, by Hamilton M. Wright, 407.
- Doughboys' Way, The, by Doughboy, 687.
- Doughgirl on the Firing Line, A, by Adjutant Helen Purviance, 648.
- Editor's Un-Easy Chair, The, 372, 504, 632.
- England, In, by Harold Cook, 166.
- Epictetus, Jr., Observations of, by Lewis Allen, 235, 371, 415.
- Financial Situation, by W. S. Cousins, 248, 366, 496, 626.
- Foreign-Born, Americanizing Our, by Royal Dixon, 444.
- Foreign Policy and Peace Problems, Our, by Roland G. Usher, 677.
- From My Dugout—To You, by Ralph M. Thomson, 542.
- God, In This War, by Rev. William W. Davis, 468.
- History, Our Mythological, by Professor Franklin H. Giddings, 333.
- Human Discards Restored, by Mary Ross, 458.
- Huns' Bombing Planes, Under The, by Mary Helen Fee, 530.
- "Impropaganda," by Lewis Allen Browne, 224.
- In My Soul's House, by Leonie Davis Collister, 457.
- In Nancy, by Eleanor Preston Watkins, 489.
- Internationalism, Our New, by Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock, 137.
- Ireland's Hold-Back, by Alfred S. Moore, 191.
- Italy's International Patriotism, by Count V. Macchi di Cellere, 189.
- Knights of Columbus Over There, by James A. Flaherty, 473.
- Labor Behind the Government, Is, by Dr. Charles A. Eaton, 294.
- Labor Regulations, by Hon. William B. Wilson, 267.
- Labor, The Presidential Doctrine of, by Frank P. Walsh, 167.
- Last Heart-Beat, To the, by Stephane Lauzanne, 310.
- Lest Knowing All, by Leonie Davis Collister, 562.
- Meat, Our Daily, by Edwin Wildman, 581.
- Military Machine Necessary, Is A Permanent, by Hon. George Earl Chamberlain, 385.
- Mothering the Boy at the Front, by Evangeline Booth, 303.
- Music, Has the War Stifled, by Enrico Caruso, 313.
- My Heritage, by Leonie Davis Collister, 180.
- New Books, by Charles Francis Reed, 254, 484.
- North Dakota, Speeding-Up, by Lyman J. Frazier, 430.
- Ohio's War Work, by Hon. James M. Cox, 155.
- Operatic Opportunity, Our, by Geraldine Farrar, 524.

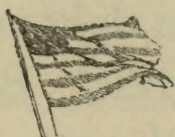
- Paris, The Confident, by Hamilton M. Wright, 208.
 Peace Problems, Our Foreign Policy and, by Roland G. Usher, 677.
 Pershing—Over There, by "Private" Alden, 711.
 Planes Are There, Our, by Lewis Allen Browne, 563.
 "Pleasure Car" Misnomer, The, by John Bruce Mitchell, 340.
 Politics, Card-Indexing Your, by Aaron Hardy Ulm, 416.
 Presidential Doctrine of Labor, The, by Frank P. Walsh, 167.
 Press, Use and Misuse of the, by Viscount Northcliffe, 395.
 Reconstruction Mean, What Does, by Hon. J. Hamilton Lewis, 721.
 Reconstruction Program, Why No, by Richard Barry, 700.
 Republican Congress, The Aims of the, by Hon. Lawrence Y. Sherman, 738.
 Republican Position, The, by Will H. Hays, 129.
 San Francisco to France, by Eleanor Preston Watkins, 312.
 Service Flag, Behind The, by Mrs. Thomas R. Marshall, 438.
 Ships, the Vision of the, by Stephen Marshall, 352.
 Since He Has Gone, Poem, by Leonie Davis Collister, 266.
 Soldier, Rebuilding the Injured, by Hon. Hoke Smith, 572.
 "Solid West," Out for A, by A. B. Gilbert, 727.
 Speak Freely, Your Right To, by Hon. Miles Poindexter, 670.
 Spiritism, War-Time, by Professor James H. Hyslop, Ph.D., LL.D., 551.
 Taxes Should I Pay, What, by Perley Morse, C.P.A., 543.
 Taxes, Who Will Pay the New, by Hon. Claude Kitchin, 149.
 The Choice, by J. Corson Miller, 710.
 The Sentinels, by Margaret E. Sangster, 647.
 Theatre in Review, by C. Courtenay Savage, 241, 361, 490, 620, 752.
 They Shall Pay, by Martha B. Thomas, 669.
 To "Her" at Home, by Private Francis L. Frost, A.E.F., France, 592.
 Treaty-Making, Perils of Secret, by Hon. William E. Borah, 657.
 "Types, My," Mary Roberts Rinehart, by Pendennis, 175.
 Usury and the Banks, by Hon. John Skelton Williams, 513.
 Wages and the Cost of Living, by Lewis Allen Browne, 319.
 War Work, Who's She In, by Anne Emerson, 236, 478.
 West, Out for A "Solid," by A. B. Gilbert, 727.
 Wheat Farmers' Dilemma, The, by Hon. Thomas P. Gore, 257.
 When You Come Back, by Ralph M. Thomson, 452.
 Wilson, President, As a World Leader, by Hon. Lee Slater Overman, 641.
 World Security Possible, Is, by Cardinal Gibbons, Seton B. Parker, Hon. Oscar Straus, Robert McNutt McElroy, Ph.D.; John Spargo, William English Walling, Judge Charles Burke Elliott, Dr. Richard Heath Dabney, Senator John Sharp Williams, 424.



AP
 2
 F8
 v.60

The FORUM

For July, 1918



A FOURTH OF JULY MESSAGE

By Hon. NEWTON D. BAKER
SECRETARY OF WAR

IT is with a peculiar sense of pride and appreciation that the Nation consecrates the one-hundred and forty-second anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Our armies are fighting overseas to sustain the principles of liberty and happiness which have been our heritage, in behalf of the peoples of the world. The blood of the brave, the tears of the loving, the treasure

of the land are not too high a price to pay for a world-wide application of the self-evident truths expressed in the immortal document of the Congress of 1776. An insolent military autocracy seeks to inflict its misrule upon the world in ruthless and heartless disregard of every element of human right and every principle of civilized progress. But free men are not daunted by the sword of a tyrannical king, powerful though it may be. Free men know that military despotism shall not prevail, that its temporary successes but mask its own certain destruction and that in the final test the audacious pretensions of the Prussian military caste shall be rendered impotent by the stern honesty of purpose and the valor of plain people who are moved by the spirit of obvious right.



PUTTING MASSACHUSETTS IN THE WAR

By HON. SAMUEL W. McCALL

(GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS)

In a stirring recital of his vigorous and efficient activities, the Governor of the great State of Massachusetts, tells for the first time of his patriotic work as War Governor, and the cooperation of the citizens of his State.

IN the grievous and tragic crisis of this terrific world war, it becomes the duty and the privilege of an Executive, from time to time, to report upon the exercise of his official responsibility; not merely to present in cold accuracy a list of official obligations fulfilled, but to make a closer, a warmer declaration of his relationship to the will of the people. Such a crisis has not menaced our National Government for fifty-two years. During that time we have not had a real war. It is not surprising that during these fifty-two years of prosperous peace (with the exception of our episode with Spain) that the National Government has not kept itself in fighting condition, has not prepared for a real war. While not believing in war, yet having the war thrust upon us, I felt that it was our plain duty to prepare to the utmost and wage the war vigorously.

The knowledge which my long service in Congress gave me of just how the principles and policies of military and naval preparedness stood in Washington, added to those anxieties we all felt which preceded the present amazing success of our war energies.

There was a "twilight zone," between the sunset of our neutrality and the treacherous darkness of German "diplomacy" that hung over us till von Bernstorff and his aids were shipped away. Until the sunrise burst gloriously over us in our declaration of war with Germany, clearing the skies

to the furthestmost horizon of our National ideals, the "twilight zone" was a period, to some degree, of indistinct vision.

At my request a report was made by the Executive Committee of the Committee on Public Safety of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in March of last year, which clearly showed there was sufficient cause for anxiety. Our navy was short twenty-five thousand men of the number required to man our ships. Our complete sea strength was only two-thirds of the sea strength of Germany. Our regular army was many thousands of men short of its authorized strength. Most of us had recognized that the prevailing feature of this war, as compared with previous wars, had developed the machine gun, the heavy field artillery and the bomb to a degree beyond previous imagination. Upon investigation we found that we possessed so few bombs that we might just as well have none.

At this moment of our twilight vision we had a few machine guns of a useless type, and the small number of two hundred and fifty machine guns neither designed nor made by our War Department, but made for the English Government, and obtained by us from England as a great favor. It was appalling to realize that we did not have a single heavy field gun made, or under construction, or even designed by our own War Department, within the boundaries of the United States. These were things that made those of us who were looking forward, scarcely finding time in our purpose to look backward, confident early in 1917 that we must prepare for war.

CONGRESS LEFT THE NATION DEFENSELESS

IN view of our ideals of peaceful democracy; in view of the fact that we were a people without hatreds and without external ambitions; it was not surprising that we were not ready for war. When the National Congress adjourned, at this time, it expired without making, so far as any war measures were concerned, the appropriations necessary to enable the country even to begin its war work. And this,

notwithstanding the fact that weeks before the adjournment of Congress we were so near an actual war with a great military power, that the declaration might have come any hour, any day, any week.

In my own State, it was surmised, after the adjournment of Congress in 1917, that the eventuality of war did not depend upon whether Congress reassembled in special session to declare war, because we felt that it might be started against us by our present enemy. In the State of Massachusetts, as in other New England States, we were in a mood to get ready. We had reached the conclusion through our observation of the deficiencies in the military machine of the National Government.

If there exists a people, in this great land of Liberty, that are more keenly alert to the defense of that instinct, I think it is the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The history of this State bristles with definite historical events, with the names of such heroes as Paul Revere, John Parker, Joseph Warren and others, and with such acts as have glorified, not merely war, but the spirit of war in defense of high ideals.

It was impossible to mistake the temper and the will of the people of this State during this twilight period of our neutrality. It was therefore merely a natural outlet inspired by the will of the people themselves that impelled me to appoint, on February 9, 1917, the Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety. It was an act of preparation, a forecast of the war certainty which had established itself throughout the State in the minds of the people; it was an obvious plan to assist the Executive in marshaling the resources of the Commonwealth in a war emergency that was fully expected.

PUTTING THE STATE BEHIND THE PRESIDENT

THIS Committee, composed of a hundred men, representing the wealth, the energy, the professional genius of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts were united by their own principles of devotion to the great cause which the President of the United States had interpreted, though

in terms of neutrality. It is inspiring to record that the people of this State, and perhaps one may say unquestionably in other New England States, were of the same mind as the President in the National motives that eventually led to our declaration of war. In the appointment of this Committee it was agreed that the scope of its authority and investigation existed on the theory that our National Government was not ready, and that therefore we must help to get ready—and above all—that Massachusetts, as in the time of Governor Andrew, proposed to uphold the plans of our National Government in every way in her power. By virtue of the assistance which this Committee supplied, it became evident that its organization had correctly expressed the will of the people of the State.

THE NEW ENGLAND GOVERNORS CONFER WITH MAJ.-
GEN. WOOD

IT was unanimously evident that Massachusetts realized that in February, 1917, we had passed the indecisions of sentiment, that we had arrived at a concrete and definite state of mind concerning what we should do to defend our ideals. In some measure, therefore, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts can enjoy the credit by virtue of this Committee on Public Safety, of leading a decisive war spirit, before our own declaration of war.

Naturally, it was our purpose to strive by every means in our power to anticipate every possible demand either the National Government, or the stress of the times, might make upon us. On February 14, 1917, an Executive Committee of the Committee on Public Safety was duly appointed by me, and the numerous elements of war work took shape in various organization activities. The details by which our purposes have been carried out by the Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety are matters of record, and of a character and devotion that the State may well be proud of. Sub-committees were organized, other Public Safety Committees were appointed in each city and town of the Commonwealth, so that before the National crisis had been actually met by

the Federal Government, the entire resources of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts were thoroughly marshaled. I believe that the success of this organization brought about similar plans in a large number of the other states in the Union.

As we in looking around began to gather a large quantity of accurate information concerning our military and naval defences, it became evident that in point of strategical requirement, in case of sudden attack from an enemy, the entire coast line of New England made a vulnerable corner of the United States. The two great harbors of our Atlantic coast were New York City and Boston. From near New York to the furthestmost land point on the coast of Maine, the territory is New England. It seemed obvious that the interests of the people of the six New England states, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine and Massachusetts, were so inter-bound that an official agreement of mutual advantage would bring about the greatest service in support of the National Government.

With this object in view I issued an invitation to the other Governors of the New England states to meet with me at the State House in Boston on March 13th, 1917. This was an Executive session, held in the historic Bulfinch Council Chamber at the State House, and was the birthday of an organization for mutual defence and cooperation that marks the beginning of a united legislative principle on the part of the whole of New England.

At this conference the Governors of the various States briefly explained the methods which they believed should be adopted for moulding the patriotic character of their people into war shape. The chief, momentary advantage of this conference was the opportunity it gave us to know, not only the dangers from attack to which the New England coast line might be exposed, but also to receive some valuable information from Major-General Leonard Wood, whose assistance I requested in explaining to us the necessities of military efficiency in New England.

Major-General Wood very frankly conveyed to us our

shortcomings, our needs, and especially visualized for us the need of cooperative effort for which this meeting actually occurred. One of the Governors who had attended a meeting in New York, at which the National Government had been called to account for its lack of preparedness, in a resolution which had been drafted by Elihu Root, Ex-President Roosevelt, and others, suggested that this resolution be adopted by the Governors of New England. General Wood also recommended that this resolution be signed by the Governors.

It was generally admitted that any resolution drafted by these two distinguished American leaders ought to be strong enough for the people. One of the Governors from New England suggested that it might be too strong. This resolution was subsequently recast.

The objects of the Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety were revealed to the Governors of New England at this conference, and the fact that the organization plans were based upon the English war measure, of giving the people the volunteer service of men of large calibre, seemed entirely acceptable, and useful.

As it developed that the six New England states, in their military war strength, would represent one army unit or division, it was suggested that a single committee representing the six New England states be inaugurated. Admitting that no army officer had, at this time, been charged with preparing this army unit of New England, the Committee idea resolved itself into the hope that the Government would make military preparations along these lines.

It was also agreed that we needed more definite cooperation, by mutual effort, of the New England states. At the end of this conference, it was my impression that if we took the substance of the ideas brought out at this conference and embodied them in a resolution which should present those essential things that would be of help to the National Government, they might have some moral pressure in Washington. It was my belief that they would have considerable effect in Washington. Therefore, in accord with this deci-

sion, the following resolution was signed in the State House, in Boston, March 13th, 1917:

NEW ENGLAND GOVERNORS' CONCERTED ACTION

WE, the undersigned Governors of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, hereby pledge our support and the support of our respective States to the President of the United States in carrying out his announced policy to protect American lives and property upon the high seas.

To the end that this may be effectively accomplished and that we may be able to defend American ships and American rights and the honor and integrity of our country, we urge upon the National Government the supreme importance of recruiting the army and navy to a war footing and of the immediate manufacture of ample military supplies and equipment and their speedy distribution among the depots in the various States, so that in case of need they may be instantly available.

It is our profound conviction that the practical preparation which is necessary to enable even our present small army and navy to fight, should be prosecuted with all possible vigor.

We urge upon our National Government the necessity of making forthwith the most energetic preparation for national defense upon land and sea.

(Signed) CARL E. MILLIKEN (Maine)
 " HENRY W. KEYES (New Hampshire).
 " HORACE F. GRAHAM (Vermont)
 " SAMUEL W. MCCALL (Massachusetts)
 " R. LIVINGSTON BEECKMAN (Rhode Island)
 " MARCUS H. HOLCOMB (Connecticut)

Although the terms of this resolution were indefinite as to detail, they represented a protest, or shall I say an urgent request, which represented a very large percentage of the entire population of the United States. It is interesting to record that from the time of this conference of the Governors of New England in the State House in Boston, New England has acted as a unit in all war measures. The Governors of

the New England States have been in constant telegraphic communication, and have made a great many suggestions and requests in common for the Federal Government. The outcome of this meeting in Boston has been that several other meetings have taken place in Washington with the Federal authorities and many war activities have been made easier by this accord of the New England States in defense measures.

It was this conference that made it possible for New England to send across the water the sawmill unit, the first of its kind to be sent over to assist our allies. During the shortage of fuel last winter, a second conference of the Governors of New England was held in the Senate Chamber at the State House in Boston on October 18, 1917, in order to secure if possible more effective action for larger fuel supplies in New England. As a demonstration of war efficiency this legislative agreement between States adjoining one another has been adopted in other parts of the country where similar mutuality of interests made it effective.

QUICK ACTION BY THE LEGISLATURE

THE foresight of the American people, some time before our relations with Germany were broken off, and between that period and the date of our declaration of war, had taken some very positive shape by official recognition. Massachusetts, however, I believe, was the first State to foresee that the best service it could render the ultimate demands of the National Government upon the resources of the United States was to be prepared in man power and in money.

It was obvious that to have the soldiers of Massachusetts in the best possible condition to meet the demands of the Federal Government, was to see that they were equipped and trained. By a special message to the Legislature I suggested an appropriation of a million dollars properly to equip the Massachusetts troops.

It is of interest to record that the Legislature was so anxious to do its part that there was laid upon my desk that day, March 19, 1917, an act for my approval. I immediately

signed it and so far as I know it was the quickest time in which a law had been placed upon our Statute Books, it having taken less than a day to go through the various legislative stages and receive executive approval.

It was clear that the National Government, drained of equipment and army needs by the service of the soldiers on the Mexican Border, would not be prepared to supply the State troops. That, it seemed to me, was a war measure that concerned the will and military pride of the people of the State. By this appropriation of one million dollars, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in substance, placed at the disposal of the National Government the amount of seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars to be expended for contracts to equip our soldiers. In this way the Commonwealth of Massachusetts gave the National Government a credit account, which speeded up the contracts for war equipment to the advantage of the Massachusetts troops. The bills were ultimately paid by the National Government, but the Commonwealth was prepared to pay, should the National Government be unable to.

We were thus enabled to send our State troops direct to the camps fully equipped. It was this foresight which enabled the Massachusetts troops, because of their prompt appearance at the muster camps, to be among the very first to go across the seas. They have since distinguished themselves for great personal bravery in France.

I have on my desk at the State House a testimonial of the war spirit of the men in Massachusetts.

MASSACHUSETTS SOLDIER FIRES THE FIRST SHOT

IT is the shell of the first shot fired against Germany by American soldiers in the National Guard and probably by any American soldier, and was fired by a typical battery of the Massachusetts troops. We have over ninety-five thousand troops from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in the military or naval service now. Our population, which is three million eight hundred thousand, or more, represents one twenty-seventh of the entire population of the United States.

Add to these figures the entire population of the five other New England States, and the National Government may well be proud of the patriotic quality of this great number of Americans.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts began its war activities immediately upon the severance, on February 2, 1917, of diplomatic relations with Germany. From that time till the Declaration of War in April we were actually putting on our war paint in Massachusetts. So certain were we that war would be declared that I made a request of the Legislature to authorize a State Guard for home service during such time as the National Guard should be out of the State for Federal service. This was approved on April 5, 1917. It was a measure of war insurance which resulted not only as a means of protection to the State, but as a means of providing many trained men for the regular service.

The State Guard of Massachusetts numbers approximately eleven thousand men fully equipped and trained to meet any emergency or internal disorder which may arise. Under the direction of the Adjutant-General local military organizations were formed throughout the various cities and towns of the Commonwealth for the purpose of local protection in case of uprisings, and many of these local companies made application to become a part of the State Guard.

I appointed a board of men composed of former military officers to organize these companies into military units. Many of these Guard companies were uniformed, armed and equipped by money donated by the various residents of the different communities and there has been no lack of private subscription to these military funds. Temporary arrangements have been made by the Adjutant-General in all the armories in cases of emergency, and those officers of the National Guard who are not on service abroad are kept constantly on duty. The State Guard, during the severe weather of last winter, performed exceptionally difficult sentry duty for three weeks on the waterfront in East Boston and Charlestown. This duty was performed because of the request made upon me by the Federal authorities.

HELPING THE SOLDIER AND HIS RELATIVES

THE pay allowed by the National Government to the soldiers of the National Guard was only fifteen dollars a month, scarcely more than the pay of the soldier fifty years ago. By an act passed in September, 1916, the Legislature granted a supplementary pay of ten dollars a month to each non-commissioned officer and soldier who had been called to do service on the Mexican border. It seemed to me, therefore, justifiable to recommend that a similar provision in favor of the non-commissioned officers and members of the National Guard should be made. This recommendation was based on the conclusion that the aggregate pay of the soldier should be twenty-five dollars a month, which he was to receive from the National and State Governments. Provision was recommended also for the support of dependent relatives of the men enlisted in the military service of the United States who were a part of the quota of the Commonwealth. Many men who were already in the Federal service, transferred from the National Guard, had dependent relatives. An act providing for the payment of ten dollars monthly in addition to Federal pay was approved on May 7, 1917, for the Massachusetts soldiers who volunteered, and a further act was passed appropriating a sum of money to pay the dependents of the soldiers an amount equal to forty dollars a month. Subsequently this amount was increased to fifty dollars a month.

On May 26, 1917, the Legislature approved the "Commonwealth Defense Act," which gave the Governor extraordinary powers during the period of war. It empowered the Executive to decide the number of hours of labor the people engaged in war work should do; it gave him authority to commandeer the necessities of life; it authorized him to take over for the common good any of the industries of the Commonwealth. It was an act which placed in the Governor's hands entire authority over the resources of the Commonwealth when, in his judgment, such authority could be imposed for the better protection or welfare of the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. This authority has

not been used, but it stands as an evidence of the patriotism and the confidence of the people in their State Government.

An extraordinary emergency fund of one million dollars was appropriated by the Legislature by an act approved on May 25, 1917, and placed at the disposal of the Governor and the Council for emergency war expenditures during the summer recess of the Legislature. This was a measure to protect Massachusetts so that she would at all times be ready to contribute in full measure her resources to the National Government.

SOME REMARKABLE WAR MEASURES

MANY other legislative acts designed to nurture the war record of the State were recommended and approved. Only those that revealed a certain tightening up of popular measures may be interesting. The legislation for many of them was recommended by an Executive message. It became unlawful in the Commonwealth to play, sing or render the Star Spangled Banner in any public place other than as a whole and separate composition or number, without embellishment or addition in the way of national or other music. It was forbidden to use the Star Spangled Banner, or any part thereof, as dance music or as an exit march or part of a medley. The Library Commissioners were authorized to expend from their annual appropriation a sum annually, during the period of the war, in supplying books for the use of the soldiers and sailors.

Legislation was passed and money appropriated to protect the health and morals of the soldiers and the sanitation of the camps. Special appropriations were made for expenses incident to the establishment of military camps, for the entertainment of visiting Foreign War Missions, and the penalties for misuse of the flag were created. At my request the licensed liquor dealers refrained from selling intoxicating liquors during the hours immediately preceding the departure of our drafted men to the military camps.

The enormous industrial and manufacturing interests of Massachusetts became a matter of concern to me because

of their large labor employment. Some slight differences of opinion as to the character of our war ideals when they were less distinct than they are now; the high cost of living; the need of speeding up the principles of patriotism among all the classes of wage-earners, presented to us the problem of adjusting the issues of labor strikes to our war basis.

I named a special committee to act with me in this emergency, and since the declaration of war more than a hundred disputes have been amicably settled. Among the important strikes was that of the Gloucester fishermen. In our necessary system for the conservation of food, this great fish industry of the United States was a serious step. The greatest contribution in fish food to the United States is supplied by the Gloucester fishermen. It was a strike which threatened the fish supply of the nation, and it was a happy ending when this great fleet of boats, which had been idly swinging at the wharves for many weeks, was turned busily out to sea. The strike of fifteen thousand Lynn shoe operatives that had paralyzed the City of Lynn for many months was amicably settled. Of course, in another direction, the most important strike, which threatened to tie up the railroads of the country, was the strike of the Boston & Albany and Boston & Maine Railroad employees, which was followed, when the Elevated Railway Company employees threatened to tie up the transportation of the large city of Boston.

MAKING STRIKES UNPATRIOTIC

I WAS at dinner one night when a man came to me and told me that many thousand employees were holding a meeting with what seemed an absolute determination to call a strike. He asked me for a letter requesting a delay of seventy-two hours in their decision. I gave him this letter and he went before the strikers and read it to them:

Gentlemen:

I am advised that the time limit set for the strike upon the Boston Elevated Railway was too limited to admit of due negotiations, and I strongly urge you to have final action deferred and the strike postponed until

all legitimate effort may be exhausted to reach, if possible, a conclusion which will have results upon governmental and business activities which all patriotic citizens would wish to avert.

I write this as Governor of the Commonwealth, and with the profound hope that a thing so strongly at variance with her noble history in every war, from the Revolution to the present time, will not be permitted to occur.

Sincerely yours,

This was received at first with great hostility. The man who read the letter then challenged the character of this hostile demonstration. He declared that any man in the hall who dared to hiss the name of the Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts should come on the platform, and he added that he would fight it out with him on the ground that it was an unpatriotic expression. He stood literally with his back to the wall and finally obtained the delay requested. Subsequently I personally appeared before the employees, who were happy that the strike had been averted, congratulated them upon their cooperation towards an adjustment, and the storm blew over. In the latent causes behind these internal disturbances in labor we have been able to recognize certain justice in the demands for additional pay, because the high cost of living is a very evident fact. It is gratifying to find that when we have approached the wage earners with a patriotic appeal, backed up with substantial support, that no further strikes have occurred. There is no question that the basic force in the adjustment of these strikes has been the underlying patriotism of the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

I have considered it one of the important desires of the people to make the boys in the trenches and in the camps comfortable and happy. In creating the Massachusetts Soldiers' Information Bureau, the first agency of the kind to be established in the country, it was my desire to help the men in the service and their families and friends in a definite way. Its whole duty is to supply information about Massachusetts men in the army and navy service of the United

States, to facilitate communication between the soldiers abroad and their families and relatives at home, and also to establish a general information bureau for the use of Massachusetts men in war service abroad.

This Bureau acts entirely under the authority of the Governor and Council. Through the energy and generosity of a citizen of Massachusetts, headquarters have been established in Paris, where the men on leave can assemble for entertainment, can obtain relief, where complete information is on hand about the soldiers and where communication with their relatives at home is facilitated.

THE COMMONWEALTH BEHIND THE GOVERNMENT

ALL patriotic measures have been fulfilled by the Commonwealth for the support of the National Government, and there is no part of our population, either of native birth or foreign extraction, who have failed to give themselves and their resources to the Government in its great hour of need. The women of the State have worked loyally along patriotic lines and have contributed in no small way to the success of our war measures. We have worked in harmony with the Government in Food and Fuel conservation, production and distribution. We were the first State to organize the school boys into an effective working force for the production of food during the summer vacation.

The active preliminary war measures which the Commonwealth had been making some time before the declaration of war were shown to be exceedingly expedient at the time of the Halifax disaster in December, 1917. Massachusetts was the first State, in fact, the first agency of any kind, to send relief to the stricken city. The information came to me first, vaguely, before it had reached the press. That afternoon I held a conference with many of the prominent men of the State, and a supply train was started for Halifax that night, equipped with doctors, nurses, medical supplies, beds, blankets and food. This train forced its way through a heavy snowstorm and reached the city in time to render first aid. There was a great need for oculists, as the chief result of the

gigantic explosion was injury to the eyes. At the first explosion the people rushed to the windows, and the second explosion shattered the glass and blew it into their eyes. We were fortunate in being prepared to meet this emergency. Large contributions of relief materials, ranging from money and clothing to glass and automobiles, were sent from this State to Halifax.

It was this experience which impelled us to appropriate a sum of money for the purpose of creating what is known as the Commonwealth Emergency Hospital, to which has been attached for emergency calls, in case of need, many surgeons and a hundred trained nurses. These nurses were appointed by me after having been selected by a committee of competent women from among the trained nurses of the State. The nurses have been attached to the Massachusetts State Guard and I have commissioned them as Second Lieutenants, to be paid only, however, when called for actual duty. These are the first military commissions given to any American women engaged in war service. The hospital has a capacity of 440 beds. This is a preventive measure and can eventually be used for other purposes connected with the war. Of course, exceptional efforts have been made to prepare our local hospitals and infirmaries for wounded soldiers returning from France.

While the elements of foresight and organization are in themselves important, the chief pride of the Commonwealth seems to be in its extraordinary unanimity of courage. Massachusetts is, and should be, tremendously inspired by the record of personal bravery which the Massachusetts troops have shown at the front. We are particularly proud of the fact that the Republic of France has decorated heroes of the 104th Infantry, National Guards, for distinguished bravery. This was known as the Old Second Regiment of Massachusetts. They were at the front before the Rainbow Division arrived in France. The Croix de Guerre has been given also to members of the 101st Engineers, National Guards, which was the First Corps Cadets of Massachusetts before they were inducted into the Federal service.

In the elements of organization, the State of Massachusetts can be proud of the fact that many of its prominent citizens have been called to service in Washington. So, the Commonwealth has not only contributed in men for Army and Navy service, but it has also contributed men in large measure for executive service with the National Government in Washington.

What Massachusetts has done is but a pledge of what she stands ready to do, for the call of National service has kindled the old spark of patriotism in her magnificent history into an unquenchable fire.

God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

THE ARMY CHAPLAIN

By DANIEL M. HENDERSON

THESE sodden, slimy trenches are my pews;
This is my flock—rude, blood-bespattered men.
Some boys are here whom I once taught at home;
Far closer are we now than in those days.
Then I have other lads who say the church
Breeds superstition and hypocrisy.
Some swear and gamble—till I won their hearts
I heard them curse me for a “Holy Joe!”

Yet with what awe I minister to them—
As fine a breed as God put on earth!
Irreverent—true! But by their scoffs they mask
The altar fires aflame within their breasts!
I do not preach to them that bloodless Christ
Whom artists picture haunting No Man’s Land—
Aloof and shuddering at the things He sees.
Instead, I tell them of that Man who met
With fearless heart yon despot’s cross and sword,
And died, that through His death the soul might live.

They nod their heads; they understand this Christ. . . .
They take Him with them to their Calvary!

LIBERTY OR DEATH FOR SERBIA

Her Supreme International Patriotism

By HON. L. MICHAILOVITCH

[SERBIAN MINISTER TO THE U. S. A.]

The Yugoslav "Declaration of Independence" is voiced by the Serbian Minister, in this spirited explanation of his country's international patriotism. That Austria-Hungary are arch criminals in the Teutonic Conspiracy to enslave the world is emphatically pointed out.

THE love of freedom and democratic principles, on the one hand, and on the other the readiness to combat the enemies of these principles and to sacrifice everything out of love for them, are the foundations of international patriotism. The titanic struggle of today has divided the world into two groups, clearly separated one from the other. The first are the enemies of freedom and the partisans of brutal domination, at the head of which stands Germany. The second defends itself against these enemies and is under the leadership of the United States. The war on this free international community began with the attack on little Serbia, which took up the struggle with a full conscience of her duty as a member of this community.

This honor my country assumed and has sacrificed everything to it, including its freedom and independence. Yet Serbia represents only a part of the elements which are today described under the name of Yugoslavs (Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes), and although today the whole of our people are under the enemy yoke, they continue the struggle with every weapon which circumstances allow it to use. One should not forget that our direct enemies are Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria, two countries which are often regarded by American public opinion as the tools of Germany, but which, in our opinion, are greater international criminals than Germany herself. Austria-Hungary first began the

world-war, Bulgaria opened to Germany the route to the East. *Without the cooperation of Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria there would today be no world-war.* These two States are deliberately the accomplices of Germany and not merely her tools. The strength of our enemies lies in their complete solidarity in all branches of their action against the defenders of humanity—our Allies, who, in their struggle, have unfortunately not displayed a similar solidarity.

SERBIA REFUSES TO COMPROMISE

ENCIRCLED by these enemies, our people carries on a continual struggle, not only for its existence, but also against the plan to annihilate freedom and the democratic principles of human society. The Jugoslavs might, perhaps, have accepted a compromise such as would have assured their existence, but their duty as a member of the international community did not permit them to accept any compromise in regard to the principles of which the Germans, the Magyars, the Bulgarians, and the Turks are the exponents. I do not believe I exaggerate when I say that it is in a large part due to Serbia and the Jugoslavs that this combination of international criminals has had no success in their crime.

When, towards the end of 1915, Serbia was attacked from all sides by Germans, Magyars and Bulgarians, it was clear that she must be vanquished. But the enemies of Serbia knew that this struggle would cost them dear and sought to avoid it and offered her peace. At that moment Serbia was still in possession of her full military strength, and though the enemy offered her freedom, independence and tempting concessions, this offer was unanimously rejected by the whole Serbian people, which at that moment did not allow itself to be guided by selfish patriotism, but by her solidarity with her Allies. In rejecting this offer the Serbs deliberately accepted the full consequences, which were:

The abandonment of their country, which they knew the enemy would devastate;

The destruction by themselves of everything which could be of use to the enemy;

The enormous unavoidable losses which would result by retiring through Albania in order to prepare the army for a fresh struggle.

The Serbian Government and the Serbian Army decided to sacrifice everything for their honor and for their fidelity to their Allies.

In the midst of winter they had to cross savage Albania, where there were no routes and no resources of any kind. The whole of the artillery and an enormous mass of munitions were destroyed. Of 400,000 soldiers, one-third succumbed to hunger and cold in the mountains of Albania, a part were taken prisoners by the enemy and about 150,000 succeeded, after indescribable sufferings, in reaching the Island of Corfu. The whole of Serbia was handed over to the tender mercies of the Bulgarians and the Magyars.

HER SUPREME SACRIFICE FOR HONOR AND FREEDOM

THESE terrible sacrifices were made by our people, conscious of its duty in the present struggle. The reconstituted remnants of the Serbian Army recommenced the struggle on the Salonica front.

But even still more remarkable is the movement of the Jugoslavs in Austria-Hungary. They are today the standard-bearers of freedom and democratic principles in these autocratic States. They declared war on the system of government which was the cause of the present war. Our entire people is resolved to hold out to the last for freedom and for these principles. In the Croatian Parliament the right of self-determination of the people has been repeatedly demanded; in the Slovene land the movement is led by the Prince-Bishop of Laibach, and over 200,000 Slovene women and young girls—all men having been forced to join the army—have subscribed petitions in which they demand a free and independent Jugoslav State. As the total Slovene population in the census of 1910 was 1,250,000, this represents nearly the totality of the women of the country. In the Serbia occupied by the enemy the people has taken up arms to defend itself against extermination, which the Bulgarians

and the Magyars are systematically carrying out with fiendish cruelty. The Czechs are joining the Jugoslavs in their movement. The Austria-Hungarian Government has been forced to dismiss the Parliament and in the Slav provinces martial law has been proclaimed.

The Jugoslav element could also find means to compromise with the Austrians so as to be able to live in peace, just as peace was offered to Serbia in 1915, so that she might preserve her independence. But the Jugoslavs are also inspired by higher ideals and are conscious of their duties as members of the modern international society. Their struggle has nothing selfish, and they take part in it in the name of the great principles, of which the greatest representative is to-day the United States. The prospects of what this struggle will entail on the South Slav elements is terrible; martial law, executions en masse, deportations, confiscations of property,—in a word, extermination, that is what our people has to expect in this struggle.

On the Salonica front our people are but still fighting; new recruits for our army are volunteering from every side; in Austria-Hungary our people have risen and have declared war on the enemies of humanity. The Southern Slavs are ready to sacrifice everything for the freedom of the world and their own liberty.

“Liberty or death” are no vain words for the Jugoslavs, but their deep conviction and life principle.

RIVETS

By LEWIS ALLEN BROWNE

If any riveter in a shipyard drives only 60 rivets where he could drive 120, he has driven 60 for freedom and has left 60 undriven for the Hohenzollerns.—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THERE are three hundred thousand riveters striking five billion blows a day for Victory!

Every tap of a pneumatic riveter in our hundred and fifty shipyards is a blow for Liberty. For every American soldier who is today actually on the European battle front, there is another "soldier" back here who is driving rivets into steel ships.

Recently, in Washington, at a gathering of notables, including Senators, Cabinet officers, Army and Naval officers, a question was put in this manner:

"While all labor is important, and absolutely necessary, just what sort of labor happens to be of the most importance these days?"

Without hesitation five of the men spoke up, and each said the same word:

"Riveters!"

A year ago we did not have 10,000 ship riveters in the country—this included the man who actually sets the rivet and his "gang" of two, three or four men, depending upon the nature of the riveting. Only seven shipyards were in active operation. The speed with which we have built shipyards is now world history. More than half a million men in this country are now engaged in ship-building, nearly three hundred thousand of these are riveters, while the call is coming for "More riveters!"

At every shipyard where steel ships are built there are schools in operation training men to become riveters and holders-on, and boys to become heaters, passers-on and stick-ins.

At the beginning the riveters gladly accepted the work because there was "big money" in it. They drove only the customary number of rivets per day, usually about 100 or 200. Today they are struggling to make world records at riveting, some few are driving two and three thousand a day, the average is getting up to 400 to 500 a day.

In many a shipyard every riveter and every man in his gang gave one full day's wages to the Red Cross. They are voluntarily working over time, they are cutting down their lunch hour, they are speeding up from eight to nine and ten hours a day. It isn't the "big money" now that is spurring them on. There is something more than money back of it—something that puts more zest and endurance and "pep" into them than cold cash could do.

This knowledge of the situation did not come to these riveters in a flash. But, thanks to the wise and clever men behind them, they have learned what their work means.

When the late Rufus B. Choate exclaimed, "For God's sake, hurry up!" he said it from his heart, with no thought that he had coined a great war slogan. All great slogans come from the heart rather than the head. America's ship riveters have now adopted that slogan for their own. On signs it is nailed to their ship ways, to the supply shanties, and all over the "works" along with other inspiring signs such as:

BOYS!

The Germans Do Not Stop for the Rain.

Why Should We?

And so their own slogan:

"FOR GOD'S SAKE, HURRY UP!"

How many who read with satisfaction of the appointment of Edward Nash Hurley as the head of our Shipbuilding program and of Charles M. Schwab as chief of our Emergency Fleet Corporation work, knew just how fortunate those appointments proved to be? A little chat with some of the riveters—the steady, hard-working, newspaper-reading,

straight-thinking riveters, and there is a big army of them, will make this clear.

Mr. Hurley entered partnership with the inventor of the pneumatic riveter. Without capital he started manufacturing them in a single room shop with five workmen, and, failing to interest people here, he took his riveter over to England and demonstrated on the Clyde just what a pneumatic riveter could do. Before that all rivets were driven by "elbow grease" instead of compressed air. Mr. Hurley was the first man to drive a rivet into a steel ship by other than hand-power. These riveters of today know about this.

"You bet Big Boss Hurley knows his business," Doneley of the Hog Island yards said to me. "Wasn't he the first man to use a 'gun?'" A "gun" being the riveter's name for his pneumatic hammer. Neither wealth nor power nor university degrees could impress these riveters of a leader's right to lead one-tenth as greatly as the knowledge that their "Big Boss" is a practical riveter.

And the same holds good with Mr. Schwab.

"That's the boy who knows a hunk o' steel when he sees it," an admiring riveter shouted as he pointed out Mr. Schwab at the launching of the "Agawam."

Late last Winter, when the big shipbuilding program was scarcely under way, I was talking with a riveter who was jumping into his work as though his life depended upon it.

"Why the big rush?" I asked him. The man grinned.

"Three dollars and a half a hundred rivets," he shouted above the din, and turned to cuss his heater boy into more speed.

And on Memorial Day, when the Submarine Boat Corporation completed for the Emergency Fleet Corporation the world's first fabricated ship, I asked that same question.

"Why the big rush? Are you in a speed contest?"

"We're all in a speed contest," answered Peter Hurlburt, ship-riveter for Uncle Sam. "Didn't you read that piece in the paper where it said it was a race between us ship riveters and the Kaiser?"

THE RIVETERS' PART IN THE WAR

NO army in the onrush of a great victory ever possessed a better, more inspiring and stimulating morale than our army of three hundred thousand riveters possesses to-day. These men—not all of them at first—started in at work with the information that the country needed ships and a lot of them. Today every riveter and every heater boy and passer-on and sticker-in and holder-on has learned that it takes five tons of shipping to maintain one American soldier over in France. They know that we have three quarters of a million men “over there,” and that by the end of August it is claimed that we shall have an even million soldiers in France. These men here at home who are setting “straw-hot” rivets into steel ships know that our soldiers cannot “carry on” in the fighting without ships, any more than the riveter can carry on his work without a supply of rivets heated to a bright straw color.

“I figgered it out last night, me and my little girl who’s in school,” Peter Hurlburt told me, between enormous bites of rye bread sandwiches and deep drafts of coffee heated on a rivet forge. “I had been reading that by th’ Fourth o’ July we’d have three quarters of a million soldiers in France. That’s 750,000. If it takes five tons of shipping to keep one soldier goin’ over in France, then it must take three and three quarters millions tons of shipping to keep th’ whole bunch going. Our fabricated ships we’re building here are of five thousand tons capacity. It would take seven hundred and fifty ships like ‘Aggie’ here (Agawam) to keep that bunch going over there. And they say we are goin’ to send five million soldiers over if they need ’em or ten millions. Man, did ye stop to think of th’ rivets that will mean?”

And Peter Hurlburt, soldier “over here,” stood up, brushed the rye bread crumbs from his clothes, grabbed his riveter, shouted to his gang, and started the rat-tat-tatting of riveting a quarter of an hour before the lunch time was up.

Some unsung riveter who unquestionably is better at riveting than at writing “poetry,” nevertheless summed up in a parody the way the greater part of our riveters feel about

their job. He was a "Porker," that is, a Hog Island shipyard "gun" man, and he wrote:

OVER HERE.

Get your rivet gun, rivet gun, rivet gun;
 Bring your hammer, son, on the run, on the run;
 Lay your "Keelson"—place that "Strake,"
 There's no extra time to take.
 Slide 'em down the way, no delay, ship a day;
 Lay another keel, off the reel, give us steel,
 Maybe you don't like the name,
 But we'll bring Hog Island fame.

CHORUS.

On the square, working here, we will back up
 the boys Over There.
 The ships are coming, shipyards humming,
 Rivet guns are drumming ev'rywhere.
 So prepare—give us air—we will break any
 record anywhere.
 Slide 'em over, from here to Dover,
 And we'll do our bit 'til it's over, Over There!

Every riveter has his "gang," which consists of at least two men and sometimes three, four or five, depending upon the location of the riveting. Usually a riveter and three men can do the work.

HOW THE RIVETS ARE HANDLED

THE process of riveting seems simple, to read about. The heater, generally a boy, although sometimes a man past middle age recently trained to the work, has a rivet forge with a blow-fan operated by electricity. Fine coke is burned. A few rivets are embedded in the coke, a turn of the button, and the fan makes the coke glow. The rivets, in turn, begin to glow, first a deep red, then a cherry red and from that to a bright straw color. That is the riveting shade. Cherry red is not sufficiently hot. White hot is too great a temperature. The first isn't soft enough, the other is too soft and the metal will scale and split.

When everything is in readiness the heater removes from the forge one of the rivets with a long-handled pair of

tongs. There's a trick in picking up the rivet. Unless the curved clasp of the tong fits about the rivet snug to the head, it will slip and miss its mark when thrown. With a little swing of the arm and a peculiar, loose twist of the wrist the heater tosses the rivet ten, twenty or even forty feet away, if necessary, to the passer-on who catches it in a cone-shaped zinc receptacle. Sometimes the passer-on is also a stick-in, that is, he may also thrust the rivet into the hole. This depends upon the locality in which he is working.

The passer-on fishes the rivet from the "can" with his tongs and either sticks it into the rivet hole himself, or hands tongs and all to the holder-on who sets it in place and immediately holds it there with all of his weight and strength with a specially made heavy hammer or with a dolly-bar, made for that purpose. The moment the rivet is through the hole the hammer or dolly-bar is in place, for the appearance of the rivet is the signal for the riveter who takes his pneumatic "gun," which delivers blows of 110 pounds to the square inch, sets it over the end of the hot rivet, pulls the gun trigger and the deafening "Rat-tat-tat" begins.

Very carefully he twists the gun around and around until that rivet is flattened out flush with the outside of the ship's hull, as smooth and as shining as glass, and so cleverly "set" that it is water tight. If this isn't done it must be drilled out and a new one set, for a ship without a water-tight hull is not an asset at any time and especially in time of war.

While the riveter has been doing this the heater has another rivet ready. The moment the riveter lifts the gun and stops it, the heater tosses another rivet to the passer-on, who delivers it to the holder-on, and again the riveter swings the heavy gun into position and again another rivet is in place in one of Uncle Sam's ships.

No contortionist of vaudeville ever juggled a weight into more positions than a riveter and his holder-on. Beneath the ship he scarcely has room to lie flat on his back and "shoot the rivet" straight overhead, protected with goggles. Or he may sit in a seemingly crazy "chock" to get at some part beneath the stern or out at the very bow.

It seems like a simple process. It is not simple, nor so easy. In winter it is far from being a bed of roses to work in, on, over and under the ice-cold steel, in chilling blasts. In summer it is equally trying to work in the blazing sun where the steel plates become literally "hot enough to fry eggs on." And the ease with which the heater tosses that yellow-hot rivet, the ease and accuracy with which the passer catches it, all means days of patient training.

THE PRESIDENT DRIVES A RIVET

IT takes a real man to set a rivet or to be a holder-on. The latter works almost as hard as the riveter. There are "rivets and rivets." Some are easy to drive and some difficult. On the day that our first fabricated steel ship, 82% of which was built in a score of different cities, was slid into the waters of Newark Bay, President Wilson drove a rivet into the keel of a 9,400-ton ship at Alexandria, Va., the town where Washington used to go to church, the town that, a score of years ago, actually had tall grass growing between the cobbles of its streets leading down to the docks.

The President admitted that he did not have a union card. However, he was allowed to drive a rivet and he did it successfully. Inspection showed that it would "stay," that is, it would not have to be set over. However, they gave our President an easy job, for it was a "button-head" rivet that he set, and a button-head needs but a few direct taps and the riveting gun has formed the round cap head. Button-heads are not water-tight. They are used on interior and above-water work. In the building of sky-scrapers, elevated structures and such things we see the button-head rivets. We never see them on the outside of the hulls of ships, for such rivets are flattened down flush with the steel plates and made water-tight.

Some rivets may be "set" in twenty seconds, others in a minute and a half. No more than fifty "taps" of the riveters are needed to drive certain rivets, while with others from 200 to 400 taps are needed.

We are getting up to the three-ships-a-day mark, we

may be beyond it by the time this is in print. From 600,000 to 900,000 rivets must be driven in each ship, depending upon the tonnage of the craft. It takes an average of two hundred "rat-a-tat-tats" or blows to properly set a rivet, less for the button-heads, more for the counter-sunk flush-heads. Consequently our riveters are striking about five billion blows a day for Liberty!

A riveting gang receives from \$2 to \$5 per hundred rivets. Naturally the riveter gets the major share of this, his holder-on the next, heater next and passer-on the smaller portion. Frequently, when working on "Fair," which is the riveter's term for work in proper position and easy of access, it is possible to get on with only heater and holder-on, the heater passing direct to the holder-on. In this case the proportion of the money paid a gang is:

Riveter, 44%; Holder-on, 33%; Heater boy, 23%.

The price per hundred rivets varies according to the kind of rivets that are driven. Naturally not as much would be paid for a hundred of the easily driven button-heads as for a hundred of those all-important flush-head water-tight ones, nor as much for the small ones as for the large ones requiring more labor.

RECORD PAY FOR RIVETERS

RECENTLY a gang of three men made \$87 in a day. This record has already been broken, some making as high as \$140 in a day. And records will doubtless keep right on being broken all the while the riveters are devoting every ounce of work in them to the all-important task of sliding more and still more ships into the water. But these three men who made \$87 in a day had the money divided like this:

Riveter, 44%, \$38.28; Holder-on, 33%, \$28.71; Heater boy, 23%, \$20.01.

Most of the heater boys are around sixteen to eighteen years as the older and heavier men are needed for the heavier work of holders-on who are, as soon as possible, trained to become riveters. Twenty dollars a day is mighty good pay for these boys, and while not many get as much as that, a

very great many are earning from \$50 to \$70 a week, while many riveters are getting around \$150 a week.

And yet there is a scarcity of riveting gangs.

"We want 1,200 riveting gangs by the first of June," the call went up at the Newark yards.

They did not get that many, but rather close to it, about a thousand. They want even more than that this month. Almost every shipyard is now training men to become riveters, heaters, passers-on, stick-ins and holders-on. In many yards instruction schools are maintained with a competent corps of "teachers." In some of these schools thirty men a day are "graduated." They are beating this now at the Port of Newark. There are about 700 in the school.

"Some of the boys become sufficiently proficient to go to work after three days' practice at heating and tossing rivets," said A. P. Hyde, one of the men instructing heaters and passers-on. "If they cannot make good within ten days it is generally useless to bother with them, as they'll never make good. Very few, however, fail to make good within a week."

He had a gang of boys standing at a row of rivet forges. "Pick out one that isn't hot enough," he said to a colored boy of no more than sixteen or seventeen. The boy did so and volunteered the information that "It ain't never no good when it's cherry red."

"Pick out one that is too hot." The boy did so, exhibiting a sizzling, "spitting" white-hot rivet.

"She'll all scale off, she's too hot," the boy said, grinning, "but yere's one jes' right, color of straw," and he lifted a bright straw-colored rivet from the forge, tossed it dexterously to a passer-on and waited for his instructor to tell him what else to do.

"Go to work tomorrow morning," said the instructor. As the boy thanked him and started away the instructor said, "Three days ago that boy didn't know a rivet from a forge."

One of the riveters at a certain yard had received a week's instruction and been at work only a month when he won a prize in a speed contest and he knew absolutely nothing about riveting five weeks before that. He was an exception.

Usually it takes two weeks to turn out a fairly competent riveter, one who can be trusted to even set button-heads. Of course only skilled riveters are allowed to set the outside rivets.

Not fat men, nor large, heavy men are needed. The most successful riveters are of medium build, weigh about 150 pounds and are wiry. It takes good arm and back muscles for the work, but not necessarily weight. The lighter men are able to speed up more.

SPEEDING UP BY CONTESTS

RIVETING contests were not inspired by either shipyard or Government officials, but came about in quite a normal manner. Early in March of this year, Riveter J. Frederickson, of the Submarine Boat Corporation at the Port of Newark, and his gang, drove 836 button-head rivets in nine and a half hours. This was a marvelous achievement, as compared with the average day's work at riveting at that time, and caused a lot of talk. Newspaper reporters heard of it and soon many newspapers about the country were giving praise to Riveter Frederickson and his gang.

"We can beat it," came the declaration from many other riveting gangs in many other shipyards, and they set about to do it. Every time a little higher record was made it was reported to the newspapers, until finally prizes were offered by superintendents, newspapers and private individuals.

From 836 rivets in a day the record grew to 1,009. This was hailed with delight throughout the country. But it was only the beginning. Up and up the totals climbed, to 1,500 and then to 2,000 and up beyond 3,000. At this writing it is impossible to say what the top record is. When the news was cabled from England that a riveter had driven 4,422 in nine hours, it seemed almost incredible, but we have since learned that this was not done in ship construction, but in making margarine tanks, much easier work. Later came word from England that a crew had driven 6,783 rivets in a day. However, this was on ship frame work where button-

heads were driven and on such work it is possible to drive from two to four or more rivets while one counter-sunk flush-head rivet is being set in the hull of a ship, "Guaranteed water-tight."

Not long ago Viscount Northcliffe cabled a prize of \$100 to a colored man at the Bethlehem shipbuilding plant. This was the first international prize. Even under the best conditions it is difficult for a layman to judge fairly, since there are so many varieties of rivets and because it is twice as easy to drive in one part of a ship than in another.

It is not the ten or twenty dollars extra that is spurring on the riveters to break records, it is a fine combination of patriotism and pride. These men have given their full quota to the Red Cross and have bought more than their quota of Liberty Bonds. A large and increasing per cent. of them are taking advantage of the branch savings banks opened in the yards and depositing a generous slice of their earnings each pay day. At the South Jacksonville, Fla., shipyards 400 riveters sent a letter to Chairman Hurley informing him that they were giving one full day's work to the Government, and they did this work on Sunday in order to further increase their output.

General Pershing has cabled his word of praise to the riveters. Official Washington has acquired a profound respect for these men who are speeding up the shipbuilding program with their blows for Liberty with the "air guns" a thousand times faster than any propaganda could do, and are inclined to salute a riveter whenever they see him.

In the Winter and Spring the Pacific shipyards were beating those on the Atlantic, but at that time many of the Eastern yards were only under way and the weather conditions, ideal on the Pacific, were the worst experienced in a generation on the Atlantic.

All of the riveters are not in the shipyards on the coasts and at the Great Lakes. In hundreds of plants far inland men are at work fabricating the ships and riveting the various parts before shipping them to be assembled.

WHAT CHAIRMAN HURLEY SAYS

CHAIRMAN HURLEY makes the following statement for the FORUM as to the importance of the work of the riveters:

“ Rivets driven into the hull of a ship spell actual tonnage production. The preliminary work of fabricating and assembling is, of course, just as necessary and just as important as the actual riveting. But the very fact that the riveter binds the ship together in its final form makes the riveting a more spectacular and, perhaps, a more responsible task than any other in shipbuilding.

“ A ship is just as strong as the rivets that hold it together. Put a ship out on the high seas with rivets carelessly driven in her sides and she cannot stand the strain of a storm, whatever may be the strength of her plates. We cannot, therefore, over-emphasize the value of good riveting.”

On July 4, this year, new world's riveting records will be made in American shipyards, for that will be “ Liberty Launching Day,” and there can be no launchings without the “ Rat-a-tat-tat-tat ” of the riveter's “ gun ” which was once a terrible din to civilian ears, but today is music to everyone. Every shipyard has been asked to “ speed up ” and every foreman of every riveting gang has personally asked every riveter, holder-on, stick-in, passer-on and heater, to “ Speed up to the last ounce,” because President Wilson, Chairman Hurley, Director Schwab, General Pershing and every soldier, sailor and civilian, is making the request.

WAR IDEALS OF GREAT BRITAIN

By LORD READING

AMBASSADOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER FROM
GREAT BRITAIN

GREAT BRITAIN entered the war in August, 1914, seeking neither territory, plunder nor commercial expansion. She was bound in honour to fight for Belgium and to support France. Since that time we have perceived more and more clearly that the origin of the struggle was in the main a contest between ideals so irreconcilably and radically opposed to each other that the world is not large enough for them to co-exist side by side.

German views are crystallized in a few sentences of Lasson in his well-known book "Culturideal und der Krieg."

The view taken there of other States is that they "have rights only in so far as they possess a power of resistance that must be taken into account and in so far

as they are desirable allies or respectable adversaries” and that as “between States there is but one sort of right—the right of the stronger.”

England and her European Allies aided by your great country intend to destroy this highwayman’s creed.

For that purpose they are banded together in a brotherhood of arms. They are fighting to restore those ideals and principles of international conduct which accord to each State its individual liberty and freedom of existence. They are fighting to break militarism and to bring about a new era in which world domination will form no part of the ambition of any country.

Victory for such a cause as this will assuredly come. It will bring in its train that permanent security which will enable each individual State to develop in peace and freedom according to its own genius. To mankind generally, to the cause of progress and democracy, its blessings will be incalculable.

WHERE ARE OUR STATESMEN?

By HON. ALBERT B. FALL

[U. S. SENATOR FROM NEW MEXICO]

WHAT of Politicians and of Statesmen among us to-day?

Well, Webster says, "In modern usage, 'Politician' commonly implies activity in party politics, especially with a suggestion of artifice or intrigue; *Statesman* now usually suggests broad-minded and far-seeing sagacity in affairs of state."

Speaking of one of our great men of to-day, a great daily newspaper recently said, "Admirers and critics . . . agree that all his actions are governed by two prime considerations, patriotism and politics; sometimes one moves him, sometimes the other, but most often a combination of both."

I am inclined to think that this statement might well be made of the majority of those prominent in the public eye to-day, whether Congressmen, Senators, members of the Administration, newspaper and magazine editors, or others taking important part in the shaping not only of public opinion, but of policy; and whether greater or lesser Statesmen or Politicians. The greater are more often moved by patriotism, the lesser probably by politics, but each at the worst more often by both.

Under our form of government those who have taken a prominent part in public affairs for many years past must necessarily have been (and are) politicians, at least in the sense of being party leaders. To maintain party leadership in our democracy in times of peace requires constant practice in politics, while evidences of statesmanship not being demanded by a crisis will be more or less latent if not lacking.

Congress and the Administration for many years, with only few exceptions, have been engaged in discussing and formulating "little things," and until the war came very little had occurred to develop statesmanship or to educate statesmen.

A man may be born a politician and with little or no education or experience become a party leader. One *may* be born more than a politician, but must have some particular or peculiar education (not necessarily book education) to round him into a statesman, of "broad-minded and far-seeing sagacity in affairs of State."

To constitute a statesman, native ability is necessary, but, more than all, experience must be the teacher and molder or the genius will never qualify under one of Kipling's requirements for a *man*: "If you can dream, and not make dreams your master. If you can think, and not make thoughts your aim."

It is presumptuous in me, an humble Senator from a little known and far Southwestern State, even to offer the foregoing, and I would never voluntarily have dared to follow the matter further except upon your insistence.

CONGRESSIONAL INEPTITUDE AND PRESIDENTIAL PRESUMPTIONS

CONGRESS is honest and patriotic, but having been accustomed to deal with little things in a little way and the majority being of the Administration party, when called upon to deal with big things since 1914 it had no Congressional mind of its own, and if left alone does nothing and then complains when some one on the outside jolts it from the platform or the press. It acts now, but generally by direct command, and when animated by instructions from the White House; it is now grumbling to some extent when the commands are conveyed through some member of the Peace Cabinet. Really, at times Congress almost arouses itself to the belief that it knows as much about conducting a war as does Secretary Baker.

Our foreign policy (until the advent of this Adminis-

tration), based upon Washington's advice, was to attend to our own business; and only when our national, possibly selfish, interests were at stake did we interfere with or question the acts of other countries.

At the outbreak of this war we had few public men living who had much accurate knowledge of foreign affairs and fewer who had actually had experience in international matters affecting this country.

But we did have a national state of mind:

First: Being isolated, self-sufficient and ignorant, we believed that we could deal with other nations as with our internal affairs, with no more, not even so much, thought for the present or the future consequences as in the preparation and passage of a tariff bill.

Second: As practically all our people not holding or seeking office were and are business men, and busy men, we who elected a President believed that in some miraculous way the taking of the Presidential oath invested a man whom the day before we had known as a politician, a lawyer, or a college president, with all the diplomatic shrewdness and force of a Talleyrand or Bismarck; with the military sagacity and genius of a Napoleon, and with the ability and statesmanship and great wisdom of a Washington and a Lincoln.

Unfortunately, at the outbreak of the world war, Cleveland being dead and Olney retired from public affairs, we had among the public men out of office, who had experience in international affairs, only certain Republicans, among them Root, Roosevelt and Taft. We had in charge of diplomatic affairs Bryan, with his experience as diplomatic agent in the appointment end of the State Department and in negotiating twenty odd so-called peace treaties (really un-American entangling alliances), succeeded by Lansing; and we had—the President.

A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE PRESIDENT

A SOMEWHAT extensive search among all the available records discloses that the President had, up to the moment he took the oath, never written, said or appar-

ently thought about the United States in its past, present or future relations to or with any foreign country (except as incidentally he found it necessary in writing his history of the American people).

I mistake. In the March, 1897, number of the "Atlantic Monthly," the President, then Woodrow Wilson, writing of Cleveland's Venezuela Message (and of Cleveland's characteristics) said: "Here again he showed himself a strong man, but no diplomatist. It was like a blunt, candid, fearless man to say that it was the duty of the United States to ascertain for herself the just rights of Venezuela, and resist any encroachment upon her southern neighbor by every means in her power, and to add that he fully realized the consequences that might follow such a declaration of purpose. But only our kinsmen overseas would have yielded anything or sought peace by concession after such words had been spoken. England presently showed that she would not have taken such a defiance from William of Germany."

"We are at last enabled to read the famous message aright. There spoke a man as desirous and capable of peace and moderation as any in the nation, but accustomed when he spoke at all to speak his whole mind without reserve, and willing to speak to Europe, if she must hear, as freely as he would speak to his own people. It was the perilous indiscretion of a frank nature incapable of disguises."

One might conclude that the President as Dr. Wilson approved rather the Machiavelli or Talleyrand school of diplomacy!

Probably the intellectual peer of any President or any American, living or dead; a student of *our* form of government; a voluminous writer with a remarkable understanding and facility in the use of our language; undoubtedly a sociologist of parts and imbued with ideals, theories and convictions as to human welfare, uplift and betterment, the President is in the minds of many possessed not only of the patriotic spirit, but combines all the great qualities of Washington and Lincoln, as well as of the great statesman and possibly the greater party leader, Jefferson.

Washington lived first a primitive life and knew men in the rough. After his military experience in saving the remnant of Braddock's forces, he, as military chieftain, led our soldiers to victory and won our independence. He presided over the Constitutional Convention, and held it together successfully even when Hamilton went back to New York. He knew *men* and had vast practical experience and was able to shape for us a foreign policy which carried us through our first one hundred and thirty years of national life down to the year 1917.

Lincoln lived first a primitive life and through sympathy and actual contact and experience knew the hearts and souls of men as it is given but few to understand them. He had but little reason to impress himself upon any foreign policy. His mission was through the men of America to save the Union which Washington had formed.

Jefferson, after seeing the French Revolution, was thoroughly impressed with human welfare and social betterment policies and was a great politician, party founder and leader.

President Wilson came to the White House from a boys' school via a State Governorship.

Lincoln was criticized by his friends for keeping in his Cabinet Stanton, who flouted and insulted him, and Sumner, his rival. He knew men; he was anxious only to save his country; he would not make it more pleasant and easy for himself by appointing only his personal followers and worshipers to help save the country. Stanton and Sumner helped save it.

Lincoln, as he wrote McClellan, read every military work he could secure and consulted every military officer whom he could talk to before deciding upon military matters, and yet he had a Stanton to whom he might have left all the decisions.

Washington did not need to read books, to seek advice in military affairs from other officers, nor to rely upon a Stanton or a Sumner. He was a soldier, a military genius himself, and finally a maker of foreign policies.

ROOT, ROOSEVELT, TAFT, AND WOOD

I HAVE mentioned Elihu Root. Here is not only an interpreter, but a maker of international law; a great lawyer; a great Secretary of State; well known and respected in Europe—throughout the world. The world wonders why Root is not allowed to serve his country in this crisis, except as he serves it by his example and through his advice as a private citizen.

Roosevelt—writer, student, historian, almost as well known in these fields as President Wilson; legislator, cowboy, police commissioner, Assistant Secretary of the Navy; actual bona fide fighter, big game hunter, explorer, world traveler; the most widely known American in the world; ex-President!

Taft: Lawyer; Judge; Governor of the Philippines, knowing the Latin-Americans there, in Cuba—Panama; Secretary of State; associated with our military leaders in the Philippines and Cuba; President; allowed to do his official bit as Labor Mediator (and doing it well); is there no other sphere for his magnificent abilities and great experience?

Wood: Our senior Major General; actual fighter; military Governor of the Philippines; pacificator of Cuba; reorganizer of armies; only world-known American military man; too true a military prophet and too “far-sighted and sagacious”?

Thus the politicians and critics. We are all too prone to criticize, especially the politicians; as Lincoln says, “I say this with the greater freedom because, being a politician myself, none can regard it as personal.”

We should simply realize that the second “state of mind” concerning the miraculous conception of Presidential endowments of which I have spoken is, as the President would say, a “psychological condition.”

Knowing the President’s magnificent mental equipment for any duty, we must be patient and not captious. We must uphold and sustain him as President and as Commander-in-Chief.

The President now has more personal authority, more

autocratic power, than has the Kaiser. Each must assume the responsibility reposed with the authority conferred or assumed. Wilhelm cannot hide behind Von Bissell or Hindenburg. His alone is the responsibility for the suffering, the outrage, the world holocaust; his the responsibility to civilization and to the Great God above.

The President's is the responsibility for delays, if any, in armament and men for the rescue of the world; his the responsibility to the Christian world and to the people of America.

OBSERVATIONS OF EPICTETUS, Jr.

By LEWIS ALLEN

We won't need to celebrate with fire-crackers this year.

Standardization and quantity output of ships, motors and planes, is all right, but how about standardizing on patriotism?

Germany says we are a country of shopkeepers. Just now we are exporting a lot of hardware into their midst.

The Three German Fates are: "Faithless, Hopeless and Uncharitable."

To view the fuel situation calmly next Winter put about twenty tons in your bins this Summer.

Patriotism and criticism are the two best speeders-up in existence.

One Hun in a prison camp is happier than a thousand at the front.

Our war profiteers who think they are rolling in wealth are really grovelling in it.

The business of war is never "picking up," but, rather, "knocking over."

There's no patriotism in giving three cheers—and letting it go at that.

Riches is not so much a matter of the amount of money you have as the amount of thrift you possess.

A pacifist is just as much out of place in America on this Fourth of July as he would be in No-man's-land.

MEXICO'S CHIEF AIM

By HIS EXCELLENCY, IGNATIO Y. BONILLAS

[AMBASSADOR OF MEXICO]

The Rumor Factory is always busy in Mexican affairs. The clear message of the Mexican Ambassador is a frank statement of Mexico's position toward the war.

MUCH has been said in the American press regarding German propaganda in Mexico; and to this effect I must state that the press in my country enjoys complete freedom, and as a proof of this you will find there not only pro-allied newspapers, but also newspapers antagonistic to the present Mexican administration. Being a neutral government, Mexico respects the press, treating all newspapers alike as long as they stay within the limits of neutrality; and this, of course, while the honor and sovereignty of Mexico is not affected.

It is a fact that the Mexican people are only giving their attention to the domestic situation of the country and to its complete reconstruction. Proof of this has been given by the failure of some Army officers who, due to personal ambitions, attempted to revolt against the legal government, and who have lacked entirely the support of the people.

Regarding the patriotism of the Mexican people, history speaks by itself, and I only have to add that the Embassy under my charge receives daily unmistakable proofs of loyalty and love towards the mother country from all Mexicans residing in this Republic. These patriotic manifestations are of different kinds, among the most significant being the fact that Mexicans without work and in need who seek employment in American enterprises, prefer to experience hardships rather than to renounce their citizenship, a requisite, without which, many American concerns deny employment to them. These Mexicans are now returning to their own country, as fast as they can obtain means to do so.

There is nothing mysterious about Mexico's foreign policy. Reports to the contrary are based, perhaps, on failure

to understand properly some of the guiding principles of our present action.

Our chief aim now is to remain neutral. To us this is not only a just, but a necessary policy. Mexico's position is not like that of other countries which until recently have enjoyed the benefits of peace, and have now felt it necessary to embark upon a policy of war.

WHEN MEXICO WAS AT WAR, WE WERE AT PEACE

COMPARE the position of the United States with that of Mexico, for example. While Mexico was engaged in her death struggle for liberty, while we were destroying ourselves in pursuance of our liberation from despotism, man against man and brother against brother, you were at peace.

Now you are at war and we are at peace. Should we develop our resources as a means to remedy the destruction caused by internal war and reconstruct the country, or should we interrupt our constructive work to seek out a policy which even your own leaders agree would be detrimental to the interests of the Mexican people?

If the question of Mexico's national honor or Mexico's sovereign rights were involved, a deliberate policy of self-sacrifice might be necessary. But we have no cause for resentment against the contending parties, as our interests have not been injured or greatly jeopardized.

We cannot afford to participate in the war on one side or the other if we can honorably avoid it. Our policy is, therefore, one of peace and reconstruction as against war and its ravages.

The allied nations claim to be fighting for Liberty, Democracy, the destruction of a military despotism, and to make the world fit for those principles. Mexico has fought during the last seven years for the same principles at home, and after untold sacrifices, has succeeded in deposing and driving out of existence the worst military despotism, and in establishing a Constitutional Government founded upon the principles of Justice to all, nationals and foreigners alike.

THE MOST DANGEROUS MAN IN EUROPE

THE GERMAN CROWN PRINCE

By Capt. EDWARD LYELL FOX

NOTE: This article is written by an American who was close to Imperial Germany, as a resident of Berlin, until the break of diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States. It is a look forward to what might be expected if the Crown Prince were to rule Germany.

FRIEDRICH WILHELM, Crown Prince of Germany, is today one of the most popular men in his country.

The German people do not know his true character. Hindenburg is the popular man of the people, but when they consider the Crown Prince, their gaze turns higher. For he is a Hohenzollern, and some day he expects to rule by "Divine Right." Hindenburg is one of those heroes of history who, thrown high by the crest of a wave of fleeting feeling, is adored by a nation, only to be forgotten when times of stress pass away. The Crown Prince, however, is a potential ruler. The destiny of Imperial Germany is to be his—if Wotan does not desert the Hohenzollerns. Seventy millions of people are subject to the workings of the royal mind. Wherefore, he is a "Being" to the Germans—a "Being" in which their lives and future are a part. What about him?

In Berlin before the war they called him "*Unbeschriebenes Blatt*"—the "unwritten page." The Berliners no longer call him that. They feel now that they know his worth. They do not. Friedrich Wilhelm is popular, tremendously so. He is the idol of the German army. The mass of the German people have come to love him—if they but knew him! There is no more anxiety felt about his coming to the throne; the war has done it. For the Crown Prince is clever, amazingly so. His face does not show it. He has been caricatured to represent a rabbit. There is no denying that his features look weak. He has often been photographed grinning in a silly way; but the grin can be sinister, too. For

Friedrich Wilhelm is one of the most dangerous and sinister men in the world.

In America the Sunday editions have regaled us with stories of his exploits—"affairs," supper parties, rash automobile driving and steeplechasing. We all know by now how he led his favorite regiment of Hussars on horseback up the terraces of the old castle of Sans Souci and then held gay doings with them there. We know how his apparent thoughtlessness has brought down severe criticism from the Imperial parent. We have heard all manner of stories involving him with light young ladies.

What we have not heard is that the man himself is a contradiction to all his harum-scarum actions of the past. That the emptiness of his face is a mask that nature has given him apparently to conceal the shrewd, calculating brain behind. He looks a bit like a spoiled scion of a wealthy family—a German edition of Harry Thaw. Instead, he is a deep, relentless thinker, somewhat cruel, and a past master at playing the mob. For example:

HOW HE PLAYS TO THE MOB

When the Kaiser's limousine rolls down the Linden it is preceded and flanked by uniformed guards; fanfares are blown from a horn. All the pomp of an Emperor is there. During the war the Crown Prince has also had occasion to motor down the Linden. But what a difference! He drives in an open runabout. His wife sits beside him—the Crown Princess Ceceile. His good-looking youngsters, four in number, are piled on the floor of the car, their little legs dangling over the running board. There is no sign of an escort. The little runabout gives the impression of a simple family out for an outing. The Crown Prince is at the wheel grinning. The crowds rush to the curb, delighted at this display of democracy in their future ruler, and shout: "*Hoch!*" Keeping one hand on the wheel, the Crown Prince gaily waves back. "*Donnerwetter! A fine *gemutlich* man,*" the crowd says.

But because his mind is such, the Crown Prince is say-

ing to himself, "Well, my good people, I put it over on you again that time. You think I love you—fools!"

The soldiers in his army love Friedrich Wilhelm. He has made it his business to meet as many of them as possible. He has an uncanny memory for retaining the names of certain privates. He uses this gift. He will visit the men in their quarters and chat with them. They love him. That is good for the morale. It is easier for men to die in battle when they believe their commander has a personal welfare of each of them written on his heart. The soldiers of the Crown Prince's army have caused his careful treatment of them to be spread broadcast. The entire fighting male population of Germany today—except some Socialists—believe that the Crown Prince suffers mental agony every time he reads a new list of Germans killed or wounded. Did he not say so in an interview which he gave to an American correspondent?

Keeping that in mind, go back into the Crown Prince's boyhood. He had two pet dogs. He wanted these dogs to sit on their haunches and hold their forelegs out straight. It would be a pretty sight when he took his dogs out riding in a little basket cart. He couldn't train one of the dogs to stick out his forelegs like ramrods. So, becoming greatly exasperated, Friedrich Wilhelm snatched the little animal by the scruff of the neck and buried its nose in the dirt. It choked to death. To make sure that the other dog would hold out its legs properly, Friedrich Wilhelm broke both of them. It could never bend them. They were indeed as straight as ramrods. His Imperial Highness was pleased.

The truth about the matter is that the Crown Prince is a genius for playing the mob. He doesn't care any more for the mob than does the Kaiser. The mob causes his royal blood to revolt. The Kaiser tries to play the mob, but it is exquisite torture for him to pretend he has deep interest in people who are quite ignorant and unnoble. After acting his part, the Kaiser, exasperated with himself, will turn around to a royal aide and let go an oath. Not the Crown Prince. He never shows his hand. Every time he can he makes the

mob believe that they are the best little people in the world. What a stage director!

A MASTER AT THE ART OF PUBLICITY

At Christmas a year ago he sent broadcast a public telegram that made the nation sit up and gasp and then applaud. The telegram was from his Field Headquarters. It said: "For Christmas presents send my soldiers rum. They need it more than Christmas trinkets." This, of course, was true. On cold, damp nights in the trenches a nip of rum warming the body is about the most desirable thing on earth. Of course, one familiar with the German organization knew the Crown Prince had but to requisition rum of the supply department and it would come to him through the regular channels. Instead of that, he sent these "human" telegrams broadcast. Copies of them were reprinted on blaring posters and hung in shop windows. In that way the Crown Prince got more publicity as a regular human being with the welfare of the soldiers at heart.

At the publicity game the Crown Prince is skilled. An American correspondent, whose name need not be mentioned, was quite taken in by the Crown Prince in an interview. Oh, yes, although his Imperial Highness regretted that he had never had the great pleasure of visiting America, he was quite familiar with his (the correspondent's) country. He had read extensively of it. He liked "the stories of Jack London, Rex Beach." He admired the Americans very much for their love of sport. He would dearly love to see a Yale-Harvard football game, and what splendid baseball games the Americans have! Whereupon the interview printed in America made a profound impression in favor of the Crown Prince. Everybody likes to be told that he is known of by someone else whom he has never met—especially if that someone be great.

And by birth the Crown Prince is great. The mistake a good many people make is in thinking that Friedrich Wilhelm has no other greatness except the position given him by birth. Our conception of the Crown Prince that he is a

butterfly, an eternal chaser after pleasure, is absurd. That type of man is harmless; the heir to the German throne is sinister. He works hard. He takes his military duties very seriously. He has worked like a Trojan to perfect himself in military science. He is a keen student of sociology and psychology. He knows the teachings of all the philosophers and runs quite a bit toward Nietzsche, or the "mad man of Weimer," as he is carelessly called. The Crown Prince has been profoundly influenced by the teachings of that vitriolic sage who believes that there are only two kinds of people in the world, the small group at the top and the "herd." The Crown Prince, of course, believes that he belongs to the small group. But he is shrewd enough never to let the "herd" believe that he considers them as such. Instead of that they are "my people"—to be. Because of this skill as an actor, because of his ruthless ideas on divine right, because of his recklessness, of his lack of religious fear—which fear his father has—the Crown Prince is a much more dangerous man than the Kaiser. When the Kaiser is acting a part he shows it. The Imperial phlegm is bound to show. The Crown Prince cleverly conceals it.

HOW HE PLAYS FOR POPULARITY

The German people began to have an idea that the Crown Prince was a decided positive personality at the time that dainty odor rose from the Imperial "Round Table." It seemed that everybody in Berlin knew of the scandal in the Kaiser's entourage except the Kaiser himself. The doings of Eulenburg and Kuno von Moltke had not come to the Kaiser's attention. Everybody was afraid to broach the subject to Wilhelm II. The Crown Prince decided that his father ought to know of the unsavory scandal and clean out his entourage. So he braved the Imperial wrath and brought all the facts before his father. The public scandal that followed was a bitter pill to the German people, but they were grateful to the Crown Prince for having the nerve to drive it out into public—instead of leaving it stinking beneath the surface. It was to be supposed that the Crown Prince fig-

ured out in advance the shrewdness of such a move—its effect on the German people. For it appeared to show him to be indifferent toward the feelings of old aristocratic families and to care only for the welfare of Germany itself.

He gained the popularity of the army five years ago by a master stroke of theatricalism. The Reichstag was debating the Morocco affair. The sentiment of the army was for war with France over the Agidir incident. The diplomatic sentiment, as shown in the speech of the Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollwegg, was for peace. It came the turn of the Junker leader, Heydebrand, to speak. Up to this time the Crown Prince had been quietly sitting in a box listening to a debate. As soon as the *Junker* leader began his speech for war the trim figure of the Crown Prince was seen to lean conspicuously over the box rail. At every utterance for war he conspicuously applauded, personifying the wishes of the army against the then peaceful policy of the Chancellor. From that time on the clever Friedrich Wilhelm was the idol of the German Army.

The army knows him for a daredevil. They know that he is a reckless horseman, that he rode and won a famous steeplechase at the risk of breaking his neck. That he sailed a Zeppelin much to his father's dismay. That he made an aeroplane trip with one of the Wrights, when the aeroplane was not a safe vehicle. That he made a hunting trip through India, risking his life with wild beasts. They know that during this war he has often exposed himself to fire against the wishes of the old Generals assigned to watch him. All these stunts he did to build his reputation—not because he liked to do them. For this recklessness, he received a reprimand from his father. The heir to the throne of Germany must be kept in a glass case; but the Crown Prince is forever breaking the glass. Friedrich Wilhelm resents being kept under key.

HIS INSINCERITY AND VANITY

As he wrote in the famous letter to Count von Hochberg, "Papa talks politics with me once in a while, and I like it."

As he wrote in his diary while in India, "I believe in the dictum of my sainted ancestor, Frederick the Great, and agree with him that people should be allowed to pursue happiness and salvation, each in his own sweet way." That this extract from the Crown Prince's diary has been published would indicate that it was written for publication. Certainly the right of the people to lead their own life, as recorded by the Crown Prince as his belief, is utterly at odds with the thoughts of the conquest group of Germany, whose idol he is. It only goes to show his insincerity. The one phrase, "each in his own sweet way," shows his flippancy and disposition to do whatever he likes. The adjective "sweet" is never used as the Crown Prince used it unless the writer is possessed of an enormous ego.

There is nothing in the Crown Prince's face to show that he is a Hohenzollern. His face lacks the soldierly appearance that stares out from the Imperial visage of Wilhelm II. He has a smile that might indicate a kind heart if one did not remember stories of his youth. How he loves the common people—not! It is to his record that he took part in the golden wedding celebration of a poor Potsdam shoemaker. It is on record that he has stopped his automobile on the highway and picked up tired peasants, giving them a lift to their destination. And how the Germans love to tell these kindly stories of their Crown Prince! Of course, one never hears how he led thousands and thousands of humble shoemakers and poor peasants into the death trap of Verdun, long after there was any military reason for attacking the place, simply because the offensive must be continued to save the reputation of his Imperial Highness. Nor is it told how this hopeless offensive, this hopeless spending of the lives of his soldiers whom the German newspapers say he loves—how this sacrificing of the German "herd" by the thousands, was done to save the Crown Prince's military reputation until a scapegoat could be found. That side of the picture is never considered. A German believes only what he wants to believe.

Falkenhayn was the scapegoat. The failure of the Verdun offensive was blamed on him, not on the Crown Prince.

As a result Falkenhayn was removed as Chief of Staff. Enter the only other man who could save the face of the Crown Prince on an abandonment of Verdun. That man was Hindenburg, idol of the German people. Hindenburg said that because he wished to conduct big military operations in the east, it would be necessary to give up the Verdun attack. Hindenburg's shoulders were big enough to carry this off. So the military reputation of the Crown Prince was saved. With the German people, His Imperial Highness bowed to the wishes of Hindenburg, gave up Verdun—"for his country's good"—and was applauded. Falkenhayn, the "goat," was to be compensated. He was allowed to emerge from the disgrace of being removed as Chief of Staff by being placed in command of the army now conquering Rumania. If Falkenhayn becomes great by that campaign, he will have his reward for being the goat of Verdun. He will go higher even than Field Marshal. . . . And so the prestige of the Crown Prince is manœuvred with consummate skill by the Imperial wire pullers of Germany.

HOW A HERO IS STAGED FOR THE PUBLIC

It is a fact that after the battle of Tannenberg, after Hindenburg was being hailed all over Germany as the "Saviour of East Prussia," that his pictures were put in every shop window. Then those accurate gaugers of German sentiment who sit in the Wilhelmstrasse decided that Hindenburg was overshadowing the Crown Prince. Of course, nobody can overshadow the Kaiser; he really holds the people. It is a fact, that as if by order, every Hindenburg picture along the Linden disappeared. Instead, in every window there appeared a copy of a favorite picture of the Crown Prince—very natty in his Hussar uniform. For some months Crown Prince pictures were the vogue upon which the bovine populace could feast its eyes. Then Friedrich Wilhelm was removed, and, as if by clock work, portraits of Falkenhayn began to appear. After Falkenhayn had a short run, his Imperial Majesty stepped into the limelight of the shop windows. Then, with the attack on Verdun, back came the other

Hohenzollern, Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm. In just such ways the makers of German politics stage alternate heroes for the public mind.

Now, the hands of the Kaiser are strong. His brain is amazingly shrewd. He took a Germany that was just emerging from the band-braying, victory-flushed influence of Bismarck and molded it into a state so cleverly conceived that it retained in Imperial hands all the feudal power of another century, yet apparently gave the Socialistic elements the kind of government that they were demanding. Germany today is a paradox between the absolute type of monarchy and the most Socialistic state on earth. In other words, to make them good, loyal supporters of the Hohenzollern dynasty, the German people have been led to believe that theirs is the most liberal government on earth. Their Socialism is a slave Socialism. This clever narcotic put their minds to sleep for some time. With its wonderful system of monarchical socialism, Imperial Germany filled the stomachs of the German people with food, gave them comfortable beds to sleep on, took provision for their old age—and *exacted absolute obedience from them*. A full belly often kills an active mind.

THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS MUTTERING

But the stress of war has got the German people thinking again. There are mutterings. The German Socialist paper, *Vorwärts*, is suspended periodically. The *Berliner Tageblatt*, organ of the middle class, has also pricked the Imperial Government by its editorial questions. It, too, has been suspended. When Karl Liebknecht, the German Socialist, was sentenced to prison by a military court, there was such a demonstration of protest throughout Germany that rioting followed. On the Leipziger Platz, in Berlin, mounted policemen had to charge and saber the crowd. Now when the war is over the Imperial Government will have to make liberalizing concessions to the German people. The Crown Prince is going to inherit a throne (if he does) that will not be set on the firm rock of divine right, of band braying, and

beery patriotism. His father came to the throne amid such conditions, but Friedrich Wilhelm will not.

He is going to have to deal with the Germany that by the war is being made much more Socialistic than was the Germany just before the war. He is going to have to deal with a population which, when all exultation of patriotism is out of the way, will sit down and figure out how much poorer they are than before war came. It is a people who will mourn the loss of dear ones,—hopelessly asking the question, “What was it all for?” The German people will come to realize that big industry grew rich by the war while they were bled poor. They will see themselves as tools for capital—the Rhineland group. They will find themselves being compelled to bear the heavy burden of reconstruction, heavy taxes or no taxes, but certainly lower wages and lower living conditions.

I believe the Greeks called democracy *Demos*, that they personified him as a sleeping giant. *Demos* is going to wake up—as he woke up in France, as he woke up in England, as he woke up in America. He is going to realize his power and wonder why it is that he has been such a fool in Germany as to be enslaved. The Crown Prince is going to have to handle this spirit of democracy, which shows every sign of breaking loose in Germany. When the German mind is not saturated with the patriotic clamor of the hour, it is a restless mind, persistent after truth. The German philosophers show that. The Crown Prince is going to have to handle a ticklish situation, especially so since the Hohenzollerns cling to the mandate that they are responsible to God and only their own conscience for their acts.

From the way the Crown Prince has played his cards up to date, it would seem that he has rare foresight. Certainly, his every move has been to placate instead of antagonizing the mass of the German people. His every act of recent years has been toward making the people feel that he is a true Democrat. What a clever camouflage—to again fool the people. Consider the unostentatious family automobile in which he runs up and down the Linden. His trick of knowing personally his soldiers in the army—his newspaper inter-

views, that always make him out to weep over the suffering the war is causing his people. His trick of dining with shoemakers on their golden wedding days, of picking up peasants on the road and giving them a lift in the royal car. Compared to him are the American politicians, who love to catch up babies and kiss them in the presence of large crowds. His memory at remembering the name of a man who means absolutely nothing to him is equalled only by Theodore Roosevelt. Reducing it down to American political slang, the Crown Prince is a "hand shaker." But what a clever one! He is so infernally clever in playing to the German people—in bending them to his wishes, that he will be a more dangerous man on the throne of Germany than his father ever could be.

COLONEL WILLIAM BOYCE THOMPSON—ALL AMERICAN

Who Put His Services and Money Behind Russia's
Democracy

By EDWIN WILDMAN

ONCE in a while there arises—or shall I say “descends”?—from the rarefied heights of “success” a man who remembers that he is a human being, and thus gains the normal aspects of the fellowship of men.

“‘Success’ gets them all,” said to me a keen observer of human frailties. “When a fellow who was once just a regular human being makes a few millions and gets up among the ‘Big Guns,’ he generally forgets that the rest of us exist.”

This is too often true. Success—big Success—puts a man on the defensive, and a man constantly on guard against his fellow men soon ceases to be “one of them.” He becomes a self-centered egoist who in acting as a watch-dog of his own interests, gets out of key with the mass of mankind.

Colonel William Boyce Thompson, of Yonkers-on-Hudson, is one of the rare exceptions. He has attained success, the sort of Success that is spelled with a capital “S”—the sort of success that means the possession of millions, and the heavy duties of a man of many great and important affairs, yet Colonel Thompson is a “regular fellow” by all the best standards. He has not lost his grip on affairs to become a bystander in the pageant of life—not at all! He is very much a man of affairs in business, in politics, in philanthropy, and in finance, and yet, at the same time, he is a man with a big heart for his fellow men and with a purse that seems to automatically unclasp itself in the interests of humanity.

Colonel Thompson is "All American"—and we need that brand in this country—a straight thinker, a keen-eyed, open-minded man, who gets in touch with the heart throbs of every man who works and every man who fights.

Perhaps that is why they have played a "joke" on him and are boosting him for the Governorship of New York State. Colonel Thompson, erstwhile of Montana, brought to New York State and to the Nation many valuable ideas. He made his big "pile" in low-grade copper and has released considerable of that pile in high-grade human welfare and national patriotism.

A copper magnate, yet he made the important discovery that American labor is the sinews and backbone of America and is here to stay. He realizes that it must be accounted to, and that wealth is a temporary encumbrance which is not of any particular importance in the balance with human rights and human progress.

His second important discovery was that we Americans are a laboring business people, and that, as a natural consequence, government should be run on business principles; not by the agents of corporate wealth and labor, but by labor itself and by practical men who have come up through labor to its rightful leadership with business control.

BUSINESS MEN NEEDED IN GOVERNMENT

"THIS is a principle that all political parties should adopt," says Colonel Thompson. "The Republican party was the party of the workers who had made good and wanted protection for the product of their labor. We should revert to first principles, and in our government seek business representation, not turn our administrations over to our lawyers who are trained to hold a brief for either side. Our great business enterprises in general have been built by men who were formerly laborers, and it is a mistake for them to send their lawyers to legislate for us and to govern us—we need business men in our halls of legislation, men who know the advanced needs of labor and the product of labor. Labor must have its share, and modern methods of big business are

in coalition with labor—but lawyers frequently do not understand, and are not in touch with the conditions that look to remedial legislation properly to meet the new conditions of American life, essential to preserve our Republican form of government.”

Colonel Thompson is a bright new star in the service flag of Democracy. He has his eyes open to changing conditions. In the vortex of the Russian Revolution he visioned a new insight into the cry of the people for a betterment of conditions—a change which would yield to every one a greater part in the good things of life.

Commissioned a Lieutenant-Colonel and sent to Russia with the American Red Cross Mission, Colonel Thompson gained a knowledge of Russian character and of Russian political affairs that should be an asset to American diplomacy in dealing with that bewildered nation. He obtained an insight into the psychology underlying the Russian Revolution, and with it came a comprehension of the difficulties encountered by those remote from the scene in understanding a social upheaval not only political but economic in its character.

“The Tsar’s autocratic control sought to impose its authority from above,” he says. “The Soviet Government, on the other hand, has its roots in the masses; it comes up from below, and its political strength lies in the fact that its base rests upon local self-governing bodies. The Tsar’s government was destroyed by taking away from it the support of the army. The Kerensky government collapsed when his Ministers in the Winter Palace were surrounded. To destroy the Soviet Government it will be necessary to destroy cohesion between the local Soviets, which constitute through their representatives the Central Russian Government.

“At the time the Soviets seized control of the Government they were dominated by the Bolsheviki, who immediately, with great activity, began to advocate their radical and impossible theories. As was naturally to be expected, the Soviets are finding out by experience that such theories will not work in practice, and as time goes on their proceed-

ings are characterized by a growing spirit of moderation. This amelioration of their earlier uncompromising attitude is partly influenced by the peasants, whose interests are tied up with the land, and who are beginning to take a larger share in the control. The Bolsheviki will pass—and with their passing, I believe, will come a more stable government. If the recovery is brought about by a process of evolution, all will be well, but if the change occurs by counter-revolution it will put Germany in control of Russia.

IN RUSSIA FOR THE RED CROSS

“In judging the Russian situation one must remember that their freedom came suddenly—by Revolution; and Revolution, as the word itself implies, is a period of rude and abrupt changes, in which many hasty and ill-considered acts are committed, giving every opportunity for radical theorists and irresponsible adventurers to exploit themselves. In this respect the history of all revolutions is the same. But as the storm subsides the inevitable forces of law and order resume their sway.”

While in Petrograd Colonel Thompson gave active assistance to groups of Russian patriots who were trying to hold Russia in the war. These groups Colonel Thompson helped in their work of spreading a wide propaganda among over a hundred newspapers opposing the bestowal of power on the Soviet, which was gradually being dominated by the Bolsheviki leaders, who were early advocating a general armistice and peace with the Central Powers. He “chummed” with the great leaders of the Revolution—the leaders of long standing, not the opportunists of the moment—and gave powerful assistance to them in the work of sending forth lecturers and propaganda direct to the people, assuring them of the confidence and interest of the United States in their ideals and in their aspirations for democracy—but trying to make them understand that a democratic Russia cannot survive side by side with an autocratic Germany; that the land so much desired would not be theirs at all unless the Germans were overthrown; that they must stay

in the war and fight for a democratic victory, or else go back ultimately to an autocratic government again.

And while he was doing this he watched intently Kerensky's efforts at the coalition experiment, and as his knowledge of Russian Revolutionary psychology grew deeper, he came to see more and more clearly the weakness of the Kerensky regime. He saw the inevitable approaching, and he worked with feverish energy to make the critical situation clear to the people back home; to show them the imminence of the danger to the Allied cause, that he was working hard in Russia to prevent. He saw German propaganda, unopposed, impregnating the country like a snake's venom, and as the poison spread it paralyzed resistance to the monster lying in wait for its prey. Impatient at delay, in the face of such a situation, he put his hand in his own pocket and encroached heavily on his private fortune to keep Russian bayonets on the Eastern front.

Probably the world will never know one-half of the true story of his struggles there in behalf of Russia for his country's sake, his efforts to keep Russia together for the Allies, the discouragements that came to him through lack of understanding of the situation by all the Allies. Few even of his most intimate friends realized the deep personal sacrifices he was making, and his big-hearted charity. It was during those trying days from August 7th, when he reached Petrograd, until November 29th, when he left, that he learned the things which gave him his faith in the future of the Russians.

SUMMARY OF THE RUSSIAN PROBLEM

HE did his best, and his "best" seems almost more than any other man could have done. Eagerly he purchased 500,000 roubles of the Russian Liberty Loan; freely he gave a million dollars from his private purse to help Russia and the cause of the Allies in Russia. The idea was to educate the Russians, to influence them to stay in the war; to prevent the overthrow of the coalition government and show the nation that it could only make democracy secure by fighting the autocracy of the Kaiser. Only a small handful of people

know the delays he met, of the disappointments that were his, of the hopes held out and suddenly dashed. While Germany was infesting every quarter of the country with her agents and spies, her propaganda and her unlimited capital, Colonel Thompson sought to counteract this and to hold Russia together for the Allies.

His problems in Russia were enough to stagger a congress of skilled statesmen, diplomats and financiers, and to face them practically alone was his task, to be unable to secure the prompt co-operation necessary, to see what he hoped to see achieved made possible at the crucial eleventh hour, were some of his many disappointments.

The Russian problems, at the time he volunteered to go there, were:

1. How to assist Russia and keep her actively fighting in the Entente Alliance.
2. Failing in No. 1, how to prevent Russia from making a separate peace.
3. Failing in Nos. 1 and 2, how to prevent Russia being used by Germany as the mightiest instrument in the world against the Allies.

In August, 1917, when he reached Petrograd, the situation was desperate, far more desperate than the public here could possibly realize. This situation he tried to make clear in his frequent cable reports to this country. He speedily got in touch with Kerensky and made it clear to him that while in Russia he was determined to do everything possible to assist that country in obtaining an orderly democracy that would be co-operative with democratic America.

Every prominent American in Russia was overjoyed at Colonel Thompson's presence, and cabled home to that effect. Every cable was practically of the same tone:

"Situation here critical. Thompson's plan of utmost importance to save situation."

Colonel Thompson was not working for the Red Cross alone, nor for Russia alone, but for his own country. The United States was in the war. Being "All-American," and grasping the situation with the thoroughness of a native, he

struggled with the great problem. He knew of the danger. On September 27th, he cabled to America: "We are living on a volcano."

MAKING IT CLEAR TO LLOYD GEORGE

THEN came delays, and more delays, and still more delays. Great sums were needed quickly, but they never became available, and when help did come, it was too late. Reaction and German propaganda had sown dissolution, and the government, which was seeking to hold the soldiers in the trenches, fell. The Soviet took power. The result had been a loss all along the Western Front that billions could not replace. Some time, perhaps, the full history of Colonel Thompson's work will be written. When it is, it will place him higher than ever in public esteem. He never wavered, he never lost hope; he fought it out to the last and came back to the United States to urge that we should never abandon Russia, but oppose the Germans and extend aid to any government Russia might have so long as it was anti-German. He felt that the Soviet would last many months, and he wanted us to do everything to check the German advance eastward.

On his way back, Mr. Lloyd George in London asked him to describe the exact situation. Being a skilled lumberman, as well as miner, business man, financier, manufacturer, and investigator, the Colonel told England's Premier the situation in the language of a log-driver:

"The situation," he said to England's Prime Minister, "reminds me of a log drive at an American lumber camp. The skilled lumberman seeks to avoid getting his logs into the river before the water has reached high mark in the spring freshets, because if the water is still rising it throws the logs in upon the banks and leaves them there when the water lowers. The ideal method is to judge accurately the rising water, and at the first sign of falling, dump the logs in. The constantly lowering water draws the logs toward the middle and carries them off to the mill.

"Kerensky, unfortunately, vainly tried to handle his

'logs' in a rising stream. His logs were law and order, the stream the constant increase in the demand of the masses of soldiers and workers for the complete exercise of power and the elimination of government."

Mr. Lloyd George was amazed and delighted at the Colonel's simile. It gave him the clearest understanding of the situation.

Back in America, just as before he left, Colonel Thompson evidenced his "All-Americanism" by plunging into everything that would help out the Government, that would speed up the war, that would in any manner prove beneficial to the country in general and to those who were doing their all for it, in particular. He accepted the Chairmanship of the Corporations Committee of the Red Cross, and that Committee raised more than twenty millions of dollars in the Second Red Cross Drive.

"HIGH GRADE" THINKING

I HAVE said that Colonel Thompson made his "pile" in low grade copper, which is true, but he did not shovel it out of the mines in pure, rich ingots. He made his low grade copper bring him wealth by means of high-grade thinking.

"To shovel it into carts by manpower, and transport it by mule or horsepower will never pay," he declared.

"To move it by means of mechanical power at the lowest possible cost is the solution of this problem," he told his confreres, and he brought this about, acquired large interests in the Utah Copper Company, became a member of the Board of Directors, and made investigations that led him to Globe, Arizona, and to the development of the Inspiration property there.

"Thompson is wasting millions," people said when he was perfecting the organization of Inspiration. It did look that way. It cost \$17,000,000 to do this.

"He will never get a cent of it back," the wiseacres declared. Colonel Thompson knew better.

Every cent of that expenditure of \$17,000,000 was

cleared in the first year of operations! His success increased—he became more and more of a power in financial and industrial life.

He has been a Director of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York since its organization in 1914. He is also a Director of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and President of the Magma Arizona Railroad Company. This in addition to his directorships in both the Utah and the Nevada Consolidated Copper Companies, and his Presidency of Inspiration Copper Company. He was a Republican Elector in 1912, and a National Convention Delegate in 1916, while his mining, banking and manufacturing enterprises are varied and many, and all flourishing, which is due alone to his mastery in supervision, his intimate detailed and technical knowledge, his careful investigation, and his untiring executive ability.

His masterly handling of the great Inspiration copper mining enterprise, which he initiated and made a world-famous property, is an example of his painstaking, his patience, his determination to be sure he was right and that he possessed a knowledge of every fact and detail before going ahead. Then nothing could swerve him in his progress. He knew, after his research, that low-grade copper could be made exceedingly profitable if a way could be devised to handle mammoth tonnage at low cost, but he did not attempt to handle this grade of ore until he had first devised means of handling in paying quantities.

PUT DAYLIGHT INTO THE DAYLIGHT-SAVING BILL

AND so it has been, all through his forty-nine years. He used his head, he used his common sense, his judgment acquired through years of hard work, study and straight thinking. It is due to Colonel Thompson that we are saving a million or more tons of coal this year, and preventing the paralysis of many important industries through a shortage of fuel, for he, as Chairman of the Westchester County Commission of Safety, got United States Senator William M. Calder to introduce the Daylight-Saving Bill, which became

a law early in the year. Shortly after the passage of this bill Senator Calder wrote:

MY DEAR COLONEL THOMPSON:

I presume that you are pleased that you have added to your laurels by the passage of the Daylight-Saving Bill; so that in years to come, when other things are forgotten, you can say, "I am the man who started this movement in a practical way."

SENDS WESTCHESTER SOLDIERS "PAPERS FROM HOME"

ONE day he learned that some of the Westchester County boys in training camps far from home were like school kids around a hokey-pokey cart, upon the arrival of a "paper from home." Such newspapers were few and far between.

"Tough luck!" exclaimed the Colonel, "when a boy has given up home comforts and all else and gone into the service of his country, if he can't even get the printed news about his home people." He gave thought to it, in his usual careful manner.

"I'll send every Westchester County boy who is serving in either the Army or the Navy a copy of whichever home paper he prefers!" exclaimed Colonel Thompson. And to-day wherever it is possible for the mails to deliver them, whether here or abroad, every Westchester County boy whose address he has been able to get hold of is getting the newspaper of his choice that tells about the people he knows, about the activities in and around his home. He did this by preparing a blank for the next of kin of each boy in service to fill out, giving name, rank, address, and name of paper probably desired. Also a blank to be used for keeping the addresses as that boy is moved about.

Fifty-seven newspapers are published in twenty-seven cities and towns in Westchester County. More than seven thousand of the "boys" soon will be getting them at Colonel Thompson's expense.

"I wish I were able to send every man in the service his home paper," declared the Colonel. But he has urged others who are able to do this, to follow his lead, and already

many are taking it up, so that not only do those seven thousand boys benefit directly through him, but a great many other thousands will shortly benefit indirectly through his example and his campaign to have others take up his "Home Paper Service," as he calls it.

Phillips Exeter Academy has always held a warm place in Colonel Thompson's heart. On Founder's Day in 1915 he suddenly remembered that day on October 8th. Founder's Day was October 9th. He found it impossible to go. Knowing that Thomas W. Lamont, Class of '88, would be present, he sent him a special delivery letter to be read at the exercises. This letter contained the Colonel's check for \$100,000 for a swimming pool and gymnasium for his beloved Academy, and that was not half of what he finally contributed.

His home at Yonkers-on-Hudson is an object of interest to all visitors. It is a restful breathing spot, a soothing playground where he goes after the stress of his varied business interests. His flowers are famous. His Flower Show prizes are many. And he knows all about those flowers and how to grow them. That is his method—to be thoroughly acquainted with everything he undertakes.

It is the same with his mineral collection. He has the finest private collection of minerals, precious, and semi-precious stones in the world. This collection comes nearest to anything of being his hobby. When a little boy out in the rugged Montana Mountains he began to collect minerals, and in his collection today are many beautiful gems that he picked up when a youngster of twelve. He has personally collected a great many of these specimens, journeying to many parts of the world solely for the purpose of securing them with his own hands from their natural locations. This collection is kept in a guarded vault, so arranged by a marvelous system of lighting that every jewel and every mineral is set off to best advantage.

The Colonel was married in 1895 to Gertrude, daughter of Richard O. Hickman of Helena, Montana, and has one daughter, wife of Lieutenant Theodore Schulze of St. Paul.

Just how he manages to find time for sleeping or eating

with all of his interests seems puzzling. Almost any one of his enterprises would be sufficient to keep the average man as busy as he would care to be. Yet aside from his activities so briefly touched upon, the Colonel devotes much time to the welfare of his county.

He is vice-president of the Rocky Mountain Club of New York, and helped in securing an endorsement from his club of the Hoover Fund for the relief of the children in Belgium. He is a member of the Board of Managers of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, and is also a member of the Union League, Metropolitan, Columbia University, Hudson River County, Sleepy Hollow, Republican, and Ardsley Clubs, and a Fellow of the American Geographical Society.

Big, breezy, cheerful, open-hearted and unspoiled by great success, Colonel Thompson is, above everything else, all-American. Every successful man has his pet recipe for success. Colonel Thompson's is simple enough, to speak it, but it necessitates concentration and good hard work to put it in practice. It is:

"Patience. Persistence. Be sure that you know all about what you are going after, and why you are going after it, before you start out."

OUR PARTNERS FOR LIBERTY

By HON. ROBERT LANSING

SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES

TO-DAY this Republic stands with the democracies of the earth arrayed in battle against the most relentless enemy of human liberty which the ages have produced. To save this country of ours and to save the civilized world from Prussianism has become the supreme duty of the American people and of all other peoples who love justice and freedom.

In this titanic struggle we are joined not only with France, our historic ally, but also with Great Britain, our ancient foe. On the blood-stained fields of France we three, together with Italy, Belgium, and Portugal, are standing shoulder to shoulder against the plunderers. Our traditional friendship for France, which can never be forgotten, and our traditional

enmity for Great Britain, which is forgotten, are swallowed up in this supreme crisis of liberty, our common heritage. The grave perils to our lives as nations unite us with bonds of steel as our armies face the foe of all mankind.

I am proud that in these terrible days we are associated with the tenacious warriors of Britain; I am proud that with our blood we can on French soil prove the affection which we cherish for the French people; I am proud that Italy, superb in her determined resistance, is our partner in this conflict, and that the indomitable spirit of the Belgians and Serbs is a living inspiration to gallant deeds and noble sacrifice. I am proud, as I know every American is proud, to be thus united with the nations which hate Prussianism and loathe the evil desires which it engenders in the hearts of men.

Convinced of the righteousness of our cause and of our destiny, let us make war with all our energy. Let us keep our banners unfurled and our trumpets sounding to battle until victory is achieved.

BOY SOLDIERS OF THE SOIL

The Hundred Thousand Boys Who Are Helping With
Our Crops This Year

By WALTER P. McGUIRE

[MANAGING EDITOR "THE AMERICAN BOY"]

A HUNDRED thousand boys are on farms this summer, serving their country as truly as are those other "boys," but a few years older, who are wearing uniforms of the Army or Navy. These are not farmers' sons, but inexperienced boys from cities, towns and villages who have enrolled to help cultivate and harvest our crops.

Despite their inexperience the result of their summer labors will mean food for a million men for half a year, millions of dollars in profits to the farmers and the release of laborers so greatly needed in other occupations.

More than half of the 200,000 boys who enrolled for this work were sent out on the farms, only the physically fit boys above 16 being accepted. These fellows are just too old to be boys, not quite old enough to be men; too old for the khaki of the Boy Scouts, not old enough for the khaki of the Army. They are in their upper teens—upper teens fighting the good fight for Uncle Sam. They are taking a big part in our National life, a big part in the war itself, these members of the United States Boys' Working Reserve.

It is a sensible and beneficial plan, beneficial to the country and the boys alike, organized by the United States Department of Labor in co-operation with the United States Department of Agriculture, endorsed by the President, all of the war leaders and state governors and directed by conscientious men of proved ability.

Parents are encouraging their boys to join. Business men are encouraging them too. The President of the Detroit Board of Commerce, a big employer, addressing a mass meeting of older boys in the Board's auditorium, told them: "Ordinarily, boys, we are glad to have you come into our stores and factories for work in the summer vacation, for we need you, but we don't want you in such jobs this year. Your place is on the farms. There you can serve your country best. If you fellows don't do the farm work, the women will have to do it." Industrial leaders all over the country are talking the same way. It is an indication of how wide is the recognition of the supreme importance of the older boys doing *this* kind of war work.

This situation and this prospect are so familiar that they require no argument or emphasis. It is not so clear, however, what other results will come from the enrollment of boys for farm work in vacation time.

MORE THAN WAGES AND HEALTH

FARM work will give the boy not only wages, not only health and strength. It will give him an understanding which he cannot obtain otherwise of the people who form almost a majority of our population—of the character of those people, their social condition, their school and home problems, their patriotism, their political ideals, their personal aspirations. This will vitalize sociology, as a school subject, for the boy, and will be of benefit to him whatever his life work may be.

The marvelous processes of nature, seen through a season on the farm, will mean more to him than several years of book study of nature. Every item in his physiography will gain significance. Economics students will gain knowledge, at first hand, of America's fundamental industry; such terms as production, marketing, speculation, supply and demand, wages, prices, by-products, transportation, will have a very definite meaning.

Moreover, the experience will give him a rich heritage—the everlasting memory of days close to nature—of brilliant

sunrises over a lovely land, of the vast quiet of open places, of gorgeous sunsets at the end of days spent in the best of endeavors, that of helping to fill a primary need of man. And it may, probably will, develop in him an understanding and love of animals, of rivers, of birds, of the very earth itself, to which he might, probably would, remain a stranger through life but for his summer on a farm.

But, more concretely, think what it will mean to the boy just to know how to saddle a horse, to hitch up a team, to plow straight, to run a mower, and to see and play a part in that grand drama of the farm—harvesting and threshing.

There will be time for sport—and the finest playground in the world will be all about him. Swimming in the creek or lake, fishing, riding horseback, pitching horseshoes with the neighbors—nights of deep, sound, strengthening sleep, and up in the morning feeling as though he could carry a whole football team on his back. . . . And to bed at night feeling as though he had!

It won't be child's play. His comrade under arms didn't go into the war because it was *easy*. The boy wouldn't shame him by thinking that he did. He went into it because it was the right thing to do. The boy who goes into farm service for his country will go for the same reason. It is the only way to put it up to him. So put up, boys respond eagerly—sons of the rich as eagerly as sons of the poor.

The patriotic purpose makes rough places smooth—and from this labor will come that satisfaction which comes from the doing of one's national duty in a time of national trial—a satisfaction that will endure in the boy and in all who love him.

When the boy of today is a man and has boys of his own, they're going to ask him questions about the Great War. One of the questions will be, "Were you in it?" It will not suffice to say that he was too young to bear arms—in that war in which *everybody* had to fight. How glad he will be if he possesses the bronze badge of the Reserve, with its pendant bar inscribed "Honorable Service—1918"—evidence to all the world that he responded when his coun-

try called. . . . How ashamed he will be if he has to tell his children that he did nothing—and how disappointed they will be in him!

Such are the valid arguments presented to boys and their parents in this unusual crusade. Everywhere boys are enrolling—thousands upon thousands of them. The school authorities, as a rule, have been quick to see not only the economic need but the educational advantages of the plan and have made arrangements that permit the “soldier of the soil” to leave school when needed on the farm—in most places around May 1—without losing his scholastic standing. Some school boards, indeed, have appropriated money to employ men teachers throughout the summer to visit regularly the boys on the farms, to see to it that the working and living conditions are not detrimental and that the boy does for the farmer an honest job. Where school men are not employed, volunteers will do this supervision work—bankers, merchants, lawyers, pastors, Y. M. C. A. men. The Government’s plan for the protection of the boy is thorough. That is one reason why the educational advantages are so great.

TRAINING BOYS FOR THIS SERVICE

THE adaptability of the American to unusual demands of an extraordinary situation is illustrated by the quick organization of new instruction methods for these recruits. In more than a majority of the high schools of all agricultural states rudimentary courses in agriculture have been introduced. For these classes the Department of Agriculture and the state agricultural colleges have prepared and published special bulletins which give instruction on the material and equipment of a farm and how to use them, the common processes of farming (the chores, feeding and care of horses, cattle and pigs; care of the harness, plowing, disking, making the seed bed, sowing, planting, cultivating, etc.).

But they give something more which is of especial importance to the farmer, in a dollar and cents way, and to the boy educationally. They give plain, common-sense, straightforward counsel on the attitude of the boy toward his job and

his employer. For example, a bulletin written for the Boys' Working Reserve in Illinois, and used in other states, tells the boy:

Don't get "cocky" when you have learned a few things. There is nearly always a better way than the one you have learned.

Guard against abuse or damage to any animals, machinery, or other equipment of the farm.

Do all in your power by forethought, and hard work, to *prevent* losses to your employer, whether of equipment or of crop. Preventing loss, avoiding waste, are even more important than production itself.

Keep things "picked up." Know where things belong, and if you use a wrench or other tool, clean it after using it and put it back in its place. Keep doors and gates shut and do not expect others to pick up after you, to do your work, or to inquire whether you have fed the pigs.

Do what you can to win the confidence of your employer.

Accept responsibility, and having accepted it, do not break down. The common failing is unwillingness to accept and carry responsibility, and the next most common failing is inability through previous thoughtlessness.

Your faithfulness and efficiency must not depend upon your wages. Whatever your pay, you owe it to everybody, yourself included, to do your best.

Be clean, physically, morally and mentally. Only clean men can carry heavy responsibilities without breaking down.

Be considerate of all the courtesies due your employer, not only in a business way upon the farm, but in a social way while in his house as a member of his family. Do not track in mud. Do not talk too much. You owe it to yourself as well as to the household and the community to be a gentleman always.

Be a real member of the community you enter. Don't look down upon nor up to others of your own age, but be a good fellow in the best sense of the term. So shall you avoid being either a Prig or a Dub.

What better "education" than this could a boy get in school—or in Sunday school?

YOUNG SOLDIERS OF THE SOIL

THE Reserve's instruction program doesn't stop with "book farming" and counsel on conduct. In Chicago, Detroit, Kansas City, Boise, Denver—in nearly every city, in fact—the enrolled boys are taken in small groups to farm machinery factories or salesrooms where a practical man not only shows them how to operate farm machines but lets them run them; not only tells the boys how the machines are made but lets them take the contrivances apart and put them together again. And they go further with these classes: on certain days they let the boys do all the work, in relays, at the stables of companies using many teams—the feeding, watering, currying, harnessing, hitching and bedding of the horses.

Now it is to be remembered that these "soldiers of the soil" are not the casual day-workers who so often drift onto the farms in season—men who have no particular qualification, of education or experience, for agricultural work, who may have worked for years at other jobs, their habits already fixed, their versatility, their adaptability, low. The "boy" comes with almost every qualification—the strength of youth, and youth's resilience; the enthusiasm that is peculiar to the boy; an eagerness to learn and a mind that has done little but learn for years and is free from prejudices and preconceptions; perhaps experience in athletics which has taught him, without his knowing it, the value and the benefits of "team play"—cooperation; and, not the least, a tremendous incentive to do his utmost which arises from the patriotic impulse that prompted him to volunteer for "war work" of this particular kind.

To be sure, "boys" are not as strong as men—as some men—but the boys of the Boys' Working Reserve are all over 16, many are near 20, not a few are trained athletes in good "condition." The enrolling officers make every effort to eliminate those who are not physically fit for the hard work of the farm. No one can see these enrolled boys, as I have seen them, hundreds of them in many cities, can fail to remark their stalwartness. Such strength as they have, coupled

with the other qualities mentioned, if properly employed, will mean food for millions—and millions of dollars to American farmers.

The only uncertainty seems to lie in the attitude of the farmer. "Conservative" as he is—or, rather, not accustomed to accommodating himself to changed conditions and new "tools"—he has been slow to do his part in this crusade upon which so much depends. Reserve officials in all states have been trying for months to ascertain which farmers will need "hands" in the spring, and how many, but the farmers have not responded. They were incredulous: heretofore they just sent to employment agencies in the cities and asked for men when they wanted them, and men came. It has been almost impossible for them, in their isolation from the tremendous movements of war, to realize that when they call this year, men will *not* come—that there are no men *to* come.

WISE FARMERS WANT THE BOYS

THE danger is that they will awaken to the situation too late; that, when laborers do not appear, they will have to leave this "forty," or that "sixty," or the "eighty" over the creek, unplanted. Unplanted forties, sixties, eighties all over the country will mean an enormous loss of food. They have shied at "boy labor." No, sir, they don't want to have a kid bothering around—they haven't time to teach a know-nothing. And, in, addition, there has been an everlasting haggling on wages.

But in some places great headway has been made—headway that is so encouraging as to presage the entire success of the Reserve's farm plan—next year, if not this year. Two circumstances are especially favorable. Nearly every farmer who employed a boy of the Reserve in the short experiment made last year, called for one or more boys this spring. Farmers who have seen and talked with enrolled boys and seen their work in instruction classes in the cities have been enthusiastic about the prospect and many of them have gone back to their home districts and spread the news, creating a real "demand" for Reserve boys. A good record by the

boys this year—by the majority of them; of course some, being not only boys but boyish, will “flunk out”—will remove all existing prejudice. Then we will have added at least a quarter of a million men—possibly half a million—to our “fighting line.”

And beyond this “fighting,” beyond the education of the boy referred to, there will be a gain immeasurable—the gain that will come from the mingling in this way of folks of the country with folks of the town—a better understanding of the true character of each “set of folks,” of their likeness in fundamentals, of their kindred, inseparable interests and problems both of business and of politics.

TEARS

By LEONIE DAVIS COLLISTER

I ONLY wish to weep.
Perhaps my tears may cool the scorch
Of those hot winds
That life has pressed against my soul;
Perhaps, through weeping,
I may see the rainbow of some dream.
One tear may catch a gleam of light,
And set a star against the dusk.

IS TOBACCO ESSENTIAL?

WE ARE ABOLISHING ALCOHOL—WHAT ABOUT TOBACCO?

NOTE: In this symposium, the FORUM, following its symposium on "Can Man Live Without Drink," presents the views of a number of eminent physicians and psychologists on the question "Is Tobacco Essential?" Tobacco is being used in enormous quantities, especially by the nation's fighting men. Is it an aid to the spirit, a stimulant, harmless in proper use?

"Have a Cigar?" an Avenue to Sociability

By SIMON BARUCH, M.D.

(Famous Surgeon and Author, in practise since 1862)

"**I** S Tobacco Essential?" I would reply in the negative, if you mean that it is indispensable to health and life. The same may be said of alcohol. Men may live without either. But when you ask "Is tobacco an aid to the spirit, harmless in proper use to the human system?" I would answer in the affirmative, just as I would with regard to alcohol.

The difference, however, is very great in that when alcohol is used improperly or in excessive doses it is certain to produce disease and death; whereas this cannot be said of even the improper use of tobacco. I have seen in a practice of over half a century many men made very ill and some die from the excessive use of alcohol. I have seen but few men made ill, very few made very ill, and only one, an alcoholic, in whom tobacco has borne a large share in producing the lethal result. I have rarely had occasion to advise a patient to stop smoking moderately.

I am a non-smoker, because my first attempt at smoking a pipe was made at the age of nineteen and the usual distressing effect deterred me from repeating it. I have regretted it in later years, because I have observed the beneficent effects of the moderate use of tobacco among my asso-

ciates and patients. "Have a cigar?" is a frequent avenue to sociability. This I have often missed in my intercourse with men.

"Tobacco is a weed that calms but not harms." In the Civil War I served three years in active campaigns. I have been a prisoner of war twice. I have spent many lonely hours in country practice, riding miles by day and by night. When I look back upon those days I realize, by comparison with what I have observed in others, how much comfort and satisfaction a good smoke would have given me.

So far as the "health and fighting spirit of our men over there" is concerned, I would say that the moderate use of tobacco will surely enhance it. I know no agent which produces more calmness to perturbed nerves. In the army the use of tobacco may much more readily be controlled than in civil life. For this reason I would urge those who would give pleasure, comfort and restoration from great fatigue and nerve-rack to send our boys tobacco.

Cigars Spoil Shooting Score

By IRVING FISHER, PH.D.

(Professor of Political Economy, Yale University)

THERE seems to be no question as to the harmful effects of the "excessive" use of tobacco. As to its moderate use, it cannot truthfully be said that such use will do more than moderate damage. Most people will not indulge in tobacco sufficiently to cause a definite case of "tobacco heart," but some damage is done long before that state.

A series of experiments conducted in several different psychic fields among students who smoked showed a marked loss of mental efficiency immediately after the period of smoking was completed. Experiments in the effect of smoking on rifle shooting show that even one cigar spoils the shooting score about fifteen per cent. These results, as well as the results of similar experiments, are very significant for everyone. They especially bring into very serious doubt the popular idea that tobacco in the trenches helps steady the

nerves of the soldier in his aim and constitute strong evidence to the contrary.

I am not prepared, without further study, to advocate the total and immediate abstinence from tobacco by those in the trenches who have long been addicted to the habit; I most certainly would not advocate that they should be prohibited from using tobacco. To them it has come to be regarded as a solace and they overlook the nervous reaction involved. But those soldiers and sailors who do not already smoke should be urged not to acquire the habit and those who do smoke should be cautioned to exercise moderation. They have a right to know what smoking will do to their nerves and hearts.

The line separating "excessive" from "moderate" is always an elusive boundary, and my personal conclusion after some study of the subject is that it behooves the man who wishes to keep physically fit to omit tobacco from his daily schedule, whether he is at home or in the trenches.

Tobacco Better Than Alcohol

By WILLIAM A. WHITE

(Superintendent of the United States Government Hospital for the Insane)

NO, tobacco is not essential. The so-called tobacco habit, like alcohol and drug habits, has a psychological foundation, but the tobacco in itself is not nearly so injurious as either the average drug, such as morphine or alcohol. Like them, it has a margin of usefulness in promoting social contacts, but is much less harmful, and therefore there is not the same necessity for agitating against its use. The moderate use of tobacco by a healthy adult probably has no appreciable effect upon his general health. The same thing might be said about the use of tobacco in general by those who have no special idiosyncrasy for it. I mean especially the people who are not made nervous, fidgety and sleepless by it. These people are made decidedly uncomfortable and probably should not use tobacco. Other persons, especially those who are

more or less soothed and quieted by it, are probably not appreciably harmed. Here again, as with the drug users and the alcoholics, it is only those of poor personality make-up who indulge extremely and who are appreciably injured.

Don't Abolish Tobacco

By G. STANLEY HALL

(President of Clark University)

OF course a man can live without tobacco; but I would very seriously object to having it abolished. Moreover, smoking is so common in the camps, and has been approved by so many military authorities, that this is not the time to even raise this question.

As for myself, I learned smoking relatively late in life, but am certain that it has done me good. A cigar after the hearty meal, in the first place, generally means more or less repose. One does not work intensely the first half-hour after dinner, if one smokes. Moreover, for temperaments like mine, it acts as a sedative. I have done more and better work since I began to smoke, and I have repeatedly left off for weeks at a time to see if I could note any difference for the worse, but have always failed to do so. The cigarette habit for young boys is in every way bad; but for those engaged in very strenuous out-of-door work,—and, I am inclined to add, for a certain type of brain worker,—it is a good thing. I am familiar with the physiological experiments which show the more or less toxic effects of nicotine, but there are mild poisons in many things that we eat, and these experiments are, in my judgment, by no means conclusive argument against it.

I am a strong advocate of moderate smoking for elderly men. Several of my acquaintances have begun to smoke at my suggestion, and in every case their experience has been like mine. Temperance is essential, but total abstinence here for all is folly. That it is urged is a good instance of Americanitis, which finds extremes always easiest and feels the safe middle way to be dangerous.

No Time to Campaign Against Tobacco

By CHARLES W. ELIOT

(President Emeritus of Harvard University)

TOBACCO is certainly not an essential. The European races got along pretty well without it until after the middle of the sixteenth century. It is incredible that the habitual absorption into the human body of so powerful a poison as nicotine should be harmless. There is no doubt, however, that the use of the drug gives a physical gratification of the kind called narcotic. The common enjoyment of tobacco by soldiers is evidence that it is a solace for unnatural excitements and fatigues. In all probability it can be more safely used by men who live a rough life out of doors than by sedentary people. Its use among students, scholars and professional men in general is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, after a long period of observation, invariably injurious.

The present moment does not seem to me a good time to start a campaign against tobacco.

Should Be Considered a Drug

By EUGENE LYMAN FISK, M.D.

(Medical Director, Life Extension Institute)

THIS question may be answered in the negative even more emphatically than in the case of alcohol. Tobacco is a comparatively recent addition to man's devices for evading a square stand-up fight with his environment. Before the middle of the sixteenth century the use of tobacco was confined to the American Indian. Some people, who have linked the downfall of Russia to prohibition, might by a parity of reasoning link the downfall of the American Indian to tobacco, the reasoning being equally silly in either case.

In the seventeenth century smokers' noses were cut off in Russia, but that did not prevent smoking from becoming a national indulgence. These historical references enable us to say positively that tobacco is not essential to the health, happiness and well-being of humanity—that is, civilized humanity—inasmuch as humanity managed to get along without it prior to the sixteenth century.

The question as to whether tobacco contributes anything

worth while to the mental or physical well-being of mankind is a different matter and one that reasonable men can debate. If man had no psychic life we might say unreservedly that tobacco is a poison and wholly without merit. It is quite evident, however, from the large consumption of tobacco that men find some form of mental satisfaction in its use, some escape from life strain, and the question for the hygienist to consider is whether the cost paid for such indulgence is too high and whether tobacco, like other drug indulgences, does not contribute to enfeeble the will power and deter men from seeking constructive rather than destructive agencies for the relief of life strain.

Tobacco does not produce visible intoxication except in its initial use, when it frequently causes nausea and palpable symptoms of intense poisoning. This intoxication is quite different from that of alcohol and does not lead to the collateral vicious indulgences that characterize alcoholic excess.

Tobacco must be considered more as a drug *per se*. Those who use it are entitled to know the full extent of its drug effects. It is quite possible that the present tremendous increase in the use of tobacco may be fraught with more harm than alcoholic indulgence because of the very insidious nature of its influence. Tobacco is being showered upon our soldiers with no word of warning as to its ill effects. That tobacco may be permissible simply as a drug indulgence under trying conditions of battle and war strain may be conceded by men who object to its use under ordinary circumstances.

Major Lelein, of the British Army Medical Corps, whose work on military hygiene is a text book in our Army Medical Schools, states, regarding soldiers on the march: "Smoking should be forbidden, because it causes thirst, tremor and rapid heart, muscular relaxation, loss of visual acuity, and shortness of wind." He speaks of its mild narcotic effects when used in moderation—for example, two pipefuls a day—and that its soothing effect may then be beneficial.

Another military authority, Captain John Parkinson of the Royal Army Medical Corps, after experiment and investigation reports that his observations show "that in health the

smoking of a single cigarette by an habitual smoker usually raises the pulse rate and blood pressure perceptibly, and these effects are a little more pronounced in cases of 'soldier's heart.' Moreover, the smoking of a few cigarettes can render healthy men more breathless on exertion and manifestly does so in a large proportion of these patients." He concludes that while cigarette smoking is not the essential cause of "soldier's heart," it is an important contributory factor. ("Soldier's heart" has been a frequent cause of discharge in the British Army.)

Other observations are those of Dr. George J. Fisher, which have shown the deleterious effect of tobacco on blood pressure, accuracy in athletic work and rifle shooting. If tobacco indulgence during the terrible strain of active warfare prevents the soldiers from going insane or from succumbing to the nervous strain, these other considerations may have little weight as compared to such a gain, but we believe that the soldier should be warned of the danger of establishing the tobacco habit under ordinary circumstances and we strongly protest against any propaganda for fastening upon this nation the tobacco habit at a time when the burden of alcoholism is about to be lifted.

There is enough nicotine in the average cigar to kill a man if he should swallow it. Continual puffing of such a deadly poison is no laughing matter. We must carefully distinguish between the immediate emergency need that the soldiers may have for tobacco in time of stress and the need of the average citizen or soldier under ordinary circumstances. The underlying fallacy in all such indulgences is the theory that escape from life strain can only be found in some destructive practice, some drug effect.

The Least Harmful of Narcotics

By JAS. J. WALSH, M. D.

(Fellow N. Y. Academy of Medicine, Member of Staff of Various Famous Hospitals)

TOBACCO is different from whiskey inasmuch as it is a mild narcotic, though undoubtedly in the quantities in which it is now being used it is distinctly harmful, especially

when taken into the system so directly as it is by inhalation. Its history shows what little use there is of legislation against it. It was introduced into Europe as a remedy for most of the ills that older people are subject to. The discoverers and explorers noted how vigorous the Indians were and noted also that they all smoked. It was argued that tobacco must have something to do with it, and on the strength of that conclusion the use of tobacco began in the European countries. Church and State both legislated against it, medical authorities insisted on its harmfulness, but the use of it continued to spread. Millions of dollars are now spent on it every year just because it produces a certain sense of well-being for which men are quite willing to pay. It probably does more harm by keeping men inside to enjoy their smoke when they might otherwise be in the open air than by any direct injury. Until we can provide some means of forgetfulness of the hard things of life by real intellectual diversion, for recreation is almost exclusively a bodily function now, it will be hopeless to expect to reform the tobacco situation. The human mind must have some refuge from the sordid compelling material and it finds it in narcotics. Tobacco is probably the least harmful of them.

HOW'S BOSTON NOW?

By W. DE WAGSTAFFE

WHEN that first ocean greyhound, the "*Mayflower*," cast anchor off the New England coast, the Massachusetts savage spied the home-spun, blue-stockings with a perplexed but rude eye. Those were in the romantic days of the early Pilgrim, before Boston was the forum of culture it subsequently became. Today it is not the same cozy, lamp-lit abode of the librarian that it once was. The sensitive bookworm species has been trodden under by the stout New England shoe industries; the haughty assurance of Harvard has been bumped into plainer conception of the Harvard graduate by the common people; every one talks about things that only the elect in Boston talked formerly.

It is very perplexing to one who has always regarded Boston as a defiant hotbed of culture, tea, and total indifference to outward appearances. To be sure, Boston still looks like the inconsequential, beloved old soothsayer of a city that it has been since, in the days of our youth, we admired the fresh, plump, clear-eyed Puritan damsels one saw on Boylston Street, and made room for the intellectual, shaggy old ladies and gentlemen who seemed to challenge in their appearance and their rock-ribbed stiffness the good character of anyone not born in Boston. The houses still cling to that old-fashioned habit of bulging themselves out upon one, the landmarks of the town's revolutionary pioneers, still defy the world to question the principles of liberty they commemorate.

It is recorded that Mr. Balfour's visit to Boston was not triumphant, that the memories of Paul Revere, John Parker and the Boston Tea Party were inconspicuously avoided as the proud signs of New England prosperity. I asked a stern, prim, middle-aged matron what kind of a reception Mr. Balfour had in Boston. She assumed the mildest air of frankness, looked gently at me, and said that they were so excited over the visit of General Joffre that she did not remember

when he arrived or how he left Boston. Among the battle flags of the Revolution preserved with other precious relics of Massachusetts at the State House in Boston is the one of green silk with a gold harp upon it. It was shown to me with repressed pride by a man named Horrigan, the strong-arm man of the Governor's staff. He had not had the pleasure of showing Mr. Balfour these relics, because the distinguished Englishman did not visit the State capitol.

“THE HEART AND BRAINS OF IRELAND”

PERHAPS all this would seem unimportant to the theme we have in mind if it did not substantiate the fact that Boston today is the heart and the brains of Ireland. It is a city with a strong Irish sting in it, with a prevailing pertness of coquetry in the women, with a grim solemnity of humor and chin-length in its men. So closely woven into the Irish fabric of its ancestors are the incidents of American history that the American flag is of course the Bostonian flag. Still, one cannot escape the tremendous impression that the Irish character, with its fearlessness, its obstinacy, and its humor, is the prevailing temperament of Boston today. Something of the old-time aristocracy of Boston has disappeared, has been swallowed up in the opportunities which the common people have finally seized through the war emergencies that have needed them. It is not an intellectual Boston, it is a muscular Boston that presides over the destinies of the overpopulated State of Massachusetts.

The shopping streets still bear the same relation that other Main Streets bear to any country town. They are filled with the pastoral and the pastured. With their strange little bags the women from the rural districts pour into Boston at the South Station in the morning, invade the department stores and the bargain counters like a battalion bent on destruction, and pour out again at night loaded down with cheap merchandise. Most of them bring their bread and cheese with them from the farm, eating their midday meal wherever they happen to be at the proper time. Their dissipation is an ice cream soda and their reward a good old

gossipy time when they get home. This is what one sees on Tremont Street, on Washington Street.

The ill-lighted, stuffy restaurants down town, where the food was once nationally famous, are still filled at noon-time with hungry men, but the food is no longer epicurean or plentiful. Boston is proud of its traditions, and refuses to improve its Colonial discomforts. The hotel lobbies of these downtown landmarks have neither been widened, stretched or lengthened. Their lights are just as dim, their waiters as haughty, their crowds as fishy-looking as ever. Boston used to be a famous place to sell green goods. Mining stock, good or bad, always found a market, and one still sees these mining experts sitting around these hotel lobbies, prospecting. At the lunch-hour the downtown streets are lined with clerks who watch the parade of girl stenographers with all the outward manner of their prototypes, the corner grocery ornaments.

From the midst of this modernized crowd of Bostonian culture rise the spires of those famous churches where the ancestors of the commonwealth of Massachusetts gained their great force of character. The historical values of these places have been jealously guarded, but it is doubtful if they are appreciated by the new generation that surrounds them. They are principally Lutheran churches, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, while the prevailing faith of Boston today is Roman Catholic. They are graceful recollections of a Puritan ancestry that is fast dying out.

THE BOSTON WOMAN UNCHANGED

THE blue-stockings are being replaced by the green. It must be regretfully admitted that Boston women still dress outrageously. They seem to do it purposely, defiantly, with a deliberate intention to camouflage the beauties bestowed upon them by the gods. Their shoes are shapeless and roomy, their skirts wander vaguely in search of a waistline, their shirt waists are home-made. The Boston woman's hat is an invention of some fiend who desires to destroy any good looks she may have. She seems to buy her hats as if they were

wheat cakes, crullers, or cabbages. Of course, there are modifications to this rule, but we are dealing with Boston as a whole, not with Boston as a social center. It is not that any longer.

The timidity with which the Boston suburbanite adopts metropolitan habits is rather painful to see. In that famous old inn on Washington Street, which some people believe was opened by Adam, there is a pathetic little Peacock Alley, where the scattered remnants of suburban families who have come to Boston on different trains during the morning hope to meet. In the interests of respectability, the lights are very low. It is difficult to recognize a friend for that reason. On the single sofa they line-up, scarcely daring to raise their eyes for fear this dissipated half hour when they are left entirely alone in the great city should be misunderstood. When they finally meet and saunter in to the pure white dining-room for a taste of pork and beans, it takes them quite a little while to recover from the excitement.

At night, when the horrors of the movies have been thoroughly enjoyed and the theatre crowds pour out into the streets, the laws of Boston compel you to go straight home. The subway is locked at twelve o'clock. Those who live several miles from the theatre section, and nearly everybody does, are compelled to hire a taxi at a far greater rate than New York City. Why the subway is closed at midnight is not explained. On moral grounds it seems difficult to understand; on any other grounds it is inexcusable. By half past twelve the streets of Boston are deserted, the lights are out, and the town is closed.

The Boston Common has been converted since the war into an open air war demonstration. The Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Salvation Army, all the "good influences" have their little cottages, their rest rooms, their recruiting stations, their singing quarters. Boston being an enormous naval station, one sees a great number of sailors. These cottages are built like bungalows, with attractive little porches where the sailors line up and hum sea songs of some rollicking nature that is very salty. One exhibit shows you

exactly the Puritan idea of how a self-respecting hen should be brought up. The place where she lays her eggs is regulated for her. If she laid it in any other part of the enclosure it is too awful to think what would happen to her. She is surrounded by printed signs of how she should conduct herself. The place where she eats is labeled, the place where she drinks has a tag over it. Her boudoir where she sleeps is restricted and explained with a printed sign. Her cottage has a roof over it, although I heard an expert roofing man who was examining it closely, with true Bostonian curiosity, say that it wouldn't stand bad weather. Next door to the hen department was a cooking cottage. In the windows were exhibited the things that were cooked. They may have been interesting to look at, but insufficient for feeding purposes. A Bostonian cow looks scornfully out over the Boston Common demonstrating the qualities of lactal hygiene.

RESPONDED LOYALLY TO WAR

OF course, Bunker Hill, Fanueil Hall (called "Funel"), the renowned State House, and other famous spots in National history have not added or lost one whit of their tradition. Even the war has failed to entice them into any added war virtues. No Allied flags adorn Bunker Hill, and the paintings in the State House of Paul Revere's ride, of the Stamp Act scene, the Battle of Lexington, are sacred emblems of a remote history which the present war has not disturbed. Historically, Boston is unchanged, and though the people of Boston have responded loyally to the war, they are equally loyal and proud of their Revolutionary memories.

The Public Gardens are still flagrantly neglected by the people, although they are the one charming breathing spot close to the aristocratic Commonwealth Avenue. Here the romantic foreigner spends a quarter and takes his girl for a boat ride, where in the moonlight they sit silently, and drift and dream. There are no indications of war here. There is only the fragrance of lilacs, the exquisite foliage, and the swans on the water.

Commonwealth Avenue is under a strict régime of econ-

omy. It is here that the rich and cultured reside, at least those who are not on Beacon Hill. Many of the houses are closed, and those that are open have service flags hanging from their windows. There is an air of suppressed solemnity about this street, as if the occupants were waiting for bad news. Commonwealth Avenue has changed its aristocratic identity in the last fifteen years. Innumerable apartment houses have grown up and some of the fashionable residences have become high-class boarding-houses. Unlike Fifth Avenue, however, stores have not invaded this beautiful boulevard street. It stretches many miles through the city and towards the end of its long reach it becomes an avenue of the same character as Harlem in New York.

The élite of Boston, the select company that one time had more culture than money, has become a small clique. The commercial skill of the Boston man has imposed the word "prosperity" into the cultured character of the former Bostonians. The great manufacturing industries of New England, and they abound in Massachusetts, have developed the money aristocracy in Boston as in other great cities of the United States. Large war contracts have, of course, invaded the simplicities of former labor conditions, and there have been occasional strikes, due entirely to the prosperous character of war emergencies. Not that this prosperity has been the result of war profiteering, but that the people themselves, who were formerly remotely content with their uneducated lot, have discovered that their muscular value is greater than their intellectual value, and worth more than they realized before.

MODESTLY AND SINCERELY GAVE HER SAVINGS

THE so-called fashionable hotels, where the palatial marble corridors and tapestried corners were supposed to contribute to the happiness of one's spirit, rely almost entirely for their business upon out-of-town trade. The real Bostonian, born with a sense of thrift that is superior to that of other Americans, is never without money, but, whereas before the war he spent it on certain social amenities of his

code, today he saves it for war demand. During the Red Cross drive there was no solicitation on the streets of Boston, or in the theatres, or in the stores, to the extent that existed in New York. It was not necessary to tell the Bostonian that he must give money to help the war. He just went quietly to his bank, or she went secretly to her homespun sock, and there was no spectacular pride in giving. Boston never did have much use for spectacular ideas. They never cared much to look like millionaires, but they were very careful to save their money. This splendid achievement of thrift has made Boston's contribution to the war a real sacrifice, modestly and sincerely made. One might say the pleasure with which the Bostonians have contributed their savings and their wages to the National Government has been the most patriotic example to the whole country.

Up on Beacon Hill, where the gold dome of the Capitol crowns the dignity of the Commonwealth, its political inspiration is not in support of men, but in support of National purposes. The Governor's flag in his Executive Office bears upon its white surface the figure of an Indian. It is singularly symbolic of the will of the people of Boston as well as of Massachusetts, because the Indian had in his heart ideals, not politics. There is a strain in the stability of National loyalty in the acts and the feeling of the men in the Legislature and in the service of the people in the State House, that is splendidly remote from political ambition. Since the war has been adopted by the National Government, impelled immensely by the private will of the people themselves, Boston has been welded into one mould of purpose, and that is to support the National Government. The officials in charge of the war interests of the people in the State House refer their personal or private interests to the will of the Federal Government.

Before the war Boston was the academic centre of American life. Harvard alone had not accomplished this distinction. Boston grew up, from a stern parentage of Puritan discipline to a literary temperament. It absorbed the culture of all New England, with its writers like Hawthorne, Julia

Ward Howe, William Dean Howells, Marion Crawford, and others. From other adjoining States came such modern soldiers as Lieutenant General Nelson A. Miles, of old warrior ancestry, and scientists and women novelists. New England abounds in artists, portrait painters, of which John Sargent is the leader, landscape and sea painters. To Boston they all went, from Boston their fame spread, and among them they established an American culture that has been the special energy of educational force in the country.

The Bostonians of the days when we were all striving for good grammar and good manners, perpetually wore spectacles, because reading was his or her whole existence. The rest of the country acknowledged Boston's academic temperament.

THE FIGHTING PUNCH OF NEW ENGLAND

SINCE the war Boston has explained the other side of her superior quality, she has reverted to the standards of the premier character that set sail on the memorable trans-Atlantic liner, the "Mayflower." The muscular calves of these prosperous blue stockings were the hardened flesh of fighting men. The Puritan gray-gowned women who went ashore on Plymouth rock were no simpering philanderers, no pampered beauties of an idle British Court, they had in them a suppressed force of the Cromwellian soul.

The "Hub" of the great American wheel of liberty has been strong and soundly made, holding in its unique personality the fundamental instincts of independence, thrift, and courage, to which the American Nation is now returning.

Boston is still the home soil of the great sons of our National affairs. In its quiet, studious temperament lies the thrill of such men as John Hancock, a thrill which in Boston today is reawakened in such personalities as the late Congressman Gardner, who died in uniform; of Senator Lodge, the incarnation of Boston culture, tingling with the Boston fighting blood; of Samuel W. McCall, its present war-Governor.

To its firm set caste in literature and thrift is being added the fighting punch of New England.

JUDICIAL REVIEW IN CUSTOMS TAXATION

America's Customs Administrative Court

[The Board of United States General Appraisers]

By GEORGE STEWART BROWN

THIS is an account of a branch of the Government service whose existence is known to comparatively few people in the United States.

The Board of United States General Appraisers performs the functions of a court created to hear and decide controversies arising between the Government and the citizens who import foreign merchandise. There is no limitation on the amount involved in this litigation. The humblest importer of a little parcel post package, the sojourner in foreign lands who has a controversy with the officials, concerning the assessment of his excess baggage or concerning his baggage exemption, may resort to this forum to compel the return of money unlawfully exacted, as freely as the richest merchant with a claim running into the millions for an illegal classification.

The Board's jurisdiction covers the entire continental United States in addition to Alaska, Hawaii and Porto Rico. Although the cases coming before the Board often involve claims for refund running into millions of dollars and sometimes, as did the wood pulp and American bottoms cases, involve interesting and important questions of international law and the construction of treaties; the existence of the Board and its functions and duties are practically unknown

to the legal profession, except to those who make a specialty of "customs practise."

The principal trial rooms and the clerk's offices are located at 641 Washington Street, New York City, for the reason that a large percentage of the total importations are made at that port. Regular dockets are held at stated terms each year at all the important cities in the country, and upon request a hearing can be had at practically any place which may be convenient to the importer. In addition to the seaboard cities, such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Newport News, Tampa, New Orleans and Galveston, and on the Pacific Coast, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles, regular terms are held and dockets heard at such inland cities as Buffalo, Cleveland, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis, etc.

Under the American system an importer at an inland city like Cincinnati may actually import merchandise at Baltimore, Boston, or Galveston, and instead of making entry at the seaboard, he may place the merchandise in a bonded carrier and formally make entry in the customs district where he resides. At the latter place then the decisions of the collector and the local appraiser take place, complaint in the form of protest or appeal is made and the trial of the appraisement or classification case is had nearby.

Thus every importer, no matter where he resides, may have a hearing near where he lives, and where his expert or trade witnesses are readily accessible. Unless attacked for jurisdictional defects, which is rare, the Board's decisions on protested valuations, technically known as reappraisements, from which the body gets its name, are final.

JUDGMENT MAY WIPE OUT ALL PROFIT

THESE valuation cases frequently involve large sums of money and with the penalties incident thereto the judgment may wipe out for the importer the profit from the sale of the goods whose value under an ad valorem rate is in contest.

Moreover, if the advance over the entered value is sus-

tained at more than 75 per cent, the decision may involve the goods in forfeiture proceedings and perhaps lead up to criminal action against the merchant himself. In valuation cases the appeal may be either by the Government or by the importer from the action of the administrative official who appraises the value in the first instance, and who is known as the local appraiser.

The second phase of the Board's jurisdiction consists in hearing appeals from the decisions of another administrative officer, the collector of customs, in fixing the rate and amount of duty which is taken at the custom house. This is called the classification side, but it covers many other matters where administrative action, not dealing with classification *per se*, fixes the rate and amount of duty as assessed by the collector in his liquidation, and from which, therefore, protest also lies.

For instance, if the collector's decision came about by reason of a regulation passed by the Secretary of the Treasury under his general authority to pass reasonable regulations to carry out the law, the legality of such regulation can be tested on protest and appeal from the collector's decision to the Board of General Appraisers.¹ Or, again, if an appraisement by a local appraiser or a reappraisement by the Board of reappraisement appeals is illegal for any jurisdictional defect, its legality may be attacked on protest and appeal to the Board from the decision of the collector who must adopt such appraised value in his liquidation.²

Among the ancient conventional legal fictions is the fiction that the State cannot be sued. If the State commits a wrong for which there would be legal redress between private parties there is no legal redress against the State itself, except by its own voluntary permission. This idea comes from the doctrine of the infallibility of the monarch.

While the Supreme Court³ has held that the maxim, "The King can do no wrong," has no place in our system

¹ Conkey's case, G. A., 7668 (28 Treas., Dec., 82). Affd., 6 C. A. R. 487. Goodsell's case, G. A. 3880 (T. D., 18078). Affd., 91 Fed. 519.

² United States v. Passavant (169 U. S. 16.)

³ (Langford vs. U. S., 101 U. S., 341.)

of government, nevertheless, the State itself cannot be sued directly without the authority of a statute authorizing such remedy.

In other words, if all the people acting collectively through the State retain or take money or property to which they are not entitled from one of their number, he has no redress at law to recover it unless by special permission of the State. Perhaps because, as applied to tax matters where the necessity of a remedy is so apparent, it would in effect be dishonest for the State to withhold such judicial remedy, and in such circumstances illegally keep the citizen's money, an indirect remedy was evolved by the courts by judicial construction without any statutory authority therefor.

It was early held that there was a remedy at common law against the tax collector for assessing an erroneous amount or rate of tax, on the theory that the collector, when he made a mistake, went outside the law and became personally liable for the excess paid by the citizen under protest.¹

SITUATION OF CUSTOMS TAXPAYER

AS the Government was bound to protect its collector and reimburse him for any judgment which might thus be recovered against him, the effect of this rule of law was in reality to allow a suit against the Government under another name.

While this rule applies to all forms of taxation, it is peculiarly applicable to customs taxation in the commercial circumstances under which goods are imported. In many forms of taxation the citizen can obtain a judicial review of administrative action increasing the rate or amount of his assessment without paying the tax in advance. In the case of tariff taxation he must pay his tax in advance, and if he does not thereafter obtain a judicial review he is left to the mercy of the administrative officials and their interpretation of the law and facts; in effect, a government of men, not of law.

Imported merchandise is either sold in advance or con-

¹ (Elliott vs. Swartwout, 10 Peters, 137; Bend vs. Hoyt, 13 Peters, 263.)

tracted for in advance, or brought in to satisfy the demand of an existing market for the particular class of goods, and must be promptly delivered or promptly sold. The exigencies of the government revenue require that duty must be paid in the first instance at whatever rate and amount the administrative officials demand. These administrative officials, acting with proper caution (as they should) so as to avoid any erroneous construction of law or mistake of fact, which might result in a loss of revenue, must necessarily resolve every doubt in favor of the government and demand the highest rate and amount of duty. That is not only their justification and their right, but their duty as well. This the citizen must, perforce, pay in order to get his goods to market and any question of law or disputed fact, of necessity, be postponed for subsequent judicial inquiry to determine whether or not there should be a refund of excess payment.

Of all the many varieties of governmental action committed to the executive branches of the government, taxation is the one as to which little or no discretion is or ought to be confided to the judgment of the administrative officials. Our tax laws never direct the executive authority to levy or not to levy a particular sum of money or to determine the individuals or classes, or the property or classes of property, or activities upon which the burden shall fall. The delegation of such discretion would probably be unconstitutional in the United States under our doctrine of the division of powers and would be obnoxious as destructive of individual freedom under any form of constitutional government.

Yet if, under a particular tax act the executive official administering the same may, without judicial review of his findings of fact or law, determine what the tax object is, he in effect fixes such taxable object and what rate it shall pay, instead of the legislature.

JUDICIAL REVIEW NECESSARY

A GAIN, the legislature decrees that a house or a tariff article shall pay a proportion of its value in taxes, or a business a certain percentage of an excess profit, or an inheritance a fixed proportion thereof in descending to certain

relations. If an executive officer, vigilant to aid the Treasury, upon the most efficient and best qualified expert advice, conclusively determined the value of the house or tariff article, fixed the method of calculating the excess profit, or ruled upon the legitimacy of a disputed relationship determining the inheritance rate, without any right to the citizen to test the accuracy of such findings by presenting affirmative evidence and by rigid cross-examination of the government witnesses, under the sanctions and protections of a judicial hearing, before a tribunal *independent of executive control*; autocracy of the worst form would inevitably result.

Whatever arguments may be presented upon the claim that executive efficiency may occasionally be advanced by bestowing an absolute discretion upon some officer in making administrative decisions of a certain character, for instance, concerning the health, morals or police of a community, such arguments can never apply to the official act of administering a tax law, that is, in collecting the taxes from those persons upon whom the legislature, by general rule, has imposed the obligation of financially supporting the State. It may be occasionally considered necessary to commit to a health officer's discretion the compliance with a sanitary regulation concerning, say, the construction of a cow stable to prevent infection in milk or for the combat of disease, or to a building inspector to say whether the owner has made his building safe for use or safe against fire danger. However, even in matters of this kind such discretion, if not subject to judicial review, may be greatly abused. But after the legislature has fixed the class of taxable persons or taxable objects and prescribed the rate and amount of tax to be collected therefrom or thereon, it is plain that the existence of the facts which bring the person or object within the class and the interpretation of the language used by the law-makers in describing the class can never safely be left to the fiat or to the discretion of any executive officer.

A judicial review of such administrative action must of necessity be provided.

INDEPENDENCE OF JUDICIARY

TO be effective, such judicial review must be before a tribunal independent of executive control.

Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, in his "Principles of Constitutional Government," summarizes the chapter on "The Courts in Europe" as follows:

"We may say, then, that one of the fundamental principles of constitutional government, as seen in the law of modern European states, is:

"*First*—The existence of judicial bodies independent in tenure of the executive; which shall,

"*Second*—Apply the law regulating the relations of individuals one with another—usually called the private law—by deciding the cases brought before them; and,

"*Third*—Shall apply in the same manner the law regulating the relations between officers of the government and private individuals—usually called the public or administrative law.

"Whether a formal distinction is made between the private and the administrative law, and whether these two functions are discharged by the same courts, are matters of comparatively little importance. The important thing is that the courts which have these powers shall be independent of the executive. Without such independence it may be said that constitutional government is impossible."

The sole function of the court in a tax case is to decide whether the tax has really been levied or not, whether the legislature has said the citizen before the court has been taxed at all or by the correct amount. To deprive the citizen of the right to have that issue sifted and tested before an *independent* judicial body either by giving him no such appeal or by technicality or expensive procedure rendering such appeal, if nominally given, impracticable in use, is to deprive him of a right so fundamental—the right to show his governmental administrators have illegally taken his money—that without it constitutional liberty is indeed impossible.

INJUSTICE TO CITIZENS MAKES BOLSHEVIKI

WITHOUT such remedy, or if by technicality it becomes too expensive to invoke, *no matter how small his claim*, the citizen will go away disgruntled, considering his government has not dealt honestly by him—the first step toward making him a bad citizen and ultimately a Bolshevik.

Perhaps the best statement of the fundamental principles upon which this jurisdiction is based appears in an opinion by Judge Story in the case of *Cary v. Curtis* (3 How., 236), from which I quote as follows:

“I know of no power, indeed, of which a free people ought to be more jealous, than of that of levying taxes and duties; and yet if it is to rest with a mere executive functionary of the government absolutely and finally to decide what taxes and duties are leviable under a particular act, without any power of appeal to any judicial tribunal, it seems to me that we have no security whatsoever for the rights of the citizens. And if Congress possess a constitutional authority to vest such summary and final power of interpretation in an executive functionary, I know no other subject within the reach of legislation which may not be exclusively confided in the same way to an executive functionary; nay, to the executive himself.”

“ . . . what ground is there to suppose that Congress could intend to take away so important and valuable a remedy and leave our citizens utterly without any adequate protection?”

“Where then is the remedy which is supposed to exist? It is an appeal to the Secretary of the Treasury for a return of the money, if in his opinion it ought to be returned, and not otherwise. No court, no jury, nay, not even the ordinary rules of evidence, are to pass between that officer and the injured claimant, to try his rights or to secure him adequate redress. Assuming that the Secretary of the Treasury will always be disposed to do what he deems to be right in the exercise of his discretion, and that he possesses all the quali-

fications requisite to perform this duty, among the other complicated duties of his office—a presumption which I am in no manner disposed to question—still it removes not a single objection. It is, after all, a substitution of executive authority and discretion for judicial remedies. Nor should it be disguised that upon so complicated a subject as the nature and character of articles made subject to duties, grave controversies must always exist (as they have always hitherto existed) as to the category within which particular fabrics and articles are to be classed. The line of discrimination between fabrics and articles approaching near to each other in quality, or component materials, or commercial denominations, is often very nice and difficult, and sometimes exceedingly obscure. It is the very case, therefore, which is fit for judicial inquiry and decision,” . . .

“ Besides, we all know that, in all revenue cases, it is the constant practice of the Secretary of the Treasury to give written instructions to the various collectors of the customs as to what duties are to be collected under particular revenue laws, and what, in his judgment, is the proper interpretation of those laws. I will venture to assert that, in nineteen cases out of twenty of doubtful interpretation of any such laws, the collector never acts without the express instructions of the Secretary of the Treasury. So that in most, if not in all cases where a controversy arises, the Secretary of the Treasury has already pronounced his own judgment. Of what use then, practically speaking, is the appeal to him, since he has already given his decision? Further, it is well known, and the annals of this court as well as those of the other courts of the United States establish in the fullest manner, that the interpretations so given by the Secretary of the Treasury have, in many instances, differed widely from those of the courts. The Constitution looks to the courts as the final interpreters of the laws. Yet the opinion maintained by my brethren does, in effect, vest such interpretation exclusively in that officer.”

“ These considerations have led me to the conclusion

that it never could be the intention of Congress to pass any statute, by which the courts of the United States, as well as the State courts, should be excluded from all judicial power in the interpretation of the revenue laws, and that it should be exclusively confided to an executive functionary finally to interpret and execute them—a power which must press severely upon the citizens, however discreetly exercised, and which deeply involves their constitutional rights, privileges and liberties. The same considerations force me, in all cases of doubtful or ambiguous language admitting of different interpretations, to cling to that which should least trench upon those rights, privileges and liberties, and *a' fortiori* to adopt that which would be in general harmony with our whole system of government.”

While this was a dissenting opinion, the majority of the Court having held that a rider in an appropriation bill requiring collectors to turn over to the treasury money received on protested classifications, had destroyed the common law remedy, the Congress immediately by a special declaratory statute made Judge Story's opinion the law of the land, before the ink was dry on his pen, expressly enacting therein that nothing in the appropriation rider should be construed to destroy the common law remedy by suit against the collector.¹

As late as 1901, in a case where the merchandise upon which duties were levied was not technically imported and where, therefore, under the customs administrative act as it then stood no protest and appeal lay to the Board of General Appraisers, the Supreme Court reaffirmed and reasserted the right to sue the collector at common law citing *Elliott v. Swartwout*, and referring to the act of Congress where by *legislative construction of the act of 1839*, following *Cary v. Curtis*, the common law remedy was restored.²

The act of June 30, 1864, required the importer to first appeal from the collector's decision to the Secretary of the Treasury. If the Secretary affirmed the collector's ruling the suit against the collector to test the legality of the official action could then be instituted.

¹ Act of Feb. 26, 1845 (5 Stat. at Large, chap. XXII.)

² (DeLima vs. Bidwell, 182 U. S. 1, pages 177-178.)

PRESIDENT M'KINLEY'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE
SCIENCE OF LAW

TWENTY-EIGHT years ago (June 10, 1890)³ the so-called Customs Administrative Act was passed. It is William McKinley's contribution to the science of the law.

The act was, in the first place, an administrative act, that is, it codified and coordinated the rules of law for guiding the administrative management of the customs, and secondly, established a new judicial remedy for the litigation of customs cases.

It was thus at one and the same time a customs administrative act and a customs practise act. It enlarged the remedy, abolished court costs, dispensed with a jury trial and the necessity for common law pleadings, and simplified and expedited the procedure, so that the suitor with a few dollars at issue could obtain relief as easily as the large importer, without being compelled to even employ a lawyer, by appearing at a hearing at or near his home port and presenting the facts upon which he based his claim.

The *nisi prius* tribunal created to administer the new remedy was styled the Board of United States General Appraisers—a kind of people's court—to act in the first instance upon classification cases and to be the final court of appraisal. The courts upon appeal early decided that the phraseology of the act implied a "court" which should decide classification cases upon the evidence before it with all the legal sanctions and protections of a judicial hearing.¹

By a series of statutory enactments, reappraisement hearings have also gradually evolved into a judicial procedure, with parties, subject matter, and the form of a court trial.²

Subsection 12 of section 28 of the act of August 5, 1909,

³ United States v. Ranlett (172 U. S., p. 145.)

"The remedies provided by the act of June 10, 1890, furnish the equivalent for the action against the collector, which was originally the remedy for an illegal exaction of duties."

¹ In re Blankensteyn, 56 Fed. 474; Marine vs. Lyon, 65 Fed. 992; Stone vs. Whitridge, 129 Fed. 33; U. S. vs. Schwartz, 3 C. A. R. 24, 32; U. S. vs. Kurtz, 5 C. A. R. 144.

² Par. M, section III, act of Oct. 3, 1913.

after providing that the members of the Board shall hold office during good behavior, subject to removal by the President for neglect of duty, malfeasance in office, or inefficiency, and for no other cause, further provides that the Board shall have and possess all the powers of a circuit court of the United States in preserving order, compelling the attendance of witnesses, and the production of evidence, and in punishing for contempt.

An appeal in classification cases now lies to the United States Court of Customs Appeals, an appellate tribunal, established for the express purpose of hearing appeals from the Board of General Appraisers, consisting of five members sitting at the National Capital. Certiorari to the Supreme Court may be resorted to in cases where a constitutional question is raised, or the construction of a treaty is involved, or where the Attorney General certifies before decision of the Court of Customs Appeals that the importance of the subject requires review of the decision by the Supreme Court.

THE CONTINENTAL VERSUS THE AMERICAN MIND

THE Continental mind works differently from the Anglo-Saxon mind. The development of their respective systems of administrative law is a good illustration of the difference.

The Continental mind worked out logically on principle the necessity of a judicial review of administrative action to protect the liberty of the citizen, while the Englishman and the American merely invented remedies in piece-meal, and more or less imperfectly, as the necessity or the popular demand for some particular remedy arose.

So we find in France and some of the smaller Continental countries a well-defined plan with a logically developed system; sometimes through special administrative courts created for the purpose, a special forum having a wide and comprehensive jurisdiction for the remedy of individual wrongs arising from executive action.

While in England and America the ordinary courts have been given, in a limited class of subjects, a special jurisdiction

to meet the particular public demand for such reform, along some particular line where the abuse from the absence of the remedy was flagrant, or the courts themselves have from sheer necessity, without statutory authority, sustained the right to sue the tax collector at common law, or applied the original common law writs of mandamus and prohibition.

Where special tribunals like the Board of General Appraisers, or the Court of Customs Appeals, or the Court of Claims, have been created their jurisdiction has usually been of a special and limited character to cover some particular class of subjects.

Under the common law writs, mandamus, prohibition and the writ of right, all of which were invented or adopted by the English courts to give some judicial review of the legality of the acts of public officers, as a rule, the remedy is limited to the correction of errors of law and does not include errors of fact. Moreover, if a discretion is expressly confided by the terms of the law to the official, such discretion can not be reviewed by the court on such writs, but the court can only correct an abuse of discretion. Further, as a rule, such writs lie not as a matter of absolute right, but issue in the sound discretion of the court.

Consequently, a judicial review by means of such writs, and the kindred writ of injunction, is not always fully effective. To procure a full, adequate and complete remedy, an appeal covering all questions of law and fact involved in the decision complained of must be provided by statute, of which, I suppose, the appeal provided by the customs administrative act is probably the best particular example.

FRENCH ADMINISTRATIVE LAW

LAFERRIÈRE, in his "*Traité de la Jurisdiction Administrative et des Recours Contentieux*," states the general principle upon which the jurisdiction of the French courts over certain administrative contests is founded, as follows (Vol. 1, page 6, par. 2) (Free translation):

"It results that with resistance set up in opposition to the acts of the administration or an act of public authority

founded on a right which the administration may have disregarded, upon an error of fact or of law which it may have committed in its relations with the citizen, . . . and which may have resulted in the violation or erroneous application of the law or of an existing right. If the injured party thinks himself justified in opposing his individual right to the right invoked by the administration, there is a subject matter for contest, for litigation; an administrative contest is immediately created by the conflicting claims; judicial action is necessary to resolve the difficulty. In other words, the offended interest involves only the idea of utility, of expediency, of policy, whereas the disregarded right involves the idea of justice, of legal sanction, of a judicial determination. In the first case, the injured party can only beg and complain; in the second, he can require verification of his right and demand that it be respected."

It is upon the basis of such theoretical definitions as this that the Continental jurisdiction appears to have been worked out. Speaking of the French system, in "*Principles of Constitutional Government*," Dr. Goodnow says (page 240): "The French system has proved itself to be more effective in the protection of the individual, not only because of the law which the administrative courts have developed, but also because of the more simple and less expensive remedies which have been provided. Much of the procedure in the Anglo-American courts is extremely technical, and on that account expensive, because the litigant must retain the services of a highly paid lawyer. Most of the remedies provided by the French law are simple and a lawyer's services are often not required."

In England the common law action against the collector is distinctly recognized.¹ Decisions of customs cases brought to procure a refund of excessive duties appear in many of the law reports in the British Colonies.

Our own statutes relating to the Philippine Islands provide for a court review there, and a number of customs cases have been decided by the Philippine Supreme Court.

¹ (39 and 40 Victoria, Ch. 36, sec. 34.)

In the preservation of "equality before the law" the right to go before a judicial tribunal independent of the executive and there obtain relief from the illegal levy of a tax by the administrative official is fundamental.

TO MY COUNTRY

By MARGUERITE WILKINSON

BEAMS from your forest built my little home,
And stones from your deep quarries flagged my hearth;
Your streams have rippled swiftly in my blood,
Your fertile acres made my flesh for me,
And your clean-blowing winds have been my breath.
Your prophets saw the visions of my youth,
The dreams you gave have been my dearest dreams,
And you have been the mother of my soul.

Therefore, my country, take again at need
Your excellent gifts, home, hearth, and flesh and blood,
Young dreams and all the good I am or have,
That all your later children may have peace
In little homes built of your wood and stone
And warmed and lighted by the love of man!

WHO'S SHE IN WAR WORK

By ANNE EMERSON

BUMPER crops of eager faced girls, resolute women, anxious mothers, are daily blowing into Washington, D. C., the erstwhile drowsy capital town of the U. S. A. They separate themselves quickly into groups: telephone operators, stenographers, typists, office assistants—what not—all responding gloriously to the nation's literature of help-wanted. Where to lay their heads, to feed their bodies, and to amuse their idle moments is a literally burning question these sun-baked Washington days and heat-racking nights. Mrs. Gifford Pinchot has grappled with the question as chairman of the Woman's Trade Union League, and partly solved it by enlisting the aid of the women whose big homes would ordinarily be closed for the summer. Her own home, on Rhode Island Avenue, houses at least ten war girls, and all the Cabinet women are mothering the modern Jeanne D'Arcs who have responded to the Nation's call. Four hundred and fifty thousand women have been placed in war service by the Government, and Washington has taken its full quota.

In New York the war boys—embryonic fighters—are getting attention.

The problem of the "boys" is not one of housing as much as of food. So that these boys may eat, Mrs. Donn Barber, Chairman of the Canteen Service of the National League for Woman's Service, has enrolled fifteen hundred workers. Mrs. Barber has tabulated that her canteen service feeds at least ten thousand soldiers a day. On an emergency call from the Red Cross, 17,000 sandwiches were made, two women making four hundred and twenty-five in an hour. Mrs. Barber accepts no volunteer who is not willing to answer the emergency call regardless of all other plans.

"And I find that the best workers are those who never talk," Mrs. Barber said, by way of ending her conversation.

Six hundred and fifty thousand dollars in relief supplies

for a year is a large sum for one organization to spend, but that is the total paid out by the War Relief Committee of the Vacation Association of New York City, of which Miss Gertrude Robinson Smith is the President and Treasurer. The money has gone for food, clothes, and hospital supplies for soldiers and their dependants. One branch of the work of this particular War Relief is to provide work for women who have lost their positions because of the war, paying them \$1.75 for a day's work and finding them other positions in the meantime.

In a fashionable New York City neighborhood there is an officers' club, open for the use of any officer staying in the metropolis. It is the gift of Mrs. Thomas Fortune Ryan. Mrs. Ryan equipped the house and spends part of each day as hostess, insisting that it is a home for the "boys" and not a club in the strict sense of the word.

Another "big" house in New York which has been turned over to war work is Mrs. Whitelaw Reid's home, which is used as a training centre for the New York County Chapter of the Red Cross. Here workers who are "going over" are taught first aid, dietetics, etc.

A third house is the John D. Rockefeller residence, which Mr. Rockefeller equipped with sewing machines, cutting machine, work tables, special lighting for workers, and an electric kitchen where luncheons can be prepared. This house he gave to two auxiliaries of the Red Cross, headed by his daughter-in-law, Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

The work of the women is not limited to the big cities, however, for President Wilson's "inner line" is being held firm by the women of the farming communities as well as those in the great metropolises.

Mrs. Oliver Harriman is generally conceded to be the leading "war worker" in Westchester County, New York State. She organized the women for the military census, and since has given all of her time to the various methods whereby garden truck can be kept for winter use. She is very active in behalf of the small war gardens, actually keeping such a garden herself.

Mrs. Frank Vanderlip is another woman who is active in the "back to the land" movement. She is one of the officers of a National Land Army movement, and also gives her attention to the War Saving Stamps.

Clara Sears Taylor was one of the best known newspaper women in the West when the United States entered the war. She was selected to head the work of the Woman's Division of the Committee of Public Information. She runs her department like a newspaper office, telling the women of one section of America what women of another portion of the country are doing to win the war. Practically every woman in the United States is on Mrs. Taylor's staff, for individually, or through their war organizations, she is in constant touch with the women in every town in the country.

A commission from the United States, requiring that she sing under the direction of the Government for the rest of the year, is Mme. Schumann-Heink's war order. "I go into my work with a grateful heart that I can do my bit," she said when the commission was given her. "I have four sons serving the country, and although singing is not work for me, I am glad to do what I can."

Mme. Schumann-Heink will sing for the Army, Navy, Red Cross, Liberty Loans, or any other war charity the department designates.

AMERICAN WOMEN "OVER THERE"

NOT all of the war workers are safely situated in America. The number of women serving in France has not been computed, but it reaches many thousands.

The title, "the most prominent woman in Paris," belongs to an American woman, for while the former Miss Clara Longworth, of Ohio, as the wife of Comte de Chambrum must now be counted a citizen of France, she is essentially an American. The Comte de Chambrum, like his famous great-grandfather, Lafayette, is essentially a man of war, holding the title of Lieutenant-Colonel. His wife has been active in war relief since August, 1914, working in Paris in spite of air raids, long-range guns, and war-time discom-

forts. Now that the American soldiers are in evidence the former Miss Longworth has doubled her war work, for she is very jealous of the care offered to the American boys. They must have the best.

Mrs. Maria Herron, sister-in-law of ex-President Taft, is also in Paris, doing canteen work, and Madame de Bonand, who was Miss Ann Harrison of Cincinnati, is an enthusiastic hospital worker, having turned her home over to the Military Hospital and received a decoration from the Ministry of War for her exceptional services.

Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., has been acting as a waitress at the Officers' Club of the Y. M. C. A. Mrs. E. H. Sothern, better known as Julia Marlowe, has been planning theatres for the boys on furlough. Another member of the theatrical profession, Miss Elsie Janis, has won a permanent place in the hearts of the enlisted men for her performances practically under fire. Miss Janis is tireless, and officers and men alike are cheered by her songs and dances.

Mrs. J. Borden Harriman is working in uniform, as she is one of the heads of the Red Cross Motor Corps. She returned to America to talk for the Red Cross. At one of the meetings in which she was asked to discuss one or two vital principles of her work, Mrs. Harriman mounted the platform and laughingly apologized to the audience for the lack of preparation on her subject. "I come," she said, "in what in Europe they call true American fashion, 'full of hope and unpreparedness.'"

In speaking of the work of the American girls at the front, Mrs. Harriman told the following incident:

"One group of 19 American girls, not trained nurses, has been working in a hospital in the territory now held by the British, under the direction of 28 French doctors," she said. "These girls, although not nurses, have been trained by the doctors themselves and know exactly what is expected of them. They are a part of the military organization of the French Third Army, and now that the Army has gone to Italy they have gone with it. When you hear people say that there are too many American women in France you just

contradict it. It isn't so. The Red Cross needs more women, women who are strong and healthy and can stand the hardships."

Some other women "over there" are Miss Anne Morgan, Mrs. Anne Dike, Mrs. Nina Duryea and Miss Winifred Holt.

Miss Morgan's reconstruction work has been recognized and praised by the French and American Governments, and in her labors Mrs. Anne Dike has taken an active part. The latest German drive has ruined much of the reconstruction of French territory accomplished by these women, but they are going ahead undaunted, planting fresh crops and getting ready for a great harvest.

Miss Winifred Holt, daughter of Henry Holt, the publisher, was, before the war, noted for her interest in the Association for the Blind. In the fall of 1914 she organized the American Committee for Men Blinded in Battle, and has spent all of her time in France, teaching workers to train blinded men so that they may work and not be dependent on the Government for maintenance.

Mrs. Duryea, like Miss Morgan, is at the head of a large sector of reconquered land. With a number of American women she has been rebuilding villages, planting crops and helping the people to regain a state of normal existence. Like Miss Morgan, Mrs. Duryea has been decorated for her labors.

THE FINANCIAL SITUATION

By W. S. COUSINS

GRATIFYING reports of the remarkable ease with which the people and business interests of the country just completed the payment into the Federal Treasury a sum of \$3,000,000,000 for income and profits taxes are accompanied with grave concern when it must be realized that much more than twice that amount must be collected under the provisions of the tax law which will be written on the books before adjournment of the present session of Congress.

All records of the past must sink into insignificance in comparison with the requirements of the year ahead of us, during which the estimated "Extraordinary Expenses" of the Government for war purposes will be over \$20,000,000,000, of which it is proposed to raise \$8,000,000,000 by direct tax.

It is to be expected that a great deal of gratuitous advice and comment will be thrown in the direction of Congress by self-styled economic experts and theorists, and that it will be impossible to adopt any large measure of these valuable offerings. A few principles should, however, guide our Congressional leaders in making up the new schedules, and these may be thus briefly outlined:

First: Production of war goods must be stimulated and not retarded by the increased tax.

Second: Discrimination should be made between "Excess profits," as such, and "Excess war profits"; and excessive burdens must not be laid upon business enterprises which function in times of peace as well as in war.

Third: As suggested by President Wilson, many of the serious economic errors contained in the last tax law must be eliminated from the new measure. The absurd suggestion that inasmuch as about double the amount will be required

next year as in the past twelve months, existing taxes should be multiplied by two, must be discarded. A great deal of risk is attached to all business, particularly with all the uncertainties which surround it at the present time. Profits are largely on paper and unrealizable, and often disappear in later transactions. Taxation of profits applies rigidly and uniformly to every business, but all are not affected alike by the enforced withdrawal of funds, and as taxes are increased in unusual degree there is more danger that they may interfere with industries which need support and development at this time. Loans are a more flexible means of raising money, and if they enable the business community to adjust the burden so as to carry it more easily, the interest charge is a minor consideration.

Perhaps a few observations as to the effect of last year's tax on business will not be amiss. It will be remembered that during the progress of the third Liberty Loan Campaign many of the large corporations, which had been extremely liberal in their subscriptions to the first two issues, were unable to accord much support to the third loan, because of the necessity to conserve all their resources in preparation for the payment of their taxes. For the same reason other large concerns were compelled to resort to the loan market at very stiff rates in order to provide "Working Capital" sufficient to keep going. Still others have intimated that a further increase in tax rates will mean either increased borrowing or insolvency.

PRODUCTION THE IMPORTANT THING

WHAT the Government most desires is not money, but production. Taxes which retard production are unwise and uneconomic, and in the last analysis defeat their own aim.

Latest reports from Washington as to the present plans of the Ways and Means Committee include a tax of 75 per cent. on pure war profits, which will be arrived at through the English system of imposing such levies. The normal profit will be obtained by taking the average profit during the

five pre-war years, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913. All profits over this average will be subject to a tax of 75 per cent.

Investigation has shown that 150 of the large corporations in the United States now paying \$500,000,000 on the basis of capitalization would escape without any appreciable taxation if the English system alone were followed. In the years preceding the war such concerns as the Ford Motor Company and the Standard Oil Company, Representative Claude Kitchin said, had greater profits than in the years of the war and greater profits than they were enjoying now by reason of price fixing imposed by the Government.

To overcome this the committee has decided to follow some such scheme as that proposed by Secretary McAdoo, namely, the imposition of two plans of taxation, one based on capitalization and the other on war profits, giving the Government the option of imposing the higher tax.

WILL WE HAVE A CONSUMPTION TAX?

THE indirect as opposed to the direct method of taxation has been proved by almost every nation to be an advantageous means of deriving extraordinary social revenue. A tax on consumption, no matter what sociologic and theoretical objections there may be to it, doesn't hurt as much as a direct tax. The necessities of existence have to be consumed by all the people. The luxuries of life, for which we are already being taxed, are still ours as they can be afforded. It has been a good year for the theatres in spite of the tax on the tickets, and we still see our streets choked with automobiles. A slight taxation of necessities can be carried as easily as that on luxuries in view of present conditions of labor in America.

It is reasonable to at least consider this form of taxation, that on consumption, which other countries have found successful, whose advantages economists have taught us for years, and which we have not completely applied as a source of revenue in our present crisis. The consumption tax is paid with greater ease than any other because of the individual psychology that enters into it. It is difficult for the consumer to calculate just how much excess he does pay;

the flavor of the food, or the pleasure of a luxury for the moment overbalances the thought of the cost. His income tax is before him on his desk in black, unerasable figures, but it is not so with the consumption tax. The income tax must be paid on a certain date, but one pays the consumption tax when one wishes or not at all. As a matter of fact, it works out that one pays it daily and does not feel it very much because the unit of it is so small.

There is a certain amount of national security in such a method of indirect taxation. It has been said that a most unpopular government can collect a large revenue with ease and certainty through the tithes of a reasonable tax on consumption. We are all more or less grown up children, restless under authority, and when a government by means of a direct tax says, "You must pay this amount," we unconsciously rebel, no matter how fundamentally patriotic we are. But our tax on coffee or tea is laid instinctively at the doors of hard times; we don't blame a government for it.

Any system of taxation that shifts the burden of the taxes to the shoulders of the few, no matter how broad those shoulders may be, is bound to cripple in the end. There are popularly supposed to be three sources of revenue upon which to draw during the coming year: profits, including excess and war profits, income and luxuries, taxing the latter being our only plan of putting the consumption tax into practice. It is a mooted question if a tax on luxuries will ever be a mine of great financial resource. A tax upon anything has the unalterable effect of reducing the currency of that thing as much as to render the tax inactive; and by its very definition a luxury is the exceptional thing, the product that we do not need. We of course welcome the luxury tax for what it is worth, but it can hardly be depended upon to produce an increasingly vast revenue. It is rather a premium on thrift.

WAR STOCKS

THE attention of conservative investors has, since the entry of this country into the war, been directed to the munitions and airplane stocks. Despite the heavy taxes

which these companies will be called upon to pay, it is still possible to calculate a fair margin of profit on the operation of the concerns represented by these securities. At the present time Curtiss Aeroplane and the Wright-Martin Aircraft, in the airplane group, and Aetna Explosives, in the munitions group, are bidding for popular favor.

Wright-Martin already has orders on its books aggregating between \$60,000,000 and \$80,000,000, and it is stated on the authority of one of the high officials of the company that Wright-Martin has an unlimited order from the United States Government to turn out all the motors it can manufacture or can cause to be manufactured under sub-contracts throughout the period of the war.

On the present scale of operations it is expected that dividends can be paid on the common stock after making allowance for the preferred, but without making allowance for excess profit taxes.

With an output of forty motors, the yearly business will amount to over \$93,000,000, which on a 10-per-cent.-profit basis is equal to \$10 a share on the common stock, not including \$2 a share from royalties.

When peace comes the Government will pay for all the inventories on hand when it withdraws its open order. It intends to enter the tractor industry after the war.

From the standpoint of finances, Wright-Martin is in an exceptional position. For purposes of calculation it is assumed that the capitalization of the company has a par of \$10,000,000, of which \$5,000,000 represents the preferred stock and \$5,000,000 the common stock. Of this about \$3,000,000 has been invested in the plant, which is still practically new. The balance is represented by cash or moneys due from the United States Government. In this calculation it must be borne in mind that no value is placed on good will, patents or other items which form a large portion of the company's stock in trade.

The Curtiss Aeroplane and Motor Corporation was responsible for about 70 per cent. of the aeroplanes manufactured in the United States in 1917. It will build at least

60 per cent. of the aeroplanes in 1918. At present it is doing 80 per cent. of the business, and is assured of capacity business, and so long as the war lasts, earnings are bound to be on a large scale. Assuming that the war will last another two years, it is claimed that profits and increased asset value will be fully equal to present market quotations. The Curtiss company's control lies with the Willys-Overland Co., and in view of their present strong organization, and the new North Elmwood plant at Buffalo, which would make an excellent assembly plant, it is natural to assume that with all the Willys' varied interests the plants will be profitably employed in after war business.

Aetna Explosives Company has been more successful in the production of munitions than in the harmonious operation of its family affairs. The company's plants are booked ahead for many months with orders from the United States and France, the filling of which requires capacity operations of all the military explosive plants, and its present basis of earnings is said to be very satisfactory.

The big motive power back of Aetna Explosives stock is the certainty of a long war and reasonable assurance that the conflicting interests which are fighting for control of the company will soon get together.

After the war Aetna is assured of a profitable business in its chemical department devoted to the manufacture of coal-tar products in addition to the regular output of munitions, which is certain to continue in good volume in peace times to supply the demands of this Government as well as foreign governments.

Midvale Steel is now the largest rifle producer in the United States. It is turning out approximately 45,000 rifles a week. This is approximately 60 per cent. of our present weekly production of 74,000 rifles.

At the opening of Spring, Midvale's daily rifle production at the Remington plant was about 4,000 rifles a day. Before Summer is well under way it will probably have doubled the Spring output.

Midvale is guaranteed a stipulated profit by the Govern-

ment in addition to reimbursement for all special expenditures and will consequently have no such terrific depreciation charge to make on rifle account as it set up in 1917.

Earnings of Midvale thus far this quarter have been running a trifle ahead of the first three months, or at rate of better than \$4 a share quarterly on the outstanding 2,000,000 shares.

CONSOLIDATING EXPRESS COMPANIES

DIRECTOR-GENERAL M'ADOO'S order consolidating the express companies was to have been expected. There is no line of activity in which there is greater duplication of service than in the express business. Obviously, if Government operation of railroads would work beneficially through the concentration of traffic on the shortest lines between two points, this concentration would work with equal advantage in the express business. With the establishment of the parcels post, the scope of the express business was very seriously reduced, and all the companies found it necessary to seek new fields and adopt new methods to protect their interests.

BONDS AND CORPORATE FINANCING

SECRETARY M'ADOO has suggested as a further stimulus to the maintenance of the market price of Liberty bonds that these securities be exempt from the higher schedules of taxation which will be necessary in the revised tax legislation. This will bring the Government war bonds more nearly on a level with municipals and similar tax-exempt securities and increase their market value when in possession of investors of modest standing.

It will, however, more than likely have the effect of causing a further depreciation in the market for bonds which do not enjoy this partial exemption from war taxes, which would then be more desirable as investments by investors not subject to the surtax. The fact must not be lost sight of that many corporations will continually be in the market for new capital, and to the extent that their securities are subject to

higher and higher taxes will they be compelled to pay higher and higher interest rates for borrowed money.

It has proved difficult enough to provide funds needed by corporations with the highest credit standing after their plans for new financing have been approved by the Capital Issues Committee at Washington, and many would-be borrowers have found it impossible to meet the requirements of those who are seeking the best possible avenues of investment for their funds. War-time money rates are considerably higher than those which prevailed a few years ago, as many specific cases will illustrate. Just now a syndicate of bankers is offering an issue of Armour & Co. convertible bonds to net the investor 7.15 per cent.; before the war such bonds were in good demand on a 4.60 basis. Corporations are now finding that after the investor has been satisfied and the expenses of issuance defrayed, money is now costing nearer 8 per cent. than 6.

New Books

By CHARLES FRANCIS REED

War Narratives

It is a notable fact that some of the best war material has been written at random, at moments when the writer had no thought that his hurriedly written words would ever be offered to an insatiable public, who never seems to get enough "war stuff." Of course, the reason for the superiority of such letters is easily understood, for being written on the spur of the moment, they are the direct results of the spirit of the moment, the spirit that mirrors the impulses of the heart.

All this is apropos of the fact that Curtis Wheeler, a second lieutenant of the Field Artillery, has offered in a series of Letters¹ to his father some exceptionally fine pictures of France as discovered by the first batches of American fighters to go "over there." It is a small book, and the writer is scarcely more than a boy, yet the morale, the spirit he interprets is admirable and filled with the "win the war" spirit that has made itself so strongly felt during the past few months.

"Keeping Our Fighters Fit"² is written for the people "back home." It is by Edward Frank Allen, but written under the supervision of Raymond B. Fosdick, who shortly after our entrance into the war was appointed Chairman of the War and Navy Department's Commissions of Training Camp Activities. Then, too, by the way of added interest, and to give the book a still more official recommendation, President Wilson has an introductory statement.

The volume is a rather familiar recital of the social work at the camps. It is filled with interesting anecdote and gives

¹"Letters from an American Soldier to His Father," by Curtis Wheeler. The Bobbs Merrill Co. \$0.75 net.

²"Keeping Our Fighters Fit," by Edward Frank Allen. The Century Co. \$1.25.

figures that are convincing. Better than all, it should prove to the anxious people, who imagine that war has nothing but a note of terror, that building the mental and moral man is equally important with the physical building. It is well illustrated and should bring splendid reassurance and information to every home where there is a boy in uniform.

"Covered with Mud and Glory,"¹ by Georges Le Fond, is the history of a Machine Gun Company in action. It is vividly written, with all the sentiment that a Frenchman can possess. Much of the narrative has such dramatic quality that one might imagine that the author were a dramatist preparing his script for the players. This book should stand out from the great mass of war material because of its gripping sentiment.

Earnest Poole's book, "The Dark People,"² will be largely familiar to those admirers of this gifted young man who read his magazine articles after his return from Russia. Mr. Poole is more than ordinarily gifted in the use of words, and his keen observations, his deft picture drawings of conditions as he saw them and as he believes they will ultimately be, makes the volume worth owning, even though the magazines have allowed the reader to become familiar with some of the contents.

Andreas Latzko is an Austrian officer, and that fact is the most significant thing about his commanding book, "Men in War,"³ for this volume is a tirade against war and a song of hatred against the "fatherland." The series of sketches that make up the volume are pictures, not short stories, though they have a fictional twist that makes them all the more convincing. If there were room for a lengthy discussion of this book it might be reviewed in detail and quotation made, for "Men in War" is revealing. As it is, all that can be done is to recommend these sketches with the highest praise as being worthy from a literary standpoint and because they will show the reader the trend of the Aus-

¹"Covered with Mud and Glory," by Georges Le Fond. The Small Maynard Co. \$1.50 net.

²"The Dark People," by Earnest Poole. The Macmillan Co. \$1.50 net.

³"Men in War," by Andreas Latzko. Boni and Liveright. \$1.50 net.

trian mind, backing up the scattered stories of dissatisfaction that come to us through the daily press.

Hector MacQuarrie, who a short time ago issued a very practical book called "How to Live at the Front," is the author of "Over Here."¹ The volume is a description of war-time America as seen by an English officer. Lieutenant MacQuarrie is a veteran of Ypres, and after a period in various hospitals was sent to the United States as an inspector of production for the British Government. This has enabled him to travel considerably and to meet the real Americans. He likes us, and says so, and he does his telling in a humorous manner. "Over Here" is an entertaining book, a holding up of the mirror so that we may see ourselves as others see us.

Three books from the trenches are "The Brown Brethren,"² by Patrick MacGill; "Shell Proof Mack,"³ by Arthur Mack, and an anonymous volume called "A Temporary Gentleman in France."⁴ The MacGill book is probably the best of the three, for the author has the rare knack of penning character sketches that are gripping. The book might be easily called a novel, but the detail is so perfect, the description of the lives of the three men most concerned is so realistic, that it must be called apart from fiction. "The Brown Brethren" is not simply another war book—it is unlike any book of the war that I can remember.

"Shell Proof Mack" got his name because on one occasion he was buried in the mud by one shell and blown out by the next. He is an American boy who joined the British army, and the story of his seventeen months with that army makes a readable narrative. The best part of the third book, "A Temporary Gentleman in France," is that it is written in the form of letters which, when read, sound as though they had been recently penned by a soldier boy who knew what he was writing. They are unstudied and ring true.

¹ "Over Here," by Hector MacQuarrie. The J. B. Lippincott Co. \$1.35 net.

² "The Brown Brethren," by Patrick MacGill. The George H. Doran Co. \$1.35 net.

³ "Shellproof Mack," by Arthur Mack. Small, Maynard & Co. \$1.35 net.

⁴ "A Temporary Gentleman in France," Anonymous. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50 net.

The FORUM

For August, 1918

THE REPUBLICAN POSITION

By WILL H. HAYS

(CHAIRMAN, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE)

THE majority of the citizens of the United States are Republicans, because the greatest individual prosperity of this nation has been developed under the policies for which the Republican party stands and which it has carried out at all times when the direction of affairs has been under its control, and because of the confidence in the future which that record warrants.

The Republican party is the party of the future or there is no use for the party. Our past record of fifty years of achievement is the best guarantee to the country of our future fulfilment, but it is only on our future fulfilment that our usefulness will depend.

To this Republicanism which has been, is and undoubtedly will remain, the basic element of our national existence, we appeal in this campaign of 1918. We do not shift our essential policies to meet events, but events must be molded by a dominant Republicanism to meet the needs of the nation in 1918 as thoroughly as in 1898 or 1861.

This is a broad and simple program. On it our party firmly stands. I make these suggestions of our more specific purposes:

- (1) To use every possible means to win the war now.
- (2) To secure peace only with victory.

(3) To begin immediately a sane preparation for the solution of the problems immeasurable in their complexity and magnitude which will come after the war. We propose to bring the government back to the limitations and principles of the constitution in time of peace, and to establish policies which again will bind up the wounds of war, renew our prosperity, administer the affairs of government with the greatest economy, enlarge our strength at home and abroad, prevent the further spread of undue socialistic tendency toward federal ownership of all the creation and distribution of wealth as a panacea for every real and fancied ill of society, and to set the nation's feet once more firmly on the path of progress and along ways which liberty and order must ever guard and preserve.

The Pledges of the Republican Party

LET me emphasize what our first purpose signifies. It means, primarily, that at this moment, the greatest of all the crises in our history, when the Republican party finds the control of the government in other hands, it still sinks deeper into the soul of the nation in becoming the dominant war party, pledging ourselves to give the last of our blood and our treasure, if necessary, to win the war and to win it now. We pledge ourselves forever against an inconclusive peace. And at every moment of faltering on the part of those in power, we instantly pick up the guerdon of battle and cry "Carry on."

The second phase of our policy pledges that we shall not permit this government to indulge in any compromise bargaining of principles; that we will stand ever vigilant against any violation of American rights, interests and honor that would come with an inconclusive peace. We propose to make certain that this great sacrifice now being made by the American nation shall have as definite a reward in the triumph of the right as had the sacrifices made by our fathers in '98 and by our grandfathers in '61-'65. This final sacrifice the Republican party will prevent becoming a sacrilege. It is peculiarly our duty and privilege to insure at least this much for our grandchildren.

The third suggestion embraces two great constructive purposes and in a peculiarly fitting sense expresses the renewed Republicanism for, like the old Republicanism, the party is today as it always has been essentially constructive. These two phases are: (a) Preparation for peace, and (b) a proper and just restriction of the present socialistic tendency in our government, to the end that while we fight to make certain forever the right of free government throughout the world, we shall not forget that we have a Republic to preserve in North America.

Every nation in Europe, on both sides of the fighting line, is today preparing for peace. The United States alone, of all the first-class powers engaged in this war, is drifting along the ways of the moment without thought of preparation for the morrow. This we declare to be typical of the policies of our opponents. We declare that it is not an essential part of the conduct of the war, but is an ingrained characteristic of our opponents' shortsighted policy. Just as no preparation was made for war in 1914, 1915 or 1916, just so in 1918 is no preparation being made for peace. Against this fatuous ease we declare a constructive opposition.

Our party projects its vision into the reconstruction period. It proposes to take concrete account of the very many vital problems that will confront this nation once peace is declared, not only our internal problems which will bear most heavily upon us for solution, but of like importance the new problems, foreign as yet to our experience, which this nation must solve as an essential element of its new destiny as a world power. We have pledged our blood, our wealth, our industry to free from a militaristic tyranny the peoples of the earth. Phrases will not accomplish this, and not even victories upon the battle field will accomplish it unless behind those victories stand a sane, practical business-like program fit to meet on equal business terms the programs of all European nations.

We Are as Unprepared for Peace as We Were for War

THOUGH this country is today riding the high-tide of a gigantic war preparation, it is nevertheless under its present government still "Watchfully waiting." "Watchful

waiting " is no less fallacious now than in 1915 and 1916. The fact that the pilot's horizon has enlarged from the borders of Mexico to the confines of the wide world does not decrease, but rather increases, the iniquity of this peaceful ineptitude. A greater shame than any of the past will presently be upon us if this new failure continues. The Republican party proposes vigorously to prevent the continued riding of our Ship of State in these doldrums. We will put her nose into the open sea, with the signal " Full steam ahead."

Every thinking man and woman has noted the socialistic tendencies of the present government. We declare that while there is absolutely nothing in this country which should not be taken and used for necessary war purposes, such taking shall be for war purposes only and that in such action there must be no eventual ulterior object. The Republican party from its inception has stood against undue federalization of industries and activities. We always have and still shall endeavor to find the middle ground so well defined as between " the anarchy of unregulated individualism and the deadening formalism of inefficient and wide-spread state ownership."

It becomes more apparent every day that it is to the Republican party, with its new Republicanism, that the nation alone can look to bring the government back to the limitations of the constitution when peace returns once more. The best thought of the party will be devoted to this all-embracing phase of government.

The Republican party declares that the American laboring man will need a protective tariff after the war more than before. We believe that labor constitutes the country's greatest asset; in this crisis labor is the country's salvation. Our protective tariff policies have made the wages of our laborers the highest in the world, and the welfare of these men must have a consideration which will give them fair representation in all the councils of the Nation, and such remedial legislation as will guarantee to them that to which in all fairness they are entitled. Moreover, we stand steadfastly with labor against the insidious influences of all criminal elements, whether organized, or unorganized.

We will consider especially the agricultural requirements of the country. The Republican party has always been the friend of the farmer. One great element of its strength in the future, no less than of its strength in the past, will be composed of its country constituency. Greater and greater grows the importance of land development and the welfare of those on whom that burden rests, and as the values of farm-holds increase more and more become apparent the difficulties incident to their regulation and taxation. Every adequate right must be protected and every just opportunity for development carefully encouraged. To these purposes are dedicated the best brains of the Republican party.

We propose to meet the great readjustment of business in the period now dawning with sympathy and not with antagonistic curtailment. Business must be treated with an appreciation of its fundamental importance, with an enlightened realization that it has become a vast symbol of the country's wealth and power. We shall not permit business to become the shuttle-cock of the demagogue. By proper care and under a protective tariff we will see that we retain in this country those great new industries building up now so marvelously under forced war conditions, and we propose that these vast new enterprises shall not be thrown aside when peace returns once more.

Party United for War and Reconstruction

I HAVE traveled from coast to coast, and throughout the states, and it seems very clear that the party's issues are the issues of the majority of the American people, for today I can say with an absolute certainty of knowledge gained from firsthand information that the great Republican party stands and is united as the party normally equipped to win the war now and to support and stand by the great principles for which the war is being fought. The party is willing, is able, and intends to establish and preserve them.

There is no dissension in the Republican party on this point. We are not holding back. We are not playing politics. We support with every ounce of our power the purposes of

the Nation. We regard this as the war of the whole people. We denounce inefficiency, dishonesty, weakness and every influence, whether political or economical, that might postpone the day of victory.

We do not indulge in meticulous criticisms. We do not allege specific dishonesties or disabilities, except as they may become unalterably and undeniably evident in due time. Our opposition to the party temporarily in power is based on far broader grounds and attacks basic principles, not superficial inequalities or accidents. This is no time for little things. The world is on fire.

However, let me especially emphasize one cardinal thought which inspires the renewed Republican party. That is this: War time is no time to forget proper political differences. Above all times, the moment when millions of our sons are on the battle field preparing to give their lives if need be in defense of the principle that all men have the right to govern themselves, it is equally our duty and privilege to give expression in the only known way we have to the right of governing ourselves, by registering our self-governing power at the ballot box.

Fair Political Contests Demanded

THE sons of America are fighting today in France to make certain that men in all corners of the world forever shall have the right to govern themselves. Here, in 1918, we have that privilege, and it is our duty to exercise it. The Republican party calls upon every man to exercise his voting right now, and to do it intelligently and after full discussion and consideration. To do less is to shirk the supreme duty of a sovereign citizenship and to squander worse than recklessly the richest heritage with which we are endowed. The war does not lessen, the war accentuates, these responsibilities.

All we ask is that in politics as on the battle field the American voter shall fight fair. Give us a free and open field, where there will be no underhand methods employed, and a contest on the direct issues, with policies openly and well ex-

pressed by the opposing sides. Then let this contest continue to its rightful conclusion. The party in power says "Politics is adjourned," and then proceeds to practice the most powerful partisan politics ever attempted by any political party in any period or in any place. Without particularizing, permit me to cite the notorious conditions recently aggravated first in Wisconsin, then in Michigan, and so on, apparently, *ad infinitum*.

There will always be political contests. A fair contest for political power is no less an antiseptic in war times than in peace times. In fact, in war times we require, even more than in peace times, the most careful scrutiny of the principles and of the candidates which are to rule us.

What we need in this country is not less politics, but more attention to politics. It is just as essential that our vigorous individualistic thinking shall be fairly registered in the November elections as it is that our individualistic, vigorous fighting shall triumph on the French battle fields. While our boys in Europe with their rifles are defending the right of man everywhere to govern himself, their fathers and their brothers will use that right at home at the ballot box.

The individual rights of all American citizens are and must be exactly what the individual rights of the members of the Republican party are, namely, to participate in the party's affairs on a basis that must always remain equally sacred and sacredly equal.

Another thought dominant in our renewed organization is this: Our party has no yesterdays. We do not care how a man voted in 1912, 1914 or 1916; nor his reasons for so doing. Whatever his ticket may have been is his affair, not ours. The great work before us is too vital for us to consider anything but the present and the future. All who are with us now and who wish to share with us that work are entitled to identically the same consideration.

What a Republican Victory Will Mean

THE renewed party declares that while its principles are essential and must be adhered to, the character of its men who are to hold office is of prime importance. The party

pledges that every candidate shall be a man supremely pro-American, believing in one flag and one people for this country. Every candidate will be one who will repudiate every vote not wholly loyal and denounce any support not wholly patriotic; he will be willing to give his all and the country's all for the most vigorous prosecution of the war, and he will strive irrevocably for a peace by victory and we will never permit a traffic in principles.

Finally: I must say that I trust there may be no allegations from either one side or the other concerning disloyalty in the coming campaign. Any such allegation will give a totally false impression of conditions in this country to the enemy. And the man, or the committee, or party who starts anything like that will be guilty, in the very act, of the worst kind of disloyalty.

A Republican victory this fall will mean primarily one thing, an ever-increasing vigorous prosecution of the war. A Republican Congress means a war Congress which will be a warranty of its own performance and a guarantee of a complete fulfilment of duty by every department of the government. Every Republican vote cast is another nail in the Kaiser's coffin, every Republican Congressman elected is another stone piled on his tomb. *I hope and trust that the party in power will work by the same token. Let there be no contest in this country as to anything that touches the war, between any individuals or between any political parties, except such a contest in effort as may discover who can serve us the best and who can give us the most.*

Such is the broad, clear, steady vision of the renewed Republicanism. It offers the American Nation a history of potent achievement to which it remains consistently steadfast and a present of loyal and unselfish devotion of which it is justly proud. Its future, guaranteed by its past, underwritten by its present, will measure its steps forward by the new needs of the Nation.

OUR NEW INTERNATIONALISM

Diplomatic, Social and Economic Conditions Changed

By SENATOR GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK

[CHAIRMAN U. S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS]

ONE of the notable effects of war on the United States is the disappearance or subsidence of domestic issues. In place of them we have growing international problems and foreign relations greatly modified.

For generations the American people have had their attention almost constantly confined to questions of domestic policy. Contending parties have fought over them and but little attention has been given to international matters. About the only notable exception was the change brought about by the Spanish-American War which had brought us into contact with Asia and the far east. It served also to fix our attention upon our interests in the Pacific Ocean and it was naturally followed by the Panama Canal project for connecting that ocean with the waters of the Atlantic. That in turn developed a deeper interest in Pan-American matters and served to bring the United States into closer international relations with the many republics of Central and South America.

Even after the above changes, however, America held herself aloof from the affairs of the rest of the world. There was something more than three thousand miles of ocean which separated us from European politics and European diplomacy. There was the traditional aversion to becoming involved in their disagreements and controversies.

Even after the great war broke out America, under the leadership of President Wilson, struggled to maintain her neutrality and to avoid becoming involved in the conflict. Only when it became evident that Germany proposed to make herself the dominant power of the world and to trample un-

der foot not only nations with which she was at war but to destroy the rights and liberties of neutral nations as well, did it become necessary for the United States to enter the struggle as she did on the sixth of April, 1917. That entry has entirely changed the course not only of American history but probably also the history of the world. It has perhaps resulted in saving civilization from destruction and it has certainly prevented Europe from returning to the era of the dark ages as it would have done if Germany had conquered.

Few, if any, appreciated at the time the importance of America's entrance into the war. Few realized that the collapse of the great Russian Empire was at hand and that that collapse would probably have made Germany the master of Europe except for the almost simultaneous entry of the United States into the conflict.

MANY YEARS TO RESTORE FORMER RELATIONS WITH GERMANY

WHETHER we will or no, whether we like it or not, our entry into the struggle has given to the United States an interest in international relations and international problems of which we shall probably never see the end. It has brought us into relations so close and intimate with our co-belligerent countries that we will necessarily be deeply involved not only in the terms of the peace which is to succeed this war but in the relations which will succeed the peace.

It is easy to see, for instance, that it will probably take many years to restore anything like the former commercial relations between the United States and Germany after the war ends. It is also apparent that the very intimate relations of friendship and common interest which have been established during the war will serve after the war ends to make business and commercial relations very close between the United States, France, Great Britain, Italy and our other associate countries.

Moreover, it is obvious that the longer the war lasts the closer will the relations become between the United States and the other countries of the western hemisphere. For nearly four years now Germany has had practically no com-

mercial or financial relations with the twenty-six Pan-American republics, and the longer this condition lasts the more difficult will it become for Germany ever to regain her former commanding position with them. Every month now makes their relations with the United States closer. This is true of banking relations. It is true also of imports and exports. It is true also of social intercourse.

OUR ALLIES OWE US \$6,500,000,000

THERE is still another particular in which the war is tending to unite the interests of the United States with those of the nations associated with us in this war. I refer to the fact that the United States has become an enormous creditor nation and has advanced vast loans to Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and other countries. This establishes an entirely new relation in the history of the world or, at least, upon a scale so immense as to make the situation entirely novel. These nations already owe to the Government of the United States six and a half billion dollars and this amount will be enormously increased as the war goes on. Heretofore nations have as a rule borrowed from individuals. They have sold their securities in any market of the world where corporations, banks and individuals would purchase them. Their creditors, therefore, have not been sovereign nations but unorganized creditors. At the close of this war, however, the Government of the United States will be a creditor of our associate nations in the war to an extent so vast as to constitute an entirely new situation and to raise entirely novel problems of international intercourse and relationship. Undoubtedly these prodigious credits will influence international arrangements, commercial treaties and the future relations of the nations themselves.

And so the fact is that one of the results of this war, whatever other result it may have, will be to take the attention of the American people away from the smaller domestic problems and to fix their attention more and more upon the great problems which grow out of international relations.

This change will make it easier for the development of

that future which we all look forward to when government will cease to be simply national and become international; when law and order in the affairs of the world will become a matter of international arrangement and agreement, and when international law will become as powerful and conclusive a method of settling international differences as domestic law is in the best governed countries.

OUR AIRCRAFT PREPARATIONS

Some Observations and Conclusions Regarding the
Most Difficult Part of the Work

By EDWIN WILDMAN

AMERICA has got to think in terms of aircraft development. Airmen thinkers have for some time had a prophetic eye to the future, but the public has yet to vision the significance of this new mechanism, from its various aspects that relate to public safety, world safety and sea security. I do not refer alone to the present achievements in aircraft, but to the future possibilities.

The war has thrown forward the airplane twenty-five years. Yesterday it was the plaything of a few daring and ingenious youths, later it became "the eyes of the army;" quickly it developed into a fighting machine, carrying tons of explosives; next it bombed cities, fortifications, troops—a definite and indispensable adjunct of the battle line in Europe. Today it has developed into a military force—an air army, scout, battle plane, bomb thrower, operating over land and sea—of limitless potentialities and possibilities. German planes attack London and Paris, English planes have flown to Petrograd and Constantinople, carrying heavy burdens of bombs. Italian planes penetrate Austrian territory. American planes are making daily trips from New York to Washington. Mail, express and passenger routes are contemplated from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. Many large cities are reserving their aeroplane landing fields. Germany is planning an after-the-war conquest of the air. Her great aeroplane factories, her aero corps are to be kept going. Does she plan to bomb Europe into subjection, failing in her arms?

Today we are planning to fly across the ocean. Hints come out of Germany that lead Washington to send out warn-

ings with instructions what to do in case of an air raid. Office building elevators are posted with them. The era of air navigation, whether for war or peace, is here. It will progress just as surely as the ship progressed from the sailing to the gas propelled 20,000 ton steel greyhound; just as surely as the automobile, the steam engine, the telephone and the wireless progressed. We may view the future of the aeroplane, in its peaceful pursuits, as the last word in rapid transportation; in its war aspect we greet it with after-war consideration of grave importance. The super-aircraft nation will hold the balance of power. The progress in engine building and plane construction warrants the vision. Imagine a thousand horse power in the air, hurling a plane carrying tons of bombs through space at a hundred miles an hour! In view of the present progress in aircraft this is not a large stretch of vision.

THE WARS OF THE FUTURE

PICTURE the 3,000,000, or a fraction thereof, of the automobiles in the United States suddenly taking wings, lifting themselves over armies, navies, or cities, carrying hundreds of thousands—millions—of tons of explosives! An air army of ten thousand—one hundred thousand—bombing planes could destroy cities, railroads, munition plants, war fleets, and human beings by the tens of thousands, and then go on their way to give battle *only in the air*. The time may not be far distant when we shall no longer be dependent upon sea and land navigation to transport the huge battle planes across continents or oceans. They will encompass the distance under their own power, with their own crews, carrying their burdens of explosives—at 150 to 200 miles an hour, perhaps faster.

These are thoughts of the future that prompt us to the necessity of thinking today in terms of aircraft. It behooves us to think of our own efficiency now and of our preparedness for that rapidly approaching future, when war will be struck in the air, fought and determined in the air—a vantage point inaccessible to all known instruments of war but the aeroplane itself.

Are we speeding up, keeping up with the progress in Europe; with the constantly increasing progress in Germany? Will we assert our supremacy in the war and maintain our supremacy and production in the future? There is only one answer to these questions. The answer is, "We must," if we are preparing for the future as well as the present, for the battle-plane of Europe has come to stay—it must stay in increasing perfection, efficiency, size, fearsomeness and quantity, in America.

The American production of war aircraft has been under way something over a year. To meet the requirements abroad was a problem that confronted our engineers and our manufacturers, of intricate, scientific, and colossal proportions. Early in the program it was decided that this could be achieved only by quantity production, in the manner found successful by our automobile builders. Hence to them the government turned for help.

WHAT QUANTITY PRODUCTION MEANS

QUANTITY production is achieved by perfect co-ordination of a number of different manufacturing plants, each building the parts best suited to its particular equipment; in the case of the aircraft motor and plane, quantity production is building those parts so absolutely perfect as to be indistinguishable from and interchangeable with the parts built by any other concern working on the same plan and specification—down to the two-thousandth of an inch, both in metal and wood working. The part, no matter how small or complex, built in an Elmira machining shop, must fit without "fitting" work, into another part built in Toledo. A screw or connecting rod made at Detroit must correspond exactly with its complementary part or with its duplicate made in Elizabeth, New Jersey, or Flint, Michigan. There must be no deviation either as to size, weight, or hardness of the metal. An assembled motor made at Dayton must set into a fuselage, or aeroplane body, made at Detroit or Buffalo.

To accomplish this scientific achievement is to insure not only production in quantity, but to make possible the rapid

substitution of parts on the field of action. It also permits the entire separation of manufacturing functions and enables the assembly plant to draw necessary supplies from any one of its co-ordinating manufacturing units irrespective of distance. In this is involved the transportation problem, requiring the rapid movement of forged parts to their machining plant and thence to their assembly plant and thence to the aviation field and to tide water. Nothing must interfere with the smooth exchange and quick supply lest one slight holdup of one part defer assembly and hold back deliveries.

When America was faced with the problem of contributing its share to the air battle in Europe, the Government naturally turned for knowledge of aircraft to the existing and proven engines and planes in use at the front. The various models successfully built in England and France were studied, brought over here, and taken under expert consideration with a view to quantity production.

WHY WE DID NOT REPRODUCE FOREIGN PLANES

IT is the opinion of some aircraft experts in this country that we should have and might have followed slavishly the European models and have produced the aircraft so much needed on the battle line—so much needed primarily because it had become almost impossible in England and France to accelerate aircraft production.

Upon careful examination and investigation of the situation in regard to European aircraft, it was found that the European models, both engines and fuselages, were to almost an exclusive extent dependent upon highly skilled labor in the fitting or finishing rooms.

The European motors were highly complicated and technical machines, composed of an extraordinary number of parts, and these parts, to secure perfect unity, had to be fitted by machine artisans before they were successfully developed to perfection.

In this country, in the automobile business, our machines were built so as to work in measurements of two thousandths of an inch automatically. In Europe the final "machin-

ing " was done largely by skilled artisans. This country had not developed the same type of skilled fitters, and furthermore *to employ or develop such a class of workmen would be only to find ourselves confronted with the problem of limited production.*

It was thought that the most advisable method to pursue in the case of the engine was to develop an all-American motor. To accomplish this a number of the most skilled automobile engineers were called in and asked to pool the secrets of their various motors into one, all-American, Liberty Motor.

Such men as Sir Henry Fowler and Major-General Branker were of the opinion that to really reproduce and imitate the existing foreign motors, was to take a step backward, and it was demonstrated in one or more of the largest automobile concerns in America that to build a certain English motor only brought disaster. Its requirements did not fit in with existing machine tools and shop practices in this country. *In fact, the human element in skilled labor was an important consideration.* Men trained on American machines in the method and manner characteristic of America could not accustom themselves to unfamiliar designs, plans and specifications, and methods of foreign production. All these factors led to the rejection of the reproduction of foreign motors and stimulated the development of the now famous Liberty Motor.

Furthermore, abroad they were using something like sixty different types of engines and had we undertaken such a program, we would have had our manufacturers all experimenting and competing along different lines, with the result of lack of co-ordination and the total failure of quantity production.

WHO PRODUCED THE LIBERTY MOTOR

THERE were called into consultation such men as Mr. Ferguson of the Pierce Arrow, Mr. White of the Cadillac, Mr. Leland of the Lincoln Motor Company, Mr. Crone of the Wright-Martin, Major Hall of the Hall-Scott Company,

Lieut-Col. Vincent of the Packard Company, together with General Squires and Colonel Deeds of the Signal Corps, to whom were given the responsibility of producing the Liberty. To these men were given all the confidential data of all foreign engines and all American engines, and in the production of the Liberty, *there were not utilized any but tried-out principles*, either abroad or in this country. Factory secrets were laid upon the table and the Liberty became the composite of motor perfection, a twelve cylinder engine that ran in a test fifty hours to the complete satisfaction of the experts. This occurred last August.

The original committee who actually designed and passed upon the Liberty engine included Colonel Deeds, Chief of Equipment, Division of the Signal Corps; Major Haeslett of the Signal Corps, formerly Chief Engineer of the Studebaker; President Leland and Mr. Lang, his factory expert, of the Lincoln Motor Company; Mr. Bealle, production manager of the Packard, and Mr. Hunt, engineer of the Packard; Henry Ford and his chief engineer, Mr. Wills; Mr. Chrysler of the Buick Company; Mr. White of the Cadillac, and Mr. Shaffer of the Nordyke & Marmon Company.

In the meantime the Curtiss Company perfected and developed a motor for their already successful training-plane of that name, and worked out other advanced types. They produced 75 per cent of the flying boats and 80 per cent of the training planes. They have also produced a new engine that is reported to have developed more power than the Liberty.

The Liberty Motor is today being manufactured on a quantity production basis, both in eight and twelve cylinders. It is generally pronounced by expert engineers as the most perfect type of aeroplane motor produced, although it has undergone various and necessary changes in its development with relation to speed and lightness.

It is not permissible at this time to give figures as to quantity production, although numerous statements have been made in print. While the Aircraft Board is ultra-conservative and is averse to extravagant claims, it is fair to say, from my personal observations on an extended visit to

most of the concerns producing aircraft, that the public should have every confidence in the production in necessary quantity and the satisfactory results obtained by the Liberty Motor, both over land and sea, in planes of American and foreign production, in battle line and in flying submarine chasers, known as flying-boats.

The Liberty is being built both in highly equipped automobile factories and in new plants especially constructed for the sole purpose of building these motors in quantities. These plants employ thousands of men and women and the skill of the workers is rapidly achieving quantity production.

Later some of the details and many of the inspiring facts, as well as some of the obstacles, will be dwelt upon. The story of the development and achievement of this great triumph in aircraft machines is the romance of modern engineering, and unfortunately has been the subject of much romancing by ill-informed writers, unauthorized to write or speculate upon information of importance to the enemy. A plan to make public reliable information is under consideration and at the proper time will be given to the public.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AEROPLANE

THE development of the aeroplane in the last year has been fraught with as delicate scientific problems and intricate calculations as in the case of the engine. The aeroplane is yet in its infancy, but fortunately its infancy assumes rather perfect proportions. All the world knows of the efficiency of the American training-plane, largely produced by the Curtiss Company in conjunction with the Willys units at Toledo and Elmira, as well as Buffalo. This plane, however, like other light and swift European planes, was quickly auxiliated at the fighting front by a type of plane which could give battle and drop bombs. To utilize the designs of existing foreign planes of the larger types, was the problem put before our engineers. We undertook to build both English and French planes, the Bristol and the de Havilland, in this country. We found that what held true of the foreign motors to a large extent held true of the foreign built

planes. Their plans and designs were not susceptible of quantity output, an essential for large production. Our factories became experimental stations at the beck of the changing orders from Washington and we were compelled to pass through a trying experience of developing larger and more powerful planes along the lines of proven principles in foreign planes, that would stand the test of bomb-carrying and of strength and design necessary to accommodate double the amount of power used in foreign planes—planes that had proper carrying facilities for engine, rifles, and bombs, and yet could attain greater speed than had been previously produced abroad for planes of similar type.

It is an axiom that when a plane arrives at perfection, it becomes obsolete. The science of flying, and the requirements of battle planes are moving forward so rapidly. It is true we have built with great success the de Haviland plane, both the advanced training-plane and the battle-plane, and we are now developing and have developed, for the use of the Liberty Motor, the powerful Handley-Page and the Caproni.

America is not behind in its development and its abilities to turn these planes out in quantity production. This our manufacturers have accomplished. We have solved many problems of steel, heat treating processes, alloys, fabrics, woods, and various scientific principles involved in weight and speed. We have overcome innumerable obstacles. We have other problems, perhaps equally intricate, but we have developed quantity production in brains, too, and what is of prime importance, we have centered in the production aircraft program that essential, the "sporting spirit" in production, all the way from the Chief of Production to the patient girl in the testing room, from the growers of the castor bean to the spruce lumber-jacks of Alaska.

Despite delays, apparently largely coincident with the development of an almost new science, it is not expressing too much optimism to say that the American manufacturers and the experts in aircraft in this country today have arrived successfully at the point, if not the peak of, quantity production.

WHO WILL PAY THE NEW TAXES?

How the Government Will Raise That
\$8,000,000,000

By HON. CLAUDE KITCHIN

[CHAIRMAN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS]

Congressman Kitchin has prepared, for FORUM readers, a careful analysis of the new war revenue taxes—clearly defining the Government's attitude toward business and war profits.

THE Administration, through the Secretary of the Treasury, announces that to properly finance the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, it is necessary to raise by taxation, in addition to the amount now being raised under existing law, \$4,000,000,000, or a total taxation of \$8,000,000,000.

When one contemplates the enormous amount of bond issues, which, without this larger tax levy, must become necessary and the immense burden which their annual interest charge alone would entail upon this and future generations, and the danger of inflation of credits and rise of prices which large bond issues involve, the wisdom of the Administration's insistence upon such increased tax collection becomes at once apparent.

The closest estimate of Secretary McAdoo is that we shall have to expend for the year at least \$24,000,000,000. If, with a new revenue measure, we raise in all the desired \$8,000,000,000, we will have to issue for the finance requirements of the year \$16,000,000,000 of bonds.

We have already issued and sold \$10,000,000,000, totaling \$26,000,000,000, issued and to be issued, exclusive of \$2,000,000,000 of war saving certificates provided for.

The annual interest charge on these bonds, at the $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent rate, is \$1,105,000,000, requiring more than one-eighth of the contemplated amount of taxes each year to pay.

Should we make no further tax levy and content our-

selves with the collections under existing laws, our bond issues by the end of the year would amount to \$30,000,000,000.

This would entail an annual interest charge, even if we can keep the interest rate at $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, of \$1,275,000,000, and it would take more than one-fourth of the collections from taxes each year to pay it.

From this it is not difficult to conclude that not only is the Administration's determination to insist on such increased taxation economic wisdom but an economic necessity.

Eight billion dollars is twice as much as this country or any other nation in the world has ever attempted to raise by taxation in one year. It is nearly three times the total amount of collection from taxes and bonds during the four years of the Civil War.

HARDSHIPS IN TAXATION INEVITABLE

IT goes without saying that to provide for the raising of this huge sum, Congress has a most difficult and appalling task. But the duty is clear, the responsibility is vast. The Constitution imposes the duty and responsibility of originating such a revenue measure upon the House of Representatives, and, under the rules, they, in the first instance, are transferred to the Ways and Means Committee. The Committee has already assumed the responsibility and begun the first steps towards the performance of the duty and will go forward determinedly and as rapidly as possible. Protest and condemnation are inevitable, especially from those who have neither duty nor responsibility in the matter.

To frame any bill imposing high taxes which will have the approval of all the taxpayers is impossible, nor is it possible to write a bill without imposing hardships on many taxpayers, or without containing in its operation and enforcement inequities and inequalities in many particular cases. There never has been and never will be a tax law perfectly equitable. Indeed, every law, civil or criminal, however clear and just its provisions may seem, works in its operations hardships and inequalities in cases that sometimes arise. It

shall be the effort of the Committee and Congress to obviate as far as possible such inequalities and inequities. To aid us in the effort we have before us the experience of the operation and enforcement of the present revenue acts.

Instead of a bill additional to the two or three existing acts, the Committee proposes to embrace in one comprehensive bill all the tax legislation with respect to internal revenue, including the income tax, excess of war profits tax, the estate tax and all other excise taxes. It may be said here, too, that no doubt in order to ease the payment of the colossal amount of taxes a reasonable installment plan will be provided for.

WHERE THE HUGE TAXES WILL FALL

HOW shall we go about it to get the \$8,000,000,000? Congress and the country are in entire agreement with the President in the declaration in his revenue message that the big increase must come chiefly from incomes, excess of war profits and the luxuries. Wealth, therefore, must be taxed instead of poverty, luxuries instead of necessities. We shall have to retain the list, including the luxuries and semi-luxuries, subject to the excise tax of existing statutes and increase the rates in most, if not in all, of them and shall have to add many articles to the excise tax list. After doing this, it is evident that the larger portion of the increase must be derived from incomes and excess of war profits. The requirement of such large increased revenues necessitates, of course, largely increased rates.

We should proceed along the concretely practical rather than the abstractly ideal line. What an ideal and happy situation would confront us if, as the boy at the front is devoting to his country his full capacity to fight, the business man, the money-maker, at home would make up his mind to devote to his country, during the war, his full capacity to make money, and be glad in the thought that, each morning as he begins his labor, the day should be a day of service to his country, ambitious in rivaling his competitor only in contributing a larger proportion to his Government for its support! But the longest war is too short a time to educate such

a sentiment and effort into him. Nor is it practical or possible to force them into him by law.

All collections from business must come from profits. In exacting contributions from business we must recognize its fundamental incentive to effort, profits, its main ambition, more profits. We must not destroy either. We must keep in mind that business as it relates to the national revenues has two important and necessary functions to perform, first, to furnish the Government a large portion of its needed collections, second, to help the Government dispose of its Liberty Bonds at each new issue.

THE GOVERNMENT—THE NEW PARTNER IN BUSINESS

WITHOUT profits it can perform neither, and if incentive and ambition of business be destroyed there will be no profits. We must take care that the goose that lays the golden egg be not killed or disabled. The egg just now is essential to the Government and the survival of the goose is essential to the egg. That is to say, in any scheme of large tax levies, the cupidity of business must be reckoned with and, after payment of all taxes, it must be left profits sufficient to preserve the incentive of aggressive efforts to continue its profit-making. It must continue to make efforts and to make profits because the Government must continue to have a part of those profits, and in all probability, in many cases, a large part.

Not only the Committee and Congress, but the Price Fixing Board should keep these considerations constantly in view. Otherwise, Congress might be forced to resort for the greater portion of its revenues to direct taxes on consumption. On the other hand, the war needs of the country demand that Congress require of business, corporate and individual, a partnership in its income and profits with the Government. It may be necessary in many cases for the Government to be the bigger sharer. Business, too, must be open and honest with its new partner, and should so control its cupidity and ambition as to co-operate with glad enthusiasm in all the aims and efforts of such partner.

To get rich quick out of the war, or during the war, will by the revenue necessities of the Government hereafter be a forbidden indulgence. Designed profiteering and "blood-money" making must cease. However, we should be careful not to construe all increase of incomes and profits since the war as profiteering and "blood money." Large inflation, or rather expansion, of credits and the big difference between supply and demand have caused to be made immense profits. The man and the industry that had the supply inevitably made extraordinary profits. Perhaps, they will continue to make such profits but will not be able to appropriate so large a part to their own use. The big new partner will take a heavy hand in the appropriation to its own use.

While, no doubt, others have engaged in the deliberately planned and manipulated profiteering and "blood-money" making, the Government contractors and subcontractors will probably be found to be the chief offenders.

WEALTH WILL NOT BE PENALIZED OR CONFISCATED

WEALTH will not be penalized or confiscated, but it will understand, of course, that the Government must not be paralyzed by lack of funds. The taxpayer, however, big be he, can be sure that the Committee and Congress will not adopt in the making of a tax bill any such theory as taking for the Government all income in excess of any specified amount, now being agitated by quite a respectable few.

A comparison of the income tax returns of corporations and individuals for the years 1914—the year the war began—1916 and 1917 and the prodigious increase of incomes in 1917 over those of 1914 furnish us a sure starting point in the income and excess profits tax program. Corporate net incomes for the year 1914 amounted to \$3,940,000,000; individual net income amounted to \$4,000,000,000, a total income of \$7,940,000,000

In 1916 corporate net incomes amounted to \$8,765,900,000; individual net incomes amounted to \$6,300,000,000, a total of \$15,065,900,000. This shows an increase of 1916 over 1914 in corporate incomes of \$4,825,900,000, and in

individual incomes of \$2,300,000,000, or an increase in both of \$7,125,900,000. While for the calendar year 1917 the returns have not as yet been completely tabulated, it is estimated by the Treasury Department that corporate incomes will reach \$10,000,000,000 and individual incomes will reach \$7,000,000,000, or a total of both \$17,000,000,000. Thus there was an increase in 1917 over 1914 in corporate incomes of \$6,060,000,000, and individual incomes of \$3,000,000,000, an increase in both of \$9,060,000,000. Assuming that for the calendar year of 1918 the incomes, corporate and individual, will equal those of 1917, and they will, unless the Price Fixing Board materially interferes, and that we shall be compelled to raise from such incomes and profits \$6,000,000,000, it can be seen that, if proper adjustments are made, it can be done without destroying or seriously crippling business or confiscating incomes of corporations or individuals. After taking the \$6,000,000,000—and that amount may not be necessary—there will still remain to the individual and corporation at least \$3,000,000,000 more income and profits than in 1914, or about 40 per cent more.

WHATEVER amount the Government must have from such incomes and profits, among the different problems are, how to make the proper adjustment, how many brackets in the graduation of the rates, what will the rates in each bracket be, what should the deductions be, how much exemption should be allowed, shall business or industry be placed in different groups, and a different exemption and rate apply to the several groups, etc. These are some of the intricacies and difficulties confronting the Ways and Means Committee and Congress. However high the rate, however large the amount the taxpayer, individual or corporate, must contribute, he should console himself with the thought that every dollar of it is to help his Government save his life in the death struggle now going on. All should realize that the time has come for every patriot to do, not his bit but his all for his country. The boy at the danger front in France is doing his all. Can we who remain at home in safety afford to do less?

OHIO'S WAR WORK

Striking Differences in the War Legislation of the Empire Middle Western State

By HON. JAMES M. COX

[GOVERNOR OF OHIO]

In the first comprehensive article written by Ohio's Governor, since we entered the war, he reveals the adjustment of labor differences, the energies of women and the food productions of this great agricultural State.

THE opportunity to present to the American people the special character of the war measures projected by patriotism and energy of the people of Ohio is most welcome. This review of the special duties conferred upon the Governor and his advisory committees as requested by the editor of THE FORUM is cheerfully written.

There have been certain important differences between the conduct of war measures in Ohio from that of other States.

The vast achievement in Ohio is that of the people themselves. Men and women probably unknown outside of their immediate localities have labored as hard, as earnestly and as long as anyone attached to any sub-division of the Government. It should, therefore, be understood that in referring to the State as a governmental unit, its work has been largely to direct volunteer service. Unification has made possible every accomplishment, with all aid running in a single line from the boys and girls in the schools to the head of the State government.

In what is here set down, an effort is made to summarize what appear to be the leading activities of Ohio in support of the nation's war program.

WAR ENERGIES OF THE STATE

THE Ohio Branch, Council of National Defense, appointed on June 1, 1917, by the Governor, aside from its functions to inspire the war energies of the State, holds a unique

position among other organizations of a similar character in other States. Being a Committee created to mobilize the resources of war, to act specifically as an aid to the war policies of the National Government, its character became so closely interwoven with the universal spirit of patriotism of the State of Ohio, that it was not necessary to prescribe its authority and usefulness, either by act of Congress or of the State Legislature. Unlike Councils in some states, it does not have legal status. The Ohio Branch, Council of National Defense, operates as a war cabinet, advisory to the Governor. It aims to include in its active authority the co-operation of the State Departments. It is a consulting cabinet, a sort of supreme court of inquiry through which all local and city organizations of war character can be advised and assisted in defense measures. The numerous local defense councils and war units of Ohio, which sprang up from the fallow soil of patriotism, through organizations of local initiative, in various counties and cities; the allied war agencies in the state, such as the American Red Cross, the United States Public Service Reserve, the Boys' Working Reserve, the Department of Agricultural Extension at the Ohio State University, and many others; these were the dependents and co-operators with the Council of Defense of the State.

The tremendous work accomplished by the Ohio Branch, Council of National Defense of Ohio, has not required the support of statutes. In some respects, the council has considered this fortunate, being relieved in this way of any restriction on its functional work.

The position which the State of Ohio has taken toward the women of the State has been noteworthy, chiefly because the industry and the energy of the women themselves has given them an executive record which surpasses that of some other States.

The Ohio Council, for instance, has a woman member.

This was because it seemed preferable to give women war-workers in the State direct representation.

In co-ordinating all possible war agencies in Ohio, it was obvious that additional members might be appointed to

the Council from time to time. Therefore, the foundation of the Ohio Branch, Council of National Defense, was conceived so that the scope of the organization could be enlarged at any time.

The men chosen to serve came from all parts of the State, from Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, Dayton, Youngstown, Akron, Toledo, Springfield, Bucyrus. The main Committees were those of Finance, Food Conservation, Labor and Industrial Relations, Publicity, Transportation, Americanization and a Committee on County and Community Council Organization. There were sub-committees on health, on patriotic education, on motor truck transportation, on ship-building, on vagrancy, schools, on home community, on industrial plants.

It was not necessary for the Committee on Finance to secure any funds for the operation of the Council, because the State Legislature had made an appropriation transferable for that purpose on the direction of the Governor. Also the whole-hearted co-operation of the entire council with Liberty Loan and War Savings Stamps propaganda relieved the Committee on Finance of any obligation or special work in these activities. As a matter of fact the session of the General Assembly of Ohio had adjourned before the declaration of war, and therefore the plan of the State Defense Council had not been disclosed. Anticipating such an emergency, however, the State Legislature had previously appropriated \$250,000 for war uses. The statute making this appropriation is explanatory.

Of the \$250,000 so appropriated, approximately \$131,587 was expended by the Adjutant General of Ohio in recruiting the National Guard and for other military necessities of the Ohio National Guard incident to mobilization for war under order of the President.

The balance of the \$250,000 appropriation has been expended by the Ohio Branch, Council of National Defense.

Owing to her geographical connection with the East and West, the State of Ohio was regarded as an index in war measures for other States.

ENORMOUS WAR INDUSTRIES SAFEGUARDED

THEFORE, the work of the various Committees, the conditions with which they had to deal, became perhaps typical of conditions existing in other large middle-western States, where the remoteness of their position from the Atlantic seaboard might have reasonably reduced their sense of war energy in the cause of self-defense. The enormous industrial operations of the State, the farm areas, those splendid agricultural facilities for progress in food manufacture, brought up the question of adjusting the labor and industrial relations of the State to the needs of the war.

The Committee on Labor and Industrial Relations set itself three chief tasks. They were problems which required a respect for the rights of employers and employees.

1—To create policies affecting labor, employment and industry in Ohio, during the period of the war.

2—The adjustment of labor disputes, threatened or actual. Disputes, for instance, which involve the conditions of workers, which speeded up war production, which produced the maximum of output.

3—The energetic co-operation of Ohio's twenty-two State and State Free Employment Agencies, financed by the War Emergency Fund, granted by the Legislature to the Governor, by which the Council is maintained.

It was primarily decided by the Committee on Labor and Industrial Relations that no changes should be made in the existing labor protective statutes of Ohio. And it was further agreed that the laws protecting the health of women and children in all industries should continue to be rigorously enforced in the State. It was the opinion of this committee that the excellent laws of the State of Ohio, governing labor, were the best support of the war measures in the making of war material we could supply the National Government.

It was the opinion of the Council that the time had not yet come to suspend the protective laws or regulations governing industries. The Committee further confirmed this decision by special investigation, with the result that those

conditions which appeared in the State to threaten the pre-war laws and regulations affecting labor were modified, were opposed by other means. This led to some misunderstanding of labor interests in the State, but the Committee on Labor and Industrial Relations placed itself on record as being willing and anxious to join with the Government. This was accomplished by the nation-wide energies of the War Emergency Employment Campaign, which was directed primarily to secure shipbuilders. The Committee requested the proviso, however, in this demand from the National Government, that in any scheme of co-operation with the Government, it should not take from the State of Ohio such labor as might be necessary to the war industries of the State. It was the opinion of this Committee that the Government in being supplied with labor from the State of Ohio should, in return, allot to this State a fair and proportionate number of employees needed for shipbuilding and other Government labor in the State. It was further requested that the Government agencies in the State of Ohio engaged in rounding up workers should operate and employ through the State agencies, through the State Employment system. This was proposed so as to prevent duplication of effort, to avoid confusion to the drafting of men from the State for jobs outside the State, and so deplete the labor needs of the State itself.

The question of having a general registration of women in the State of Ohio for industrial service was opposed by this Committee for the present. While it was admitted that such a step might be necessary later, it was concluded that the present influx of women into the industries might prove very unfortunate. Labor disputes were anticipated, and adjusted, satisfactorily.

The Employment Service of the Ohio Branch, Council of National Defense, was very thoroughly planned. A great deal of farm labor was secured from the cities in the State. The higher wages being paid in the country, and the increased value of other things furnished on the farm in addition to cash pay, attracted a great many men from the cities to the farms. Local agents of farm employment were

appointed in every town, village and agricultural neighborhood.

MARSHALING WAR LABOR

ONE of the striking achievements of the Employment Service of the State, which was one of the first critical elements of the war, was the furnishing of men for the construction of the cantonment at Chillicothe. It was foreseen that it would be a stupendous task. The great draft upon the labor market was a sensitive problem to the State. It became essential that the call of men should be distributed as generally as possible so that the industries of any one section should not be suddenly drained. The Government officers at the cantonment agreed to have the State take over the task of employing men, and permitted the State Employment Agency at Chillicothe to issue the official passes to the camp. We, therefore, agreed to get the men needed. During the construction work, it was necessary, at times, to supply large numbers of men at short notices. On one occasion, 3,750 men were furnished between Saturday morning and Monday morning. In twenty-four hours there have been furnished as high as 2,760 men. It can be emphasized that all these men were secured without going outside the State, and that on each call for men quotas were assigned to each territory in such a way that the withdrawal of men was uniform over the entire State. Without the Employment Service thus rendered, there undoubtedly would have been a confusion of labor conditions, some unscrupulous labor agents would have found opportunities, as was demonstrated by the fact that certain contractors endeavored to use such agents, until forced to discontinue by the military authorities. All expenses involved in marshaling this great army of labor, under war pressure, was paid by the original contractor of the cantonment.

The problem of coal supply and regulating the prices of coal was taken up by the Committee on Mining early in the summer of 1917. There was established by the Council a State Coal Clearance House on July 25, 1917. Its purpose was to

facilitate the production, transportation and distribution of coal, with special attention to fuel prices, Under supervision of the Governor and the Council, and its director, Mr. John M. Roan, an agreement from the principal coal operators of the State was secured, for setting aside, on a pro rata basis at the mines, of a minimum of six million tons of coal for a year for domestic purposes, including schools, hospitals and public utilities. The Council, by direction of the Governor, co-operated with the Federal Trade Commission of the United States Government, in an examination of the books of the Coal Mining Companies and of coal dealers to determine the cost, production and distribution. The mayors of cities and towns were asked to report a survey of their conditions. This uncovered the fact that an alarming shortage of coal was bound to occur universally throughout the State. The coal mines of Ohio became a factor in the National Coal conservation, and the Ohio Council made constant appeals to Washington that the shipments of Ohio coal to the Northwest be curtailed sufficiently to relieve the necessities of the State. Ultimately, on October 16, 1917, the Ohio Council discontinued the Fuel Clearance House and turned the control of the fuel situation over to Mr. Homer H. Johnson, appointed by President Wilson, Federal Fuel Administrator of the State. During its period of activities, the Coal Clearance House made every effort to improve the transportation of coal from the mines, to force the unloading of coal cars and to control the retail prices.

Military Highway Transportation was organized by the Transportation Committee with the assistance of the automobile clubs in Northern Ohio.

STIMULATING AMERICANIZATION

ONE of the most vital propaganda committees organized in the State was the committee on Americanization. This was the result of a conference in Washington on Americanization which was called by Secretary Lane. On April 23rd there was appointed by the Governor a special committee on Americanization.

The County Councils or War Boards have been created entirely on local initiative, not as has been the custom in other States, by appointment of the National Defense Council.

The Committee on Patriotic Education was appointed to secure patriotic speakers with the assistance of the Department in Washington.

A special committee was also appointed to stamp out vagrancy. There was issued a proclamation calling upon the State to round up vagrants and to put them at work. This proclamation said:

“If a man is unwilling to produce as he consumes, it devolves upon the State to exact from him his measure of work. The tramp and the vagrant are just now forsaking their hibernating haunt to go about the land, living by their own wits and other's labor. Ohio is trying to supply a maximum consumption. All should be at work. The tramp and the vagrant are at best a menace to society, and in this hour of tremendous war efforts they are the drones that should be driven from the hives.”

In the Spring of 1917, we were confronting a world food shortage. In the State of Ohio the acreage of the Spring crops, at that time, required immediate attention. Our chief deficiencies were the need of farm help, making arrangements for harvest labor, giving information for increasing seed planting, assisting in the transportation of food. This is the time when war gardens were started, assisted by garden specialists from the College of Agriculture and the State Board of Agriculture. The main drive in 1917 for food production was directed toward the increase of corn and potatoes. Spring wheat showed an increase of fifty per cent in the crop of 1917, as compared with that of 1916. Rye, oats, barley, all showed an improvement of the same proportion.

Demonstrations in canning were made widely throughout the State. The surplus foods, such as cabbage, sweet corn and other vegetables, were located in various districts of the State, and assistance given to the producers in marketing them, notably for canning purposes. These surpluses threatened waste.

THE WOMEN OF OHIO IN WAR

THE Woman's Committee of the Ohio Branch, Council of National Defense, has been one of the chief mainstays of the war measures of the State. The Executive Committee of the Woman's Branch is composed of twenty members, eight of whom are heads of the Departments. Their services are all volunteer, excepting one who is Executive Secretary, in charge of office headquarters, and an assistant. County units of the Woman's Committee are being formed in every county. On May 23rd, 1918, there were seventy-eight woman's county units and 450 township units. The duties of the Woman's Committee involved keeping women at home and at work. They involve explanatory information to inspire their confidence in these regulations.

To aid in the elimination of vice in co-operation with the Commission on Training Camp Activities at Chillicothe, the Woman's Committee raised funds to assist the work of a woman volunteer and to pay the salary of a trained social worker. Local committees of women were formed in the large cities to stimulate enrollment of nurses. House to house canvasses were conducted by the women to educate the people of Ohio in food conservation. Training classes have been started in Cleveland in order to prepare Ohio's quota of five hundred stenographers for Government service in Washington when the Nation demands them. A great deal of the census work requested by the Provost Marshal General of the War Department in transcribing and transmitting occupational cards to the draft boards was done by women throughout the State. This work was turned over to the Woman's Committee because of the very complete organization which that committee possesses through the State. The county school teachers did splendid work. The Woman's Committee through its county branches is just completing a survey of homes throughout the State, to discover how much coal has been secured for next Winter, how much has been ordered but not delivered, and when orders for the remainder of the winter's supply will be placed.

An important feature of the war work of Ohio has been the maintenance of the morale of the home in relation to the war. It has been sustained by systematic methods of enlisting in some kind of war work every member of the household. The slogan of this movement has been, "Where a man's treasure is, there will his heart be also." Upon this maxim, the morale of the different members of the family has been developed as an essential by-product of war work. For instance, families have interested themselves as a whole in one or the other of the campaigns for war gardens, and so the spirit of the whole family has been enlisted in the war. The talk around the dinner table, under the rays of the evening lamp, has developed a notable harmony of feeling with regard to the participation of the whole family in the war—a feeling which rests upon the opportunity afforded to each member of the family to have some bit of his own to do. Wherever the windows of a household show the emblem of the Red Cross, the United States Food Administration and the Liberty Loan, it is plain to all that that household is in the war. Most important of all, however, in sustaining the morale of the home, is the general conviction that the President has at heart in prosecuting the war no aims unworthy of American citizens. The common people have been brought to feel by his farsighted quality that all their efforts in winning the war will contribute to a just, honorable and lasting peace. Without this basis of sentiment no methods could have been so effective as they are in developing the morale of the folks at home.

OHIO'S AIRCRAFT ENERGY

THE great expectation by military scientists has long been aviation. The State of Ohio was called upon by the Federal Government to assist in providing facilities for the training of aeroplane pilots and aviation adjutants. In cooperation with the Ohio State University at Columbus, there was practically turned over to the Government all the available facilities at the University. On representation of the requirements of the National Government in aviation, the

State Emergency Board towards the end of 1917 appropriated \$80,000 to build an aeroplane laboratory and barracks for 360 aviation students on the University campus. This appropriation was granted on short notice, and has made possible the present aviation enrollment at the University of nearly 900 men. The University itself is contributing \$13,000 from tuition revenues to enlarge the Ohio Union, a student building on the campus, for barracks for cadet aviators.

These are only a few of the leading energies which the State of Ohio has successfully undertaken to co-operate with the National war spirit and to assist the National Government. Our military draft, our National Guard, have equalled any other State in the Union. The protection of our industries and our war manufactories has been left to the Federal Government. We realize now, that we have scarcely taken our coats off and got our sleeves up, that we are scarcely started on the first lap in the co-operation which the State must give to the Nation.

It is my impression that nothing has come into all this war work which has reached the understanding of the masses like the Thrift Stamp Campaign. It is establishing the habit of thrift that is going to live long after the war is over.

IN ENGLAND

By HAROLD COOK

ENGLAND,
And a bright blue suit—
My God, it's good.
This blue, this comfortable clean blue
And the red necktie,
And tea or an ice
After days of bully beef and biscuits
Till flesh grew fever-hot.

Ah, how beautiful was the sea
With blue-white cliffs set proudly in it—
(It was so cold, the midnight was,
So grey and separate from life,
That other night when we nosed past the nets
To France).

But now I can know peace
Of moonlit downs and dusk a-dream with wings,
And a cathedral close
So full of benediction that my soul faints
From the throb reaction brings.

Groping, my brain goes
For the word,
The ultimate sweet gratitude,
To the strange gods
Whose whimsey saved me for such joy.

And here, in this rare place,
Which centuries have dressed
To be more beautiful,
I shall grow well. . . .

Then, laughing,
Proudly,
Once more go back!

THE PRESIDENTIAL DOCTRINE OF LABOR

Labor Will Master the World Through Orderly Co-
operation

By FRANK P. WALSH

[CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD]

A GREAT deal that is said concerning the mysterious influence of the National War Board of Labor is misleading, although true as to the chief impression that the Board is making a success of its principles. There is nothing mysterious about its operations excepting what it has shown in its recommendations, which, in themselves reveal the mysterious change of heart that has come over the relations of capital and labor as a result of the awakening impulses of the war.

The Presidential doctrine which embodies the individual duty of all men during the war is very well understood. If I say that it is my opinion that labor understood it first, before capital looked into it with full perception of its supreme forces, I mean that labor is no longer in ignorance of war obligations. The War Labor Board has had exceptional advantages of observation. The principles upon which it was directed under the President's proclamation, to govern relations between workers and employers have developed to be sound and adaptable to the many changing conditions of disturbance between them.

The right to strike has been a sensitive tradition with capital that labor insisted must be maintained. Capital has been at fault, and so has labor. With the past conditions of dispute between them one may find interesting points of opinion. Whatever the issues, whether of the open shop or closed shop, capital appears to have been generally united. One might say that capital has always been unionized.

There has been very slight difference of economic character among the capitalists.

And it can be said that there has been, in the past, questionable settlements of strikes by labor leaders. Through long habitual system and through the biased purposes of adjustment, capital and labor became inexcusably dense towards each other. Such a condition does not lead to fair arbitration of an economic issue.

With a view to meet these destructive elements which had crept into all disputes between labor and capital, the War Labor Board adopted a set of principles. They are as follows:

PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES TO GOVERN RELATIONS BETWEEN
WORKERS AND EMPLOYERS IN WAR INDUSTRIES FOR
THE DURATION OF THE WAR

THERE SHOULD BE NO STRIKES OR LOCKOUTS DURING THE WAR

RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

The right of workers to organize in trade-unions and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever.

The right of employers to organize in associations of groups and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the workers in any manner whatsoever.

Employers should not discharge workers for membership in trade-unions, nor for legitimate trade-union activities.

The workers, in the exercise of their right to organize, shall not use coercive measures of any kind to induce persons to join their organizations nor to induce employers to bargain or deal therewith.

EXISTING CONDITIONS

In establishments where the union shop exists the same continue, and the union standards as to wages, hours of labor, and other conditions of employment shall be maintained.

In establishments where union and non-union men and women now work together and the employer meets only with employees or representatives engaged in said establishments, the

continuance of such conditions shall not be deemed a grievance. This declaration, however, is not intended in any manner to deny the right or discourage the practice of the formation of labor unions or the joining of the same by the workers in said establishments, as guaranteed in the last paragraph, not to prevent the War Labor Board from urging or any umpire from granting, under the machinery herein provided, improvement of their situation in the matter of wages, hours of labor, or other conditions as shall be found desirable from time to time.

Established safeguard and regulations for the protection of the health and safety of workers shall not be relaxed.

WOMAN IN INDUSTRY

If it shall become necessary to employ women on work ordinarily performed by men, they must be allowed equal pay for equal work and must not be allowed tasks disproportionate to their strength.

HOURS OF LABOR

The basic eight-hour day is recognized as applying in all cases in which existing law requires it. In all other cases the question of hours of labor shall be settled with due regard to governmental necessities and the welfare, health, and proper comfort of the workers.

MAXIMUM PRODUCTION

The maximum production of all war industries should be maintained and methods of work and operation on the part of employers or workers which operate to delay or limit production, or which have a tendency to artificially increase the cost thereof, should be discouraged.

MOBILIZATION OF LABOR

For the purpose of mobilizing the labor supply with a view to its rapid and effective distribution, a permanent list of the number of skilled and other workers available in different parts of the nation shall be kept on file by the Department of Labor, the information to be constantly furnished——

1. By the trade-unions.
2. By State employment bureaus and Federal agencies of like character.
3. By the managers and operators of industrial establishments throughout the country.

These agencies shall be given opportunity to aid in the distribution of labor as necessity demands.

CUSTOM OF LOCALITIES

In fixing wages, hours, and conditions of labor, regard should always be had to the labor standards, wage scales, and other conditions prevailing in the localities affected.

THE LIVING WAGE

1. The right of all workers, including common laborers, to a living wage is hereby declared.

2. In fixing wages, minimum rates of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort.

The application of these principles to the work of the Labor Board has brought about a remarkable degree of educational information as to the service of both capital and labor to the war.

LABOR DELAY MIGHT MEAN DEFEAT FOR OUR ARMIES

THE chief concern of the Board has been to keep the war industries at top speed. A week's delay in any one of the large munition works might mean defeat for our armies. It became obvious that the War Board should adjust strikes within twenty-four hours. To achieve this we were brought into relation with direct facts, facts that in former strikes were not generally known. We found, for instance, that political influences had corrupted some settlements heretofore. We found that there had been considerable coercion among the laborers in this way. We found that the safety of the job was not always dependent upon the skill of the worker, or upon the incompetence of the worker. Frequently capital had no way of controlling the best interests of the skilled workman. There were so many differences of traditions in the rights of labor to strike according to the local influences. And there were unreasonable men in control of capital, insisting upon unreasonable profits. The profit question is one that the Government is watching with the greatest interest. In a general way we find that the principles of the War Board have in them the key to its purposes. Its recommendations have appealed to both sides of these controversies. However, because they cover the general inten-

tions of the Presidential doctrine, it cannot be said that the decisions have been without their anxieties.

There have been obstinate strike conditions to review, where men on both sides faced each other with their teeth set. In one of the most important of these conditions, important because the industry represented manufactured the largest percentage of cartridge used by our men, the usual conciliation formula was defined. The workers merely refused to listen to argument. They wanted more money, or they would tie up the work. Capital, on the other hand faced the alternative of increasing the wages or the prospect of being commandeered by the Government.

AN INSTANCE OF THE POWER OF THE BOARD

IN such a case the War Board of Labor can merely recommend an adjustment according to the hearings from both sides. It has no actual arbitrary powers, but it can be said that it strives to encourage the support of the Government, being a Government body. It was found that the differences in this important industry grew out of a maladjustment of the various skilled workers employed. There was a list of over 150 different forms of skilled labor involved, each requiring a different treatment of economic consideration. Among these various workers there had been some attempt at separate organizations, a condition that disrupted the entire labor situation. All that we could do was to take this list and carefully discuss the grievances.

After a vast amount of detailed examination, the workers refused to accept any adjustment, and capital was not so obstinate perhaps, but it was none the less shrewd in its defences. Finally, at the end of the hearings there was no weakening of labor, no surrender of capital. The effect of the education which these hearings had created showed a more reasonable understanding however. The chief purpose of the War Labor Board being to keep the war industry at top speed of work was finally submitted to the workers. The war emergency was explained to them in the principles of the Board, and a recommendation was made that they lay

the final decisions over for ten days, returning to work in the mean time. This was accepted by labor, purely on patriotic grounds.

This instance describes the power of the War Labor Board which is purely in accord with the Government's needs. It is not a court, its recommendations are based upon the moral force of the war emergency. Because there recommendations effect millions of money and millions of lives it has been said that we are usurping authority.

In respect to that idea, I should say that we are encouraging big business in this country as it has never been safeguarded before. It would be wholly contrary to the ultimate business interests of the country after the war to disturb big business. We shall need big business very much then, and it is not with any other view than that, the War Board considers the problems of strike conditions.

SEEKING FAIR PLAY FOR CAPITAL AND LABOR

BIG business is not doomed by the proper adjustment of labor, by the proper understanding of individual rights. Nor is it so much a question of the cost of living as it is the cost of this war. In delving into the difficulties between labor and capital, although the purpose of the War Labor Board is solely to recommend action for the War emergency, there has developed an educational influence which has brought the former problems into better perspective than they have even been before. It is not organization that we discuss, nor is it unionism, it is fair play for capital and labor. Above all we say to both factions, we are at war.

The result, in a broad way, of the work we are doing will be to make the large industries of the country co-operate as they have never done before. The errors of capital, through a wholesome demonstration of what profit in its essential values should be, will be remedied. The effort of labor to intimidate capital will be contrary to the ethics of labor.

Heretofore the human frailty of men has had too much leeway in the affairs of vast industries. Men have been made afraid of their jobs, and capital has been made afraid of its

investments. During one of our hearings a worker, who had been drawn into the controversy with capital had been dismissed. When the decision was made to delay decision for the ten days while the men went to work, he asked what was to become of him. His case was referred to capital. Capital made a report that his record showed that he had been a good workman, and he was re-instated. Under former conditions such procedure would have been impossible. As I said before, the conditions differ in every section. There are various traditions to overcome that hamper the principles of the War Labor Board.

Our chief concern is with the war industries. There is a noticable desire of labor to meet the war emergency. Perhaps the no uncertain decision of the Government to commandeer industries that do not adjust themselves to the necessities of the war, may have a bearing upon the results of the War Labor Board. And there may be some thought given of the suggestion made that it might be possible to conscript labor. These matters, however, have nothing to do with the recommendations of the War Labor Board, nor in my opinion are they probable. In no instance has there been any approach to such a plan in the arbitration requirements of our work.

We have questioned labor without the slightest appearance of disagreement, everybody seeming anxious only to get at the truth of the trouble without other remedy than a friendly one. It is not a question of who is wrong or who is right, the point is to keep up the work, to avoid any break in the speeding up of war industries.

To labor the President's word is more than a contract. It is in the spirit of that word that labor is meeting the recommendations of the War Labor Board.

THE CHIEF IRRITANT OF STRIKES

WHILE American labor is solving the world's problem splendidly, the difficulty which continually confronts the National War Labor Board, is a comprehensive system of the various degrees of skilled labor in the United States.

The amount of work which one job requires may produce more under a different arrangement of wage scales. It is the adjustment of skilled labor that seems to be the chief irritant of strikes.

We are no longer looking at labor with the same capitalistic eyes that we used to. Labor is no longer a commodity to be handled in that way. We have made the discovery that labor is the flesh and blood of America. There is a supreme spirit everywhere in human life changing property value, measuring human value by the measure of service. There are no more labor slaves. Labor will master the world!

There are those who point to the fact that this new idea found expression in Russia. Its expression in America is not one of revolution, it is one of orderly co-operation. Instead of the terms employer and employee, we may have the terms, planners and workers. It should be also understood that the National War Labor Board is not going to coddle labor, or to advance any possible scheme of reform. The board requires more work than could possibly be done under the old system of relation between capital and labor. There is no conflict of ideals, there is only a misunderstanding of them. We have long refused to give labor human treatment, because we thought such treatment was not practical.

The practical experiences which the National War Labor Board has discovered existed in the relations of labor and capital, show that it will be necessary to extend the power of the board to a more definite recommendation. It may be necessary to appoint special trade administrators to whom complaints of labor disputes, due to a misunderstanding of skilled labor should first be submitted. These administrators, of the different artisan trades could then report to the National War Labor Board and enable us to take up the grievances with a more intelligent understanding of their causes.

The Presidential Doctrine of Labor is to give labor an equal voice in the affairs of the nation with capital; an equal right with every individual in the country to enjoy the privilege and credit of winning the war.

MY TYPES—MARY ROBERTS RINEHART

By PENDENNIS

ON one of those frosty June days in the year of Our War, 1918, I met the most war-like of our war-women. Her armor was not visible, her weapons were not sharp, her appearance far from belligerent, but she was, herself the embodiment of a new type among women—the war-woman.

In appearance a woman of erect force, of swift judgment, of irreproachable dignity; in manner gentle, feminine, with a radiant sense of humor. A woman with faith in most men, without fear of any man. A woman whose feminine passion is maternity, whose creed is—service. Physically tall, strong, with dark hair, a fair complexion, large steady sunlit eyes of humor and human interest, an age that is youth grown wise with years of youthfulness.

It is never possible to paint in colors with printer's ink. The writing job is impotent in drawing faithfully contemporaneous pictures, but everyone knows Mary Roberts Rinehart who can read between the lines of her "Sub-Deb" stories, her "Tish-Humor," her war narrative of "K," and her poetic war theme of feminine courage "The Amazing Interlude."

One can sometimes read between the lines to find the essence of an author's feeling. The true flavor of fiction is its delicacy, or its substance, according to the good taste of the reader. There are fiction writers who are stage managers, and there are others who ignore such details. Sometimes we can almost hear our own voices speaking as we read, our own hearts beating; we seem to see with our eyes the things that are being revealed to us by the author. In stories of such vivid qualities we may be sure that the author is conferring upon us a record of human facts. We are in the

presence of a confessional, the author's voice is in the echo between the lines. So it is with Mrs. Rinehart. The echo of her being is between the lines. The smile is hers, the heartache is hers, the delicacies and the sympathies are hers. Her types are not fictional, they are a woman remembering the impressions of charm or of tragedy with an energetic devotion, an unswerving loyalty to the highest endeavors of her sex. This is not speculative impression, it is written because she told me so.

"In the work we do, there is, of course ourselves to reckon with. We must adjust our strength, and, which is far more important, we must decide upon its values," she said. There was no exact unwillingness to discuss the work, no indecision of attack upon the subject, but, there was a reverent attitude towards it, a deep sincerity which has made the work what it is. The indefinite relations which some very successful authors confess in their professional affairs, is much easier to understand. Mrs. Rinehart, in her reverence of regard for the work itself, rather than for the balloon of fame it inflates, is a unique and stirring inspiration to the writing person.

"The texture of work is made of a material we have named since the war; it is woven on the great loom of service," said Mrs. Rinehart.

"It is so with all kinds of work, writing as well as fighting, living as well as dying. It is impossible to think, to talk about one's work except in terms of modern feeling which is war. Women are born chiefly to serve. In their school days they serve the teacher, in their college days they serve the hero of their dream romances, in marriage they serve the man they love, in maternity they serve the children till they grow up, and then they mould the ideals of these young men and young women they were predestined to serve.

HER TYPES COMPARATIVE OF HERSELF

"**P**ROBABLY my types have been largely remembrances of myself in these various degrees of life and service. The humorous moods of some of my stories are the necessary

smiles that the woman who serves finds useful in dissipating the gloom. We must keep smiling—we women, upon whom the men depend for smiles. And, we must encourage the types we seek in man, the types we have brought up our boys, to be. It sounds rather egotistical, and perhaps opposed to the general idea of the writing job, to say that one has written from oneself, from the tendencies of character born in us, but, in my case, such are my types.

“The ‘Sub-Deb’ is typical of the service we give to that brilliantly adorned figure of our first dream-ambitions—romance. As I saw them, live them, I have written them. The tenderness of those associations with my youth has not been obliterated by the smiling tolerance of mature reflection. It is obvious to any observer, also, that there is always a time in the lives of young girls when they feel the menace of celibacy overshadowing the fairy story of romantic hopes. There is the phantom period of fear, when the horror of becoming an old maid takes form and shape with pathetic certainties, and is opposed with humorous energy. The recollections of this indefinite period are recorded in the ‘Tish’ stories, confirmed in types that smile bravely.

“There came an interval also, among the usual intervals in the service women give, when I had to go ‘Over There.’ It was an experience so deep and rich in its impulses that it brought me face to face with the character of the women in war. Incidentally, it developed the spirit of service that has always been the underlying motive of sane femininity, it enlarged and broadened the opportunity, it defined the woman’s destined progress. The great army of fighting men ‘Over There’ confirmed the heritage they have received from their mothers—service. Actual contact with the horror and stress of war, made me understand the self esteem with which women, thousands and thousands of them, had lived for service.

“I talked with the tall, serious courageous King of Belgium; met the idomitable courage of the Belgian Officers; saw the universal impulse of service in the whole Belgian Nation. I talked with Queen Mary of England, with states-

men, soldiers, refugees and citizens, till I could see but one type in the human hordes, the war type of men and women united for service. These impressions were written as I saw them, and then, later, came the private emotions, pictures of the heart stories that I had written in a form, not fiction. Perhaps in the crucible of fiction one finds oneself, one shapes the forms of untold impressions.

"In the fiction of today I believe there is a call of duty, it comes under the requirements of service. We must dissipate the glooms, dispose of the uncertainties, and encourage the spirit of self sacrifice. There is so much of it about us that it is not hard to find, and yet, it needs stimulating."

Mrs. Rinehart possessed a strikingly clear vision of her place among American authors. She saw the accumulated forces of her prolific work in their proportion to American literature. She had written from her heart the impressions that we see, sifted through the standards of her own life. They had crystallized in the strength of her son now in France with the American Forces, in her husband serving with the United States Medical Corps.

"I have joined the Red Cross myself," she said, "and I expect to leave for France very soon. There is nothing else to do, except to serve."

She had touched the edges of her war heart in telling these facts. There seemed to be a finality in her statement that she was to become a Red Cross nurse in active service. She herself was true to type, the war-woman of the hour. Her writing work was by no means to end with this personal sacrifice, however. She expects to write articles that will contribute to the service of the Red Cross.

NOTHING IN THE WORLD TODAY BUT WAR

"NATURALLY, people over here will want to know what the American Red Cross is accomplishing in Europe, and I agreed to contribute my share of writing to that information. But, as to fiction, who can say what is to become of it? There is nothing in the world today but war. And the daily record of events, written by those who in the

thick of things, is greater than any fiction can be. There should be, however, a great deal of material in our changing and sobering America, in the development at last, after so many years, of a real national spirit. But it is a huge canvas to paint.

"You have asked me about American fiction. I rather think that here we will find one of the unexpected gains of war. It has always seemed to me that a foreigner, reading our modern novels, would decide, that there was nothing of America but New York and the old west. I have always maintained that New York is the least American of all our cities, the least actually representative. Of course New York is changing now, as is the whole country. But its very magnificence is misleading. The gain from the war to our fiction will probably be an increasing sobriety. There will be less emphasis laid on the abnormalities of sex, and none on the development of character. We are thinking in terms now of life and death, not of women and money and false human values. Our fiction must meet the new outlook, or fail in its province of being a picture of the time.

"And perhaps we will go back to the simpler things, in writing and in living. I am myself a liver of the open road and the long trail. I have just come from a long several hundred mile horseback trip in the desert and mountains of Mexico. More than anything, these outdoor trips of mine help me to keep my values, my sense of proportion. It really takes so little just to live. We clutter our lives with things, all of us, and sometimes I think we writers do that with our work, fill it with inessentials.

"But this was to be about my types, wasn't it? And it is mainly almost myself. Well, every man is a hundred types; he's a Puritan and a rake, a coward and a soldier, a shirker and a worker, a priest and a sinner. All the writer does is to take the dominant characteristic of that man and lay stress on it. So I could take any one man or woman and write a dozen books about them perhaps, and all would be true and different.

"But today, were I sitting down to draw a type that is

representative of my time and this period of it, I should picture, through some fictional character, the soul of awakening America, great handsome, overfed, smug and contented America, suddenly learning that it is after all its brother's keeper, that it can no longer live to itself and for itself; that there is a man's work to be done, and that it has not only the strength and the hands, but the soul and the heart, to do it."

MY HERITAGE

By LEONIE DAVIS COLLISTER

MY heritage is here,
In all this tranquil silence of the wood,
Where purple shade on purple shade
The dusk comes down.
The music of my soul's drawn forth
Through medium of trilling bird
As melody from silent keys.
My heritage is here,
Where silver mists
Move through the dusky trees
Like white robed priests
Move through a pillared temple.

"HOW'S CHICAGO NOW?"

By BEN HECHT

CHICAGO has a definite war characteristic. A throng of Chicagoans lining the curbs and watching a file of recruits marching away to the training camps and the front, is distinguishable from a similar throng in New York, Oshkosh or New Orleans. A crowd of Chicagoans supping in a cafe, riding to work in a street car, assembled about a fallen horse or stoningly gazing at the flap-jack turner in a lunch room window, has about it an obvious, an almost racial stamp. This thing which marks Chicago is, in the light of its military and material contributions to the struggle, a paradox which causes the city's editorial writers to emit daily a whimsical despair.

Chicago is calm. It is seemingly indifferent. It does not cheer. It keeps forgetting to take its hat off when the flag goes by. Its features are composed, its voice contained. With thousands of its sons on the battle front, and thousands more on their way, with thousands of its women plunged over their heads into war work and with millions of its dollars invested, Chicago, by some almost inexplicable process of crowd psychology, stands in the year 1918 an awkward spectator before the pageant of world strife. A great Allied victory brings no particular visible light to its face. A vicious German smash does not perceptibly darken its eye. Not 3,000 but 30,000 miles away does the war seem from its streets. And the distance from the moon to the earth is no greater than the seeming distance from Yyres to the consciousness of the red faced man with the napkin tucked under his chin studying the bill of fare as the orchestra plays everything but "Die Wacht Am Rhein."

CHICAGO "INDIAN" FACE

THIS curious mask of silence and indifference distinguishes Chicago today. It is the expression of a people inspired by loyalty rather than idealism. It is the

Indian face of the silent Middle West. It is the way of Chicago—a city of detached individualisms, unfused elements, a metropolis of which a full 70 per cent. of its residents are men and women born and reared elsewhere. This lack of civic consciousness is at once the curse and the virtue of the town. For while it makes for an indifference toward common causes it breeds self reliance. The war has abruptly brought this latter element to the surface. Chicago in the grip of modern upheaval is a city of efficient smooth functioning units, with a work in common but each holding his emotion separate, his spirit unfused, his grief and joy individual.

Your Chicagoan caught for a moment in the press of a military parade would as soon think of vociferating his feelings as of giving three cheers and throwing his hat in the air at the sight of his stenographer entering with her note book to take dictation. He will stand with a bland, interested light in his eyes as the soldiers go by, he will awkwardly touch his fingers to his fedora's tip as the fifteenth flag flutters past, he will hearken to the rollicking blare of the "jackie's" band and glimpse for a moment the khaki shoulders of his son swinging along, and with a seeming placidity remain chewing upon an extinguished cigar. And having done this, your Chicagoan, like the gruff though noble father-in-law of drama, will blow viciously upon his nose in order to conceal the heinous fact that there are tears in his eyes, and return to his office—a creature, as always, of detached and busy taciturnity.

A war worker back from the front said of Chicago on her first visit, "What ails your city? I find it hard to talk to people at the dinner table. All subjects seem permissible except the war. I started telling a woman the other evening some of my experiences back of the lines and she laughed and said, 'Oh, let's not talk business now.' I had the feeling for the moment that she was either a neuresthenic pacifist or a pro-German sympathiser. But I learned later she was one of the leaders in the splendid war work being done by the Woman's Council of National Defense and active nine hours a day."

WAR IS BUSINESS IN CHICAGO

IN this particular war worker's complaint is contained one of the explanations of the city's apparent emotional lethargy. Whatever the war may be to the Europeans and to other sections of America, the war to Chicago is business. It is super business, spectacular, a traffic in ideals. But it is the training and habit of Chicagoans to work, to think and to feel alone. And so to each man and woman working, giving, sacrificing in a common cause, the war still remains an individual matter. His Red Cross contribution is an individual contribution, his Liberty Bond purchase an individual investment, his son's or his brother's absence from the home a personal anxiety, pride or grief. He has not learned to think in crowds, to pool his enthusiasm with his neighbor's. He is dedicated wholeheartedly and unstintingly to the war, but his dedication is a private thing, his patriotism a private thrill. "John Brown's Body Lies a Mouldering in the Grave" and not "The Marsellaise" is the song of the Middle West—an Indian chant, quiet and vast, like the waving of fields of corn.

Chicago's lack of superficial enthusiasm has deceived many of its opportunist politicians to their ruin, even as it first delighted and then baffled the scattered groups of enemy workers in its midst. The most notable example of misguided political opportunism is the case of its mayor, William Hale Thompson, and his bevy of would-be shrewd henchmen. Scouting up and down the city, sounding its crowds and its individuals, the Thompson strategists evolved the theory that the war was unpopular in the West, that Chicago was not interested in the struggle over seas, and that the surest approach to popular leadership and political supremacy was a platform proclaiming a species of "Passive Americanism." Accordingly such a platform was carefully constructed. "Big Bill," mounting triumphantly upon this cunningly constructed platform, with the certainty in his heart born of the fact that he had been chosen mayor by the largest electoral majority the city had ever returned, found himself over night the butt

of tirades second only in volume and bitterness to those levelled against the Kaiser. "Big Bill" was grieved, puzzled, petulant. He had been told that Chicago was "neutral." He had expected to flash forth comet-like as a fearless and popular leader championing the sincere convictions of his constituents. Instead, outside the ten or twelve thousand ward, precinct, and machine workers, dependent upon the reigning political regime for their livelihood, "Big Bill" Thompson, the people's idol, found himself without a people. His behavior since that moment has been that of a man at loss in the toils of an unexpected and crushing argument, an idol in exile clinging pathetically to memories. He has "explained," palavered, drawn heavily upon Higher Economics and Higher Patriotism, clutched desperately at every passing propaganda. Nevertheless, despite careful repudiation, despite libel suits and rhetoric, he has not been able to reinstate himself. William Hale Thompson, with a laudable civic record behind him and a comparatively honest municipal administration to his credit, is politically dead in Chicago and Illinois, from which state he is now seeking to be returned Senator.

"BIG BILL" GUESSED WRONG

TO his friends and foes alike it has long been obvious that "Big Bill" and his advisers "guessed wrong." It is improbable that Thompson and his crew of celebrated Cromwells, led by the dapper Fred Lundin, were inspired by any insidious pro-German leanings in their "Keep the Soldiers at Home—Feed America First—It is Not Our War" stand. It was merely that the Thompson politicians, looking upon the silent, quiet faces in the street, marking the indifferent taciturnity of men and women toward the war, fancied that Chicago was at heart repudiating the cause of the Allies.

In a similar way Chicago's "Indian" face bewiled the enemy within its gates. Early in 1917 headquarters after headquarters opened up the city—People's Councils, Liberty Defenders, Union Protectors, Legal Aids and Socio-Pacifists, all came flocking hither. Riots and open rebellion, it

was prophesied, would be Chicago's response to the inauguration of the draft. Orators, denied hearings by the indignant populace of eastern cities, arrived flushed and expectant.

"Chicago isn't interested. Nor is Illinois. The war is unpopular. Look at their faces and listen to their talk."

Congressman Bill Mason delirious with the notion that he was striking a popular note by an anti-draft stand, arrived in Chicago in the spring of 1917 and found a scant 200 members of the People's Council ready to listen to him. There was no police interference. Congressman Mason had his excited say, calling loudly upon the fringe of Single Taxers, Advanced Thinkers and Agitated Pacificoes to resist this latest blow at the palladium of human liberties. Congressman Mason's failure and amazed disappointment were typical. Chicago's "Indian" face had deceived him, and a whole flock of other demagogues and opportunists.

In that word, Indian, used repeatedly, rests one of the picturesque explanations of the city's imperturbability. There is something in the air itself, Chicago's editorial writers insist, that shaped the demeanor of the modern Mid-Western American as it shaped that of the aborigine. This something—geological, atmospheric, horoscopical, what you will—is moulding the Middle Westerners into the semblance of Sioux and Chippewa. It is native to the soil, to the breath of the Chicago River and to the roll of the Illinois prairie. Pursuing this poetical line of reasoning, it may be pointed out that the use of fireworks and firecrackers as a means of celebration dies most slowly in the Middle West and that the game of poker flourishes in this section despite the vigor of anti-gambling legislation. Fireworks and firecrackers are of the Chinese to express artificially a hilarity their repressed, stoical natures are incapable of voicing. Poker likewise is a game that demands of the player facial calm and stoicism. But attributing to Chicago an "Indian" face or a poker face is merely another way of recording the fact that Chicago's face turned toward the battle for democracy is that of a determined business man.

CHICAGO PLACID AT PAGEANTRY

MICHIGAN Avenue and Madison Street, Jackson Boulevard and La Salle Street—never before in the history of the city have so many bands played in them, so many soldiers marched in them. Never before have such strange sights been offered the citizenry. Women running elevators in the department stores and “Loop” buildings. Women shining shoes, selling papers on street corners. Women driving taxi-cabs and functioning as hotel doorkeepers. Women stacking lumber piles, guiding traffic. Women in overalls, in khaki trousers, in fascinating capes, in uniforms of every hue. Thousands of eager faced men tramping away with a staggering variety of suit cases in their hands, carnations in their button holes, banners over their heads. Papa Joffre and Premier Viviani, Mr. Balfour and the tam o’shanter of the Blue Devils. Highlanders with bagpipes and knees and Harry Lauder caps. Ghurkas with scimitars. Red trousered Italians, Russian diplomats, spies, rumors, Tommies with casques of steel slanted across their foreheads, Baylonian tanks, nurses and parades, “jackies” and canteens and a salute of twenty-one guns in the heart of the city for the arrival of Secretary Daniels. Out of every home men and boys have come tumbling. Liberty Loan campaigns have turned the city topsy-turvy; War Savings Stamps campaigns have plastered walls and windows with posters; Y. M. C. A. drives and income tax schedules have kept the pocket book of the town incessantly open. Sugar comes in curious paper bagettes. Bread has taken on a forlorn greyness. Last winter the entire city shut up shop to give the coal a chance to catch up with the world. Each day has brought its new rule, each week has witnessed some new war measure creeping in to roost upon the dining table, the cabaret or the bank account. In the year and a half Chicago has “gone over the top” time and time again, responding to every quota of men or money, ranking itself among the leaders in the matter of voluntary service, sacrifice, enlistments. War spirit? Yes. But where does it show?

Search in the quiet streets, in the faces of your aloof and indifferent neighbors. Listen to their talk. Observe the elaborate promenade of fashionable stenographers and bargain questing dowagers along the avenue by the lake. Here and there you will see the uniform—a "jackie" in for the day from the Great Lakes, a rookie up from Camp Grant, an officer stopping over on his way "somewhere," a delegation from Paris, Flanders, London, Italy. Along the well kept north shore roads you will, on certain days, behold a procession of automobiles making their way toward the Great Lakes Naval Training Station and riding in this procession you will see the same self-contained spirit with which Westerners sally forth to picnic or to take in an outlying County Fair.

PLEDGE OF THE "INDIAN" FACE

ARE they ashamed to show their enthusiasm, to reveal their tears, to flash their spirit before each other? The casualty lists have started coming back, Already pictures of heroes who a month or so ago were tending the butcher shops, the dry goods counters and the factory benches of the town, begin to appear in the daily papers. The great men of the city—its bankers, politicians, financiers, Upham, Reynolds, Field, Sullivan, Billings, Rosenwald—have emerged from their inconspicuous offices to do their share. Look closely and you will see Red Cross shops filled with women who wear service star pins on their bosoms. You will see canteens in the Public Library, in the department stores, office buildings, along the Lake Shore. In the Defense Council building in Adams street you will find a thousand executives, male and female, for all walks of life, organizing the vast mufti army of the state. Inspect the National record. There you will behold the spirit of Chicago translated into terms of men and money.

And yet . . . Down the street comes the Twenty Eighth District—a running line of youths bobbing along with women at their sides and children in their arms and the in-

evitable assortment of suitcases in their hands. The banners over their heads proclaim they are heading for Berlin. A band precedes them filling the air with a roar of music. . . . Down the street comes the Twenty Eighth District of the Honor Army—men who a day ago were working as you and I, minding their own business. And here they are, familiar faces and still in familiar civilian clothes, marching away to the great adventure in France and Italy and Flanders. It is the rush-hour—six o'clock—and the sidewalks are jammed. The throngs pushing home, read, stop and watch. The lone handkerchief of a belated stenographer flutters from a high window. Some one cries out “ Yip, 'Atta boy!” The marchers begin to sing, a sturdy, discordant medley that rises above the blare of the band. The traffic cop clears the way for them. The Twenty Eighth District draft turns the corner. No sound of cheer of wild farewell, no demonstration. Chicago watches them away, interested, unmoved. But the quiet bland face of the throng is the “ Indian ” face of the silent Middle West turned with the pledge of life and all toward the battle.

ITALY'S INTERNATIONAL PATRIOTISM

Ready to Die for the Cause of Freedom

By COUNT V. MACCHI DI CELLERE

[ITALIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U. S. A.]

ONE of America's greatest men, upon an occasion which had the solemnity of history-making events, reminded the nation that "there is a law higher than the Constitution." There comes correspondingly, sometimes in the life of nations, a realization of the existence of something that is even higher than the righteous affirmation of patriotism: the recognition of broader necessities and broader ideals for the life of the world.

To realize fully the significance of the caption, "Italy's International Patriotism," the usual hasty appreciation of Italy's attitude in the present war is not sufficient. This is not the time or the place for details; still we may recall how for a long period of Italy's pre-war existence there has been something transcending the average bearing and forbearing power of nations in history, in Italy's sufferance of the unnatural limitations that the Treaty of the Triple Alliance imposed upon the free play of her national and international activities, because of the realization that her resentment or rebellion would have meant European war. It was perhaps the greatest and hardest test of Italy's "international patriotism" to stand this situation for the sake of European peace.

As to the war itself, Italy entered it primarily in answer to the behest of civilization and justice. It must be remembered that Italy is, with the United States, the only power who entered the war without the war being actually forced upon her, having full knowledge and consciousness of its horrors and hardships, and a possibility of reaping material advan-

tages from a course of action which might have been juridically correct, but morally wrong.

The support of the cause of small nationalities is so ingrained in the Italian history that we can hardly call it an international feature of her conduct; it is Italy's boast and pride that never once has a small nation reclaimed her national rights without Italy's hearty official or unofficial sympathy and support. Italy's men have always been ready to die for the cause of freedom, their own or that of others; and as Italy's law was first in advocating the liberties of municipal, national and international intercourse, so does Italy's spirit and power answer "Present" wherever there is war to be waged in the name of right against might.

IRELAND'S HOLD-BACK

By ALFRED S. MOORE

[IRISH ECONOMIST AND AUTHOR]

Bolshevism, Anti-Conscription Leaguers, Sinn Feinism, Pandering, Profiteering are ills accredited to defected Ireland, and explained in this article for American readers.

THIS article is not to be taken otherwise than as an attempt in deliberate introspection by an unbiased Irishman, who lives in Ireland, to explain Ireland's attitude with regard to the war. Just as the old Roman author put it, "All Gaul is divided into three parts" the peoples of the world stand in three classes at this moment. First are those who fight with us, our Allies; next those who fight against us, the implacable Huns and their allies; and third, that very small section whom we term Neutrals.

In which of these divisions is present-day Ireland to be regarded?

By every right of nationality, of kinship, of religion and, above all, of humanity, Irishmen should be body and soul with the Allies, but can it be asserted that they are now showing themselves so? It is not the moment for mincing words. Pessimism is never pleasant but the projection of plain facts is instructive—and sometimes stimulating. The tremendous importance of blunt speaking with regard to a matter of so gigantic consequences cannot be exaggerated. It is not merely England's war, it is the fight of humanity against brutality. To-day English, Colonials and Americans—Ireland's own flesh and blood relations—are fighting for their lives. To-morrow those lives will either be worth dying for still, or not worth twenty years' purchase. The Irish race has always made glorious pages in history by the fighting qualities of its sons. By their decision now they seal the destiny of that Ireland which has hitherto earned the respect and goodwill, not alone of the Irish race scattered throughout the globe but of every well-wisher for humanity and progress.

Wars are fought with three great essentials: (1) Men, (2) Money, and (3) Mentality. America, unlike Ireland, is a conglomerate of races—white, black and even reds—yet all are united in the one glorious desire—to purge the world of Prussianism. Ireland has but one race of people yet although the great war is now completing its fourth year the minds of its people are less unanimous than they were when the tyrant of Berlin first sought to set aside all claims of morality and right by trampling underfoot peaceful and inoffending little Belgium.

Can any Irishman be proud of his country if he looks, as I do while I write, at newspapers to find set in parallel columns therein two simultaneous items which cannot be controverted? These items are the sinking of the *Moldavia* with the loss of 56 brave American soldiers—some of them surely of Irish parentage—and the damning revelation of a treaty between a certain Irish section and Germany for the provision of bases in Ireland for German submarines. Couple these two hard facts together—an example of cause and effect if you will—and it may be sincerely asked what Irishman who has hitherto held up his head with patriotic pride and cheerfully looked the world in the face, can now proclaim himself as “Irish, and proud of it, too?” However, just as no country contains all the virtues of humanity and none of its vices, it is safe to assert that if Ireland has traitors, she has also brave men and heroes. Let us then suspend our judgment rather until we have examined more closely all the facts in the light of that testimony which means “the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.”

WHAT IRELAND HAS GIVEN

HAS Ireland given her share of men in this war? For a comparatively small island Ireland occupies an absolutely abnormal position of prominence in the world's affairs. The population is a little under four and one-half millions, yet it is divided into sections of people more diverse in their outlook than can be found within the compass of broad continents. In regard to Ireland's contribution of man power,

perhaps the best standard of comparison is with Scotland. But while the population of Scotland is roughly somewhat about four and three-quarter millions it has sent 620,000 men to the colors against only 125,567 from the Emerald Isle. So allowing for all compensatory causes possible it means that Ireland altogether has contributed in man power something about one-fourth of her dutiful right.

In beginning this article I made it plain that my intentions were to front hard facts. If any ulcer is to be healed surgeons will tell you that the radical cure is to open it up so that its fundamental tissue may be laid bare to the healthy influence of the atmospheric oxygen. Candor and straight speaking will do vastly more good for Ireland than concealment and sickly sentimentality. Similarly when one comes to analyse more minutely the source of this 130,000 men contributed to the military fighting line by Ireland generally there are facts too saliently conclusive to be passed over. Ulster, the northern province, has only one-third of the entire population of the Emerald Isle. Yet only six of Ulster's nine counties return Unionist representatives to Westminster. Which means that the remaining 26 Irish counties are Nationalist, or Sinn Fein, in their political atmosphere. The Ulster six counties are protestant in their religion and all the other counties are Roman Catholic.

You can no more get away from this question of creed and politics—or what passes for such in Ireland—than you can pass down Broadway in New York without seeing the stars and stripes floating in the breeze. At any rate, it remains indisputable that while the six Ulster Unionist and protestant counties have contributed to the war forces 62,000 men the three southern provinces—Leinster, Connaught and Munster—contributed 63,567, instead of 137,800, which would have been their proportion according to population. Belfast of itself, independent of its 60,000 artisans essentially necessary in building war ships, airplanes and armaments, has given the Army over 40,000 men, and if the whole country had done as well it would have given 412,000 or 280,000 above the actual figure.

THE TWO IRELANDS

WHY then are the figures for Ulster's six counties so much out of proportion with the miserable showing for the rest of Ireland? Mark me, my desire is to avoid the controversial elements of religion and politics as much as possible. My personal creed is the Lord's Prayer and all it comprises and my personal politics those of a patriotic broad-minded Irishman. Yet both politics and creed have such prominent parts in discussing Ireland's attitude to the war that they cannot be neglected. As regards politics then, of the eighty Nationalist representatives of Ireland who attend Westminster only four donned khaki uniforms to show by their influence that they considered this war worth fighting in. In contrast, therewith, of the small minority of Unionist members every man of military age, and some over military age, joined up to show their side. All honor, however, to those four brave Nationalist members whose memory will be revered when those who prate so hypocritically now of "Ireland's principle" will be remembered no more than the oxen which to-day browse in the pastures.

While Sir Edward Carson in the North threw himself heart and soul into the question of recruiting one must not forget that in the rest of Ireland the late Mr. John Redmond, M.P., was no less enthusiastic in the same glorious cause. However, statesman though he was, John Redmond's physical powers were waning. He had lost the old magnetism which is conjoint with prime vigorous health and his end must have been embittered, and actually hastened, when he had to witness the sacrifice of his noble brother, Major William Redmond, condemned by traitorous Sinn Feinners who elected De Valera as his successor in Clare by a majority of over three thousand. Nor even have John Redmond's own immediate followers shown otherwise than similar gross disrespect to his memory and the principles he fought so hard for when they chose for his own successor, as the head of the Irish Nationalist political party, Mr. John Dillon who boasts even to-day that he never stood on the recruiting platform—and never would.

Mark me, I admit that there are still honorable men among the Irish Nationalist party but just as a man is known by his company the party as a party will never gain the respect of Irishmen at home and abroad—nor of the civilized world for that matter—while it continues to commingle with Sinn Feinners whose dream is of an impossible Republic and who have been caught red-handed—trafficking with the barbarous Huns at a time when Irishmen should be foremost in the battle for Freedom and Humanity. But the pity is that Nationalist politics has reached such ignoble depths that even its few honorable members have lost their influence. Not many weeks ago a manly adjuration from Mr. Hugh Law, M.P., who has a gallant son in the Irish Guards, appeared in the Irish newspapers in which he declared: “there are those of us who will, if it should ever be necessary, fight to the last against any capitulation to the traitorous tyranny of Sinn Fein. To do so would be an abandonment of John Redmond’s teaching and a betrayal of our Irish soldiers, living and dead.”

Those of us who are heart and soul in the present struggle will welcome most heartily that declaration—but alas, Mr. Law speaks “like a pelican in a wilderness” where it seems the chosen creed to sink the fair renown of Ireland and Irishmen in treason and infamy.

If the Nationalist party is sincerely desirous of helping the cause not alone of Erin but of civilization and progress it has yet time to emancipate itself from the toils of Sinn Fein, with which is associated a contributory clique whose propaganda is undiluted anarchism. It can avert conscription by throwing itself heart and soul into a recruiting campaign and once more making the Irish regiments Irish indeed. But alas, it seems now too deeply committed to do so.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY

AN unbiased observer cannot help but feeling that the Irish Hierarchy might have done more to encourage recruiting than they have done. When the Huns ravaged Louvain’s ecclesiastical buildings and pillaged the convents

of Catholic Belgium the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Ireland showed some spasmodic enthusiasm in exhorting their congregations to avenge the wrong to their religion and church. What can be the feelings of those heroic catholic Irishmen who then joined up, to read now in their newspapers from home how these self same priests, whom they have been taught to respect, appear prominent under the traitorous tricolor of an impossible Irish republic to morally denounce them for having enlisted? The Roman Catholic church prevented Ireland from sullying her fame by rebellion when Dan O'Connell was sent to prison. Then Ireland had a population of eight millions and the aim of an attempt at an Irish Republic might have been much more hopeful than now. The present war is admittedly a struggle of light against darkness, right against wrong, tyranny against freedom and all that is meant by civilization. It is Christ and his Cross against Thor and his hammer. And that Ireland that once held up the light of Christianity against the darkness of barbarism—Ireland that of all people should fight for freedom and the weak nations—that Ireland stands sullenly aloof, is no credit to her moral teachers. What defence can they make to the free and enlightened people of the world? The “soggarth aroon” of Ireland holds more power in the minds and actions of his people than does a priest in any other part of the world, yet what defence can be made for this contrary influence? It is surely the most illogical of paradoxes that while the Roman Catholic Churches in “the distressful isle” denounce by bell, book and candle, any attempt at both recruiting and conscription, the Protestant churches have unanimously advocated the institution of both conscription and a recruiting campaign.

As a matter of fact, the apathy of the R. C. Hierarchy to the treasonable practices of the Sinn Feinners has meant not alone the abstention of the mass of young men whose dutiful place is in the fighting line but the retention to preserve law and order of a full brigade of English and Scotch regiments in Ireland who are badly wanted in the struggle for victory. Moreover, what encouragement is it for the loyal

and willing North of Ireland men to volunteer further merely to have skulkers remain at home to snap up their situations? In plain language even the capable young men of North of Ireland—as truly Irish as the rest of the country—are forced almost to remain away from Flanders to protect their homes against the midnight attacks of villains who are sheltered alike by a church which should have nobler aims and by a government that should do its duty firmly.

Equality of service and sacrifice is not an outrage. The outrage was committed by the Government in not treating Ireland firmly and as an equality with England, Scotland and Wales since the beginning of the war. Irishmen in the United States have not shirked their duty, yet according to the peculiar sophistry of certain people to do so in Ireland proves “noble principle.” Australia with a population only slightly larger voted against conscription yet its contribution to the war has been 400,000 men against Ireland’s less than 140,000.

IRELAND’S RESPONSE TO WAR BONDS

IF Ireland is not doing her share in contributing her dutiful man power to the world’s struggles, it cannot be alleged that her people have been any more creditable in their contribution of money. Although it has been urged incessantly that the present absention of service is because this is England’s—and *not Ireland’s*—war, still there is no refusal to take every advantage of England’s liberality and generosity. In rationing, in taxes and other privileges Ireland has been extended exemptions out of all decent reason. The big bulk of the farmers have been enabled to buy out their farms by reason of the goodness of the Government in advancing many millions of dollars. Further the war has made Ireland know a wealth positively unimagined in the most halcyonic dreams of her optimists. During 1915 the Irish people were enriched to the extent of \$225,000,000 by the Government in purchases of farm produce. Yet against good interest and the security, not alone of the British Empire, but of the Allies, including America, all Ireland could subscribe in War Bonds

was \$1,250,000. And of this sum the eternally grumbling, ever complaining, three Southern Provinces subscribed a miserable \$62,000. What can Irishmen abroad think of the gratitude of those in the "old country" after this showing?

THE NEW RECRUITING SCHEME

NOW that Conscription is abandoned, what chances are there that the country will act rationally in doing its share of the fighting? Frankly I wish I could be optimistic. A new offer is made by Viscount French, the Viceroy, to people already so pampered that they have lost all sense of manhood and responsibility. A proclamation asks Ireland to send forth 50,000 recruits before 1st October to replenish the Irish Divisions, and thenceforward between 2,000 and 3,000 monthly in order to maintain them at full strength. The proclamation states that if these recruits be so obtained Ireland will establish a more equitable ratio compared with all other parts of the British Empire and "play her part fully and freely in the new world-struggle for liberty." An additional 50,000 recruits—even if exclusively contributed by Leinster, Munster and Connaught—will not even bring these provinces up to the standard set by the six counties of Ulster. As Ireland's contribution to the Army is about 130,000 how can it be alleged 50,000 more will establish any equitable ratio with other parts of the Empire, when Australia alone has supplied 400,000 men?

Finally to a people already pampered even to their demoralization a bribe is offered to recruits. The appeal is made not to their loyalty or patriotism, but to their greed and importunity. They are offered gifts of land, as well as pay, allowances and pension. To make this offer is neither justice nor expediency.

"And the Lord of the Vineyard paid the idlers who came in at the eleventh hour as much as those who had borne the heat and burden of the day." The English Government, devoid all along of firmness, has improved on that precedent. Why should the Irish soldiers who now enlist get land more than the Irish soldiers who three years ago enlisted because

of their loyalty and conscience, or than the British soldiers who have been fighting all the time?

The war can be fought without their help. There was an idea that America would support these shirking recalcitrant irreconcilables in their unsupportable claims of "oppression." But it will only be when America shows her marked contempt and declares that such skulkers—even though they defame the name of Ireland—will be given as cold a shoulder as will be given to the Huns after the war that Ireland will come to be reasonable. Let there be no mistake, anyone who has eyes to see—especially in the South, West and Midlands—cannot but be amazed with the huge number of able-bodied men who nonchalantly enjoy all the pleasures of placidity and protection while others are fighting for them. The farms are so overstocked with labor that they can always find time to indulge in Sinn Fein drilling, hurling, and other pastimes. The latest Parliamentary paper shows that after deducting those whose labor is indispensable, Ulster has 40,263 men of military age and the other three provinces combined 211,689 men.

It is irrelevant to grumble, as some myopic people do, that this Irish claim to escape the responsibilities of Irishmen, and of the Allies everywhere else in the civilized world, is justified by Ireland's grievances. It is not the moment to bicker over fancied and petty trifles when the menace of Prussian tyranny towers over our very existence itself. As Lord Dunraven, one of the most patriotic of Erin's sons, pleads:—"Ireland is in danger of allowing all her claims, all her character, all her future, to go by default. If she cannot see her duty to herself and to others, she will incur the contempt of other nations, and, when she comes to her senses, she will have to drink of the bitterness of all cups—self-contempt."

There are many sad hearts in Ireland to-day, and among them some of Ireland's truest friends.

THE EVILS OF COST-PLUS CONTRACTS

By PERLEY MORSE, C. P. A.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The author is the famous Public Accountant whose work has long been of nation-wide scope, and includes many startling revelations, including the tracing of the Bolo Pacha corruption funds through devious ways to the German war chest, which was the evidence that stood the French traitor against a wall before a firing squad. This is the first clear exposition of the evils of the cost-plus plan and is the result of first-hand knowledge secured through personal investigation.

AT first blush it would seem that the cost-plus plan of awarding contracts is eminently fair. One says, "How can it be otherwise than fair, since the Government allows only a fair profit above the actual cost of production?"

This plan would be a just one if the actual cost of production were kept down to an honest figure. The evils of cost-plus contracts result from unscrupulous manufacturers who boost the cost of production in a thousand different and unfair ways. It is nothing to such men what it may cost to produce certain articles. Rather, the higher they can make the cost, the greater their profit, since they get a per centum. of the total cost.

That, under this plan, a factory may be (and has been) equipped with new machinery; that costly experiments are made; large charitable contributions made; pages of Liberty Loan advertising bought; officers salaries camouflaged, and a thousand similar dishonest tricks played, all of which has been pro-rated as "cost," is, I am sure, not generally known.

In fact, little was known of the evils of cost-plus contracts before American business was forced to accept this form of transacting its affairs. The constant rise of material and labor costs brought about by the European War has caused the change from doing business on a fixed price contract to doing it on a cost-plus contract. The manufacturers argue that because of these conditions they cannot

determine, with any degree of reasonable accuracy, the material and labor costs required to complete the work upon which they are asked to bid.

In industries necessary and essential to the successful termination of the war, the Government has stepped in and, at the request of the manufacturer, has changed the original fixed price contract to the cost-plus. This the Government has done to protect the manufacturers from losses, as well as to encourage them by an agreed profit in order to assure the rapid completion of the article to be manufactured.

It is in cases of this kind that the accountant is of vital importance. The problems presented are varied and to a great extent of a complicated nature. The accountant is asked "What does it cost to manufacture a given unit?" This the accountant can certify to only after a thorough investigation into the three elements entering into cost, viz:

- 1—Material
- 2—Direct Labor
- 3—Overhead

GETTING AT THE ACTUAL COST

AFTER the accountant has satisfied himself that the accounting system in use at the plant lends itself to a complete analysis, he will certify to the material costs of a given contract if

(a)—Material purchased direct for the contract was bought at the market prices and orders were placed at time of signing the contract.

(b)—Material taken from general stores is charged at original cost to the manufacturer.

(c)—Material charged to the job was received and actually used.

(d)—Scrap is reclaimed and a reasonable proportion credited to the cost of the job.

To properly check the Direct Labor, the accountant should see that

(a)—The rates of pay are not greater than those at similar plants.

(b)—All labor tickets are properly accounted for.

(c)—Pay Rolls for any one period agree with the amounts charged as Direct Labor on work in progress.

The amount of detail work to be done depends on each particular case. No hard and fast rule can be set down to apply in all instances. The accountant should use his judgment and skill and should be guided to a very great extent by the system of internal check.

Ordinarily the subject of Overhead is a complicated one. In cost-plus contracts this question requires more study and is far more complicated. It is customary, in large enterprises, to divide the Overhead into two possible main divisions:

1—Shop Expense.

2—Administrative, Selling and General Expenses.

The problems before the accountant are:—

What should and what should not be considered as Shop Expense?

Where should he draw the line?

Should the manufacturer be allowed to charge every item to cost, or should he be asked to carry some expenses and deduct them from the profits he will earn on his contracts?

Here is where practical accounting experience used by an unbiased auditor can save his client or the Government large sums of money.

I will give illustrations of several items that have been included in cost and have been unearthed as a result of my numerous investigations into contracts that were made originally at fixed prices and were later changed to cost-plus contracts.

The rates of depreciation which have been used in the past and which engineers believe to be equitable and just have been discarded. New rates, far too high, have replaced them. This works an injustice to the people who pay for the product manufactured at the plant, for, at their expense, the

manufacturer is building a large capital reserve which he can use to good personal advantage when the war is over and he is required to compete with other manufacturers.

“SOAKING” THE GOVERNMENT

AN instance was called to my attention where the directors of a corporation had for over fifteen years decided that they would make all repairs, renewals and betterments necessary to keep the plant at 100 per cent efficiency, in place of setting up a Reserve for Depreciation. When the Government took control of the contracts at the plant, the officials voted that in addition to a charge for repairs and renewals a Reserve should be set aside for Depreciation, same to be retroactive to all open contracts. This caused the costs to the Government to jump sky high. Again, my attention has been called to a case where, besides an already high rate of depreciation, an additional amount is being added to cost for “Overtime Depreciation” on the grounds that part of the plant is working above the normal capacity.

A case brought to my attention recently was one where a large plant in a very essential industry was to have its output requisitioned and all work put on a cost-plus basis. About this same time a reorganization had taken place and the corporation's assets, worth only six million, were sold for eleven and one half million. When the corporation began to figure costs for the Government, the depreciation was based on this highly inflated value. As a result, costs rose beyond all estimates.

A manager going through his plant one day was astonished to find many new pieces of machinery. He questioned the foremen of the respective shops to ascertain how they were able to obtain new equipment without his approval, and to his surprise, learned that the method was a unique one.

He was told that because of his desire to reduce the purchase of equipment and because of the need to speed up the work, the foremen bought spare parts which, when assembled, made a complete machine of the kind they desired. The cost of these spare parts was included in Shop Expense be-

cause the clerks in the Accounting Department could not tell the purpose for which they were bought. The manager then ordered a physical inventory made of the Machinery and Equipment and, as a result, increased the book value of the plant by several hundred thousand dollars. All of this was done at the expense of those for whom work was being performed on a cost-plus contract.

One comparatively large manufacturer doing work solely on cost-plus contracts spends large amounts monthly experimenting with a new type of engine which, if successfully completed, will revolutionize that particular industry. Judging by the expenditures there seems to be no doubt of the fact that the experiment will be a success. In time to come, the income derived from the patent of this engine will be many times the expenditure. Ordinarily, and justly so, the costs of conducting this experiment should be capitalized, but in the case at hand it has not been done. The parent company paying the expenses distributes them pro-rata to the subsidiary plants and they in turn add this to their expenses in connection with manufacturing until finally, this item finds its way into cost. Little does a customer know that he is paying for experiments that will yield large sums to the manufacturer.

COST-PLUS DEMORALIZES LABOR

IN a cost plus contract, especially where there is a bonus for speed production, there is danger of demoralizing effects upon labor. But regardless of any bonus, the effects are bad since so many concerns are willing to pay any price for labor, although such labor may not be actually worth, in the open labor market, more than half of what this manufacturer is giving.

A certain big and honest manufacturer, doing Government work on the cost-plus plan, made every effort to get that cost down to just where it should be. He had been paying a certain class of skilled labor 60 cents an hour. But his men began to leave. Investigation showed that other manufacturers, eager to secure labor and safely sheltered

by the cost-plus plan, were paying from 80 to 90 cents an hour for this same work, a hitherto unheard-of price.

It was not necessary to pay more than 60 cents an hour. In fact most of the men on this work would have been well satisfied with 50 cents an hour. But the unscrupulous producers with their cost-plus contracts, did not care whether they were overpaying labor, whether they were demoralizing labor, or whether their plan was actually slowing up Government work because it was creating an all-around shortage of labor. Furthermore, these unscrupulous ones really preferred to pay 90 cents an hour to men who would have gladly worked for 60, since their profits were based on a per centum of the cost of their production, and the greater they made the cost, the greater their profits.

The Government has lost much by this. Already, many contracts have been slowed up because of the trouble to get laborers to work in the plants of honest manufacturers who refuse to cheat the Government by paying a 60-cent laborer 90 cents and, taken altogether, this is one of the worst of the many evil phases of the cost-plus plan.

It will be found that people working on cost-plus contracts are more liberal in their contributions to charitable institutions or for welfare work. This is not surprising when we find that the books show that such contributions and donations are being included in cost. Isn't the manufacturer generous? How many votes of thanks and testimonials are given to the manufacturer for his contribution to this or that institution? Little do these people know that the contribution are being made at the expense of customers.

The manufacturers show their patriotism by large contributions for Liberty Loan Propaganda. They insert full-page advertisements in the newspapers and are considered highly patriotic by all. But, how many people know that the manufacturers are not paying for this—that the customers are burdened with the expense?

Various Commissions representing foreign Governments visit this country. Should their mission be for the purpose of placing contracts, they are very extensively entertained by

these manufacturers who bid on the contracts. No expense is saved to create a favorable impression, and when the contract is finally entered into, the cost of the entertaining is prorated as a cost of the work done. How many victims of cost-plus contracts realize that this is the practice?

LOBBY MONEY INCLUDED IN "COST"

IS there any reason why costs should be burdened with expenses of incorporation? The U. S. Internal Revenue Department has ruled that such items cannot be deducted for Income Tax purposes. Yet, in a particular case in mind, this was done to the extent of several thousand dollars.

Another corporation, in order to secure certain Government contracts, gave a lobbyist twenty-five thousand dollars for propaganda in Washington. The officials ordered that each contract bear its pro-rata share.

A fine bit of camouflage is being practiced in the matter of "officers' salaries." The amounts are in certain cases ridiculously low. Men holding positions that ordinarily pay twenty-five thousand dollars per annum are paid only six thousand. This is done primarily for the purpose of blinding the Government, its customer, with a view to showing at how little cost the company is operating. Let us look further, though. What disposition is made of the Bonus that is paid these officials? Is the company taking this out of the profits? No, the amounts are distributed to cost of all work in process at the time the payments are made. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are paid annually in bonuses which, when added to the salaries of the Officials, show substantial salaries far in excess of the amounts that executives can afford to draw when working on a flat cost basis.

During the year various items of expense are incurred, such as tickets for the Mayor's Banquet, Football tickets (in the case where the manufacturer is working on Army or Navy work), cigars and the like. Only the other day, while discussing with one of my clients some of the items included in cost, which were uncovered in an investigation that I was conducting, he turned to his secretary and inquired as to who

sent him the fine box of cigars last Christmas and who invited him to the Army and Navy football game. To the surprise of all in the room the secretary replied that both the cigars and the football tickets came from the president of the corporation who was working on some cost-plus work reaching into millions. We were all amused when we were told that these items were pro-rated to the cost of the work done on his contracts.

In shipbuilding it is customary for the shipbuilder to present the sponsor with a suitable gift worth anywhere from fifty to two hundred and fifty dollars. This is charged into cost.

Good accounting practice dictates that interest be not included in cost and where a contract specifically states that it shall be a factor in cost, it is only reasonable that the customer's contract should be credited with items of income arising from surplus working funds such as cash discounts on purchases, interest on securities owned, interest on bank balances and the like. How many manufacturers are doing this? Experience teaches me that they are few and far between.

In substance, it may safely be said that manufacturers working on cost-plus contracts charge everything to cost and take every item of income into their profit and loss account.

It may safely be said, also, that when cost-plus contracts cease to exist, many assets that have been depreciated while plants are working on cost-plus contracts will be recapitalized and machinery bought and included in cost of manufacturing will continue to be used.

Cost-plus contracts are an unnecessary evil brought about by the present war and if they must exist should be carefully watched, for, as I have so briefly shown, costs are burdened with a good deal more than they can rightfully bear.

PARIS, THE CONFIDENT

By HAMILTON M. WRIGHT

[SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT FOR THE FORUM IN FRANCE]

PARIS, at almost the conclusion of the fourth year of the war, is not glad. Neither is it sad. As to frivolity, all the world knows that never again in history will the French be called "Frivolous."

Paris is confident!

That is the impression one gains. Paris is confident of many things—first of all, ultimate victory over the Huns. She is also confident that the enemy shall not invade her; that the Americans will turn the tide and that every individual will continue to do his and her utmost, without complaining, without flinching, in heroic patience to help speed that day when the cables shall flash to the four corners of the globe the message: "Unconditional surrender of the Central Powers."

Germany had sent over word to America, and her sympathizers here repeated it, "France is bled white!"

France is not bled white. Paris shows no signs of anaemia. France has been sorely wounded, but she is sturdy, strong, determined. Every person that one sees in Paris, every form of life and activity there, reflects the truth of this statement, that France continues to be sturdy and Paris is confident.

When I say that Paris is not sad I do not mean that there is any visible lack of mourning. It is evident on every hand. But the wearers do not go about weeping and wailing, nor surreptitiously drying their tears. The wearers of mourning are going about their duties with resolute countenances.

There is always the laughter of children upon the streets, in the parks and homes. There is always the smile for the coming and for the departing, the laughs of the furloughed young soldiers and their equally young sweethearts and wives.

In the theatres and the picture shows the people do not repress laughter at good comedy. In hotels and restaurants there is no shrill laughter, to be sure, no high-pitched chatter, but there is pleasant conversation and there are cheerful faces about the tables.

In Paris is seen and felt the spirit of France, something that cannot be described by pen or brush; something that can only be felt. The measure of this spirit cannot be taken, nor its poignancy brought into consciousness by reading, telling or seeing. Yet to say that France is depressed, sombre or resigned to the present situation would be to fail in attesting its present exalted spirit. In Paris one soon learns that France is not beaten to her knees and that her sorrow is only for they who have gone, not for her sons who fight, and everyone is going forward with all of the hope and power and vigor of a wonderful people.

PARIS AFLAME WITH PATRIOTISM

PARIS is quiet, yet aflame with the fires of patriotism. Everyone is consecrated to fight on and on as he or she may best serve, to the day of final victory. Nothing else matters. And all of this is quietly taken for granted.

Time and time again the Hun has been turned back from Paris. I asked an elderly Curé the reason for this confidence. "Confidence? What, monsieur, has occurred to break our confidence?" he asked.

Included in the reading matter that I took aboard ship with me when I sailed for France were a number of authentic articles concerning the streets of Berlin, as told by people who had but recently come from there. The lack of man-power, the lack of energy, the lack of so many things there, it seems, has made it impossible to keep Berlin streets clean or cesspools cleaned out. "Paris," I thought, "will be like that, for every able-bodied man is gone, there has been the terrible fright of the long-range guns—naturally I shall not find the bright clean Paris that I knew on my previous visits."

My reasoning was far afield from fact, for Paris is as

clean and spotless and bright as ever. While it is lacking in that light gaiety of pre-war days, it is not lacking in its old-time beauty. The streets, curbs and sidewalks are immaculately clean and the people are attractively dressed. Not even the war has affaced that typical smartness of the French. True, the clothes are not of the old-time expensive sort; there is no display of priceless fabrics and gems, yet the smartness is there, the cut and fit of the clothes is always good.

The people themselves are well nourished and vigorous. Of the thousands that I have already seen and studied there is not a sign about them of hunger. Certainly there is no food shortage here. One may get plenty to eat, of good variety and good quality, at all times. What was more surprising, the food prices seem somewhat less here than in New York!

For breakfast, in a neat bourgeoisie restaurant, I had two fresh eggs, good coffee and an ample portion of bread, at Fr. 1½ or, in our money, 30 cents. In New York I could not do better in a restaurant of the same class. I doubt if I could do as well.

Three of us went into a large, well appointed restaurant at noon and had each, plenty of good bread, a large bottle of white wine, a small but tender beefsteak and a generous helping of fried potatoes. The cost was \$2.25, or 75 cents each. I wish I knew where I could get the same in New York at that price.

COST OF LIVING LESS THAN IN AMERICA

IN the Place de Republique is the Hotel Moderne where I secured a room on the second floor. It was a very large room, beautifully furnished. The charge per diem was Fr. 7, and 10 per cent war tax or a little more than \$1.50 a day. Few hotels in America have rooms equal to this for less than \$5.00 a day. At noon and in the evening splendid course meals are served at five or six francs, one menu being slightly more elaborate than the other. A supper includes soup, salad, fish, meat (there are no more meatless days), potatoes, beans, strawberries, radishes or other relish, cheese and cafe

noir. I doubt if one could secure as satisfactory a meal back home at that price.

I do not wish to be misunderstood, however. Paris is not lavish, she is not overflowing with abundance, but she has enough for everyone and everyone is keeping strong and well. France has always produced practically all of her food-stuffs, her women have always cooked economically and her people are never hearty eaters. Bread, one of the almost universal foods, is rationed by card. Coffee sells in the stores at about three francs per half kilo. A can of condensed milk sells for Fr. 3.15 per 1-3 kilo and a box of tapioca at Fr. 1.60. Shoes are almost double the price of footwear in America, but men's clothes are no more expensive here than in New York, San Francisco or elsewhere.

Sugar is used sparingly—as it was in the United States when I sailed—but there is plenty of good sweet chocolate in large bars to be had everywhere at ten cents the bar.

I have seen few children and no women eating these chocolate bars. I was curious about it, and learned that almost without exception the women and children are voluntarily going without these sweets that the soldiers may have more. I tried it, and gave a bright little girl a bar of chocolate. She thanked me prettily but did not eat it. I asked her why.

“Pour mon Papa!” she said, and explained that her mother would send it to him in the weekly box of good things she forwarded.

And yet, on the whole, prices in Paris are about twice what they were before the war. One should remember, however, that this is true in almost every country. The four years of war have sent prices soaring.

Before I left there were frequent rumors that “Paris is close to the starving point.” Nothing of the sort. Paris is no nearer starving today than she was before the war. There is not quite the same abundance of food, nor quite the variety, but there is plenty for all and there will continue to be plenty. There are some very poor in Paris. These are cared for jointly by the Government and the Red Cross. But

in all Paris there can not be found as many actually needy as in a dozen East Side streets in New York. For one thing there is plenty of work which pays sufficiently to not only keep the poor but to give them comfort.

PARISIANS EVER CHEERFUL

THE streets are always crowded. Automobiles, motor busses and taxis are continually scooting about, each with the identical note, and the noise is like that of a flock of excitedly honking geese. On the motor busses and in the subways the conductors are women. On the street cars both the "motormen" and conductors are women. The taxi drivers are men—very young, very old, or slightly crippled and thus unable to be at the front.

It is in the subways of Paris as in the Subways and on the street cars and elevated trains of all cities that one learns more about the spirit and morale of the great majority of people. It is in these subways that one sees so many little incidents that reveal the true heart of the people. This morning I saw a wounded man arise to give his seat to a widow with a baby. Instantly everyone in the car arose to give the wounded soldier a seat. Sweethearts and wives who have their "man" back on a short visit, cling to their hands openly in public as if to never let them get away, yet at the stations there is no loud weeping and wailing when these forloughs are up and the men depart. Rather, there is a close embrace, a clinging kiss and always a brave smile.

On Sundays, in the afternoons and especially in the long half-light that precedes the night, the open air cafes are filled with people having light refreshments and sipping the light wines of France, or beer or coffee, just as of old. There are always many military automobiles, many officers of many nationalities, English, Italian, Portuguese, Belgian, French, American and a few Russian, in their bright uniforms.

As I sat at one of the sidewalk tables and watched these officers in their bright colors, and the women all in black or, at best, in dull colors, I could not help but compare this with other days when it was the women who wore the colors and

the men who were dressed in blacks and grays. The diversity of military uniforms and the surprisingly large number of officers as well as soldiers of so many different nationalities, betoken more than all else the proximity of Paris to the battlefield. Paris is thus revealed as the city nearest the fighting.

At a row of tables sat a group of these officers of all nationalities. One would think it a stage setting rather than reality for they appeared not to have a care. There was confidence written in every face. And beyond I saw a group of American officers, eight, while across the way were twenty or more soldiers enjoying their beer or light wine. All about fluttered the Stars and Stripes. I wondered just what Lafayette would do and say should he suddenly come upon this street and behold our flags and our men.

ALL PRAISE AMERICA

IN every paper there is praise of America and her part in the war. Not long ago when the announcement came that we had a million men in France, everyone of the seven newspapers that I read that day hailed this achievement as "Un miracle American!" And to everyone in confident Paris the thing that gives them the most confidence of all is the knowledge that we are bringing over all of our supplies, all of our own food, arms, munitions—everything.

"To think!" an old veteran said to me in a quivering voice, "that you Americans are bringing over everything that you use!"

Not long ago Premier Clemenceau reviewed a large body of newly arrived troops in a French village. Later, after they had marched on, the Premier made another speech to "his people" explaining just what the United States was doing to help. The people looked astounded but, since the great Premier Clemenceau told them so, it must, of a verity, be so. The mayor responded in behalf of his townspeople and ended his little speech with the words:

"It is good, my Premier. We will wait as long as may be necessary. We have the confidence."

Our own men have helped to make Paris confident, naturally; and especially is this true of our wounded men who have been brought to hospitals in and about Paris. The eagerness of our men to "Get well and go back and give 'em hell" has had its good effect everywhere. This confidence was brought home to me with lasting emphasis when I called at a Red Cross Hospital to visit an old-time newspaper friend of mine, now a Corporal in the service. He is well known in San Francisco and Seattle. He had been in some thick fighting on one bloody side of that famous wedge that had its apex at Château Thierry.

He was suffering from gas, for his mask had been shot away. But he was happy, jubilant, exalted. He had seen the Germans throw away their guns and run.

"I may never get back to the States," he told me, "But, oh! Boy! I'm happy! I have put in a lick for everybody back home and I've seen the Germans run like whipped curs. Our boys went right through them. It is only God's Mercy that saved me. Did you know that I could pray? I didn't know it myself until that battle. I said, 'God make me a good soldier! Oh! Lord, now is the time for you to protect me and my men!' Say, I prayed like a praying machine in Persia, and went through a cross fire of machine guns with three men and no one was hurt!"

SCARING THE HUNS

MY friend's story, and the stories of two other men fresh from the front, were classic in their directness and ardor. Before the fighting, some American automobile trucks picked up my friend and his companions and rushed them to the front.

"We fell out in battle formation," he explained to me. "One-half a Division of Prussian guards was in the town of X. They saw us come over in waves, four waves to a company and they said, so our prisoners told us later, 'The Americans are coming like all hell; Retreat!' So they retreated about three kilometres. A company of French who had been out four days without food passed us as they went back. We

dug ourselves in in the first big woods south of the town of X. The Boches began bringing in re-inforcements and we waited a few days at a triangular farm where we received orders to attack the German. The captain of my Company was ordered to hold the center of the attack. As he left the woods he was killed. A lieutenant of the third platoon was wounded by machine gun barrage and my section of twelve riflemen, were left alone at that point. Eight of them were casualties in the field directly behind me in less than one minute, and five machine guns played upon us. It was then I prayed. Believe me, God heard me pray, for the Huns threw away their guns and ran from us. They would not stand and fight. We took possession of a railroad and the machine guns in a machine gun nest at the point of the bayonet. After that it all turned into an artillery duel. Days seemingly passed without number and without end."

A gunnery sergeant, told me that my friend's uniform had been cut both in front and back by machine gun fire. He also said that the Germans turned machine guns on a man who was trying to assist a wounded soldier from the field. They shot first-aidsmen with red crosses on their arms, he said. One poor little stretcher bearer was shot to death.

"I saw the dirty Hun that deliberately shot that little Red Cross stretcher bearer and I got him with my bayonet, had to shoot the gun to get it out of him. I never believed I could kill a man, but say, I enjoyed that! And do you know my good luck? I'm going to get well right away they tell me, and then I can get back into the fight. Oh boy! Just you watch us!"

That sort of thing, repeated throughout Paris, helps to keep the people confident. The long distance gun did not frighten them. They scarcely mention it.

"Victory? It is sure, all in good time, monsieur," the old Curé told me.

That is the confidence of Paris.

JOHN BOWMAN—FOOD CONSERVATIONIST DE LUXE

By JOHN BRUCE MITCHELL

“**I** NEED some hotel genius to help me,” declared Herbert Hoover, about five minutes after he was made Food Administrator.

“That ought to be easy,” responded Mr. Hoover’s companion, “the country is full of hotel men.”

“True, and an army is full of privates, but there are only a few generals. The hotel man I need must be a general in the business, not a private.”

“Then send for John Bowman of New York,” was the advice.

“Bowman? Oh yes, the Biltmore man——”

“Also the Manhattan man and the Ansonia man and the Belmont man. He’s also building the Commodore, largest hotel in the world, and is planning a sixth skyscraper hotel on the site of the old Murray Hill hotel. He——”

“Just the man!” exclaimed Food Administrator Hoover, “I’ve stopped at some of his hotels.”

When the appeal reached Mr. Bowman to come on to Washington and get in conference with the Food Administration, with a view of helping his Government, Mr. Bowman lost no time.

“To conserve food in every private home will not be sufficient,” Mr. Hoover explained to him. “The hotel population, permanent and transient, is immense, equal in this country to the entire population of many small countries. Food must be conserved in all of our hotels. Will you help the Government by becoming Chief of the Hotel Division of National Food Conservation, Mr. Bowman?”

"Gladly——"

"——and the Restaurant?"

"Certainly——"

"——and the Dining Car?"

"If you wish——"

"——and the Steamship?"

"Will do my best."

And that is how John McE. Bowman, head of a great string of skyscraper hotels *de luxe*, acquired within three minutes, the title of "Chief of the Hotel, Restaurant, Dining Car and Steamship Division of the United States Food Administration."

HOTEL MEN HELP HOOVERIZE

IT is a long title, but Mr. Bowman is long-headed enough to swing it. He has been swinging it with such success that his enthusiastic work has resulted in a 100 per cent voluntary compliance with the food conservation rules amongst the leading hotels of this country.

Naturally, at the beginning, there were many doubting Thomases. Many declared that the hotel managers would not actually conserve food, that they could "camouflage" conservation. "When a man goes to a top-notch hotel and pays top-notch prices, he is going to get exactly what he asks for," was the comment.

"When a man comes into any of my hotels on a beefless day and demands beef, put him out!" was Mr. Bowman's orders.

That has been his attitude from the start. The requests of the Government as to the saving of food have been lived up to, absolutely to the letter.

"Not an ounce, not a gramme of pork is to be served, used or eaten by guests or employes in any of my hotels on porkless days," was one of his orders.

"Until further notice from me all forms of bread and pastry must contain no wheat flour. Rye, graham, corn and other wholesome substitutes must be used," was another Bowman order.

When Food Administrator Hoover sent for Mr. Bowman it was not to ask him to conserve food in his own big chain of hotels alone, but to see that every hotel, restaurant, dining car and steamship conserved food. It was an immense task. There were many pessimists and croakers, many who considered it all a joke. Mr. Bowman did not. He knew the seriousness of the situation.

"Why should the laboring man in his little tenement, or the middle-class man in his modest cottage, be asked to conserve food, while the people possessed of means eat whatever they please, as in the past?" he asked at one famous gathering of Hotel men from all over the country. "We serve the meals *de luxe*, it is true, but it is just as easy to conserve *de luxe* food, as the plain fare of the daily laborer."

This observation affixed to him the title of "Food Conservationist de Luxe."

Equipped with his long title, impressed with Mr. Hoover's talk, fully awake to the great need of food conservation, Mr. Bowman became active. First he asked Mr. Hoover if he had any especial plans for the work. "Not a plan. You know the business of feeding people, and you know the men who feed them in all public places, I leave it to you to bring them into line," was Mr. Hoover's response.

SAVING TONS OF FOOD MONTHLY

AND so Mr. Bowman returned to New York and, in true American style "Got busy." He is busy today, has been busy all this time and will continue busy just so long as there is need for food conservation in his division. His first step was to secure a hasty view of the local situation. He got in touch with New York's leading hotel men. He outlined the situation to them clearly.

Some of the more timid ones had doubts as to the possibility of such conservation.

"They have been used to all sorts of food luxuries whenever they felt like it, they have plenty of money to pay for them, won't it be impossible to get them to go light on beef and pork and wheat and butter and such things?"

"A great majority of our people," declared another hotel man, "eat more beef than anything else, rare roast beef, thick steaks and the like. What will we do?"

"We will take it off our menus. They may eat something else or go elsewhere," was Mr. Bowman's solution.

"But," protested another, "there will be an army of rivals who will be waiting for just this turn of affairs——"

"Gentlemen," said Mr. Bowman, "I have learned in Washington of our need of food conservation. I am in this fight to win. If I fail it will be because you have failed me. If I succeed it will be because you alone made me a success."

That settled it, the leading local hotel men were with him to a unit. And from that start he toured the country and brought into line every hotel man worthy of the name, every dining car and steamship corporation and every restaurant and café of the better class. In fact, every public eating place today, practically without exception, has fallen into line.

A close watch was kept over the results of Chief Bowman's work. The last month of 1917 showed that his efforts and the hearty, patriotic co-operation of the people who came within his division, had resulted in a saving of the following:

Meat	22,733,000 pounds
Wheat flour	9,089,000 pounds

This was encouraging. However, there was a crying need at that time for even greater saving and so Mr. Bowman redoubled his efforts, his appeals, his journeys of inspection and investigation, his output of food economy propaganda, with the result that the first month of this year found the hotels, restaurants, dining cars and steamships had saved:

Meat	25,418,000 pounds
Wheat flour	12,790,000 pounds

TRAVELLED 50,000 MILES

SINCE then the conservation has been increasing in large degree. Figures for the July saving have not been compiled, but thus far they show an increase in saving over January of this year of nearly 20 per cent.

Red tape has never interfered with Chief Bowman's duties. In his bright Hotel Lexicon there has been no such phrase as "Impossible," no such word as "delay." He has gone after whatever he wanted, and got it. He has maintained his division absolutely without other cost than that of his clerical force. He has gone ahead and secured whatever was necessary and paid the bills out of his own pocket. And, as chief of this important division of food saving, Mr. Bowman has traveled more than 50,000 miles since his appointment.

There is not a state that he has not visited, not a Hotel Association in America whose members he has not addressed on this subject, and his talks have been straight to the point. One of his important moves was to bring more than five hundred hotel men face to face with Food Administrator Hoover.

He gathered these men in Washington. They represented every State and every Hotel Association in America and before they left Washington every one of them had taken the wheatless-meatless day pledge, and the general pledge to work for food conservation in every direction.

At one of the gatherings of hotel and other men who feed multitudes, which he addressed on the subject of food saving, he said:

"You gentlemen are not realizing the important position of the industry of feeding the traveling public, of catering to hotel guests and to steamship, Pullman car and restaurant trade. Before the war this industry of feeding such people was the fourth in size. Today it is the fifth in size—the industry of war being the first in size.

"This industry of ours is now called upon to help win the war. This call goes not only to corporations and associations of hotel and restaurant men, but to very one of us. To win the war we must do our bit. Whoever it was that first declared that 'Food Will Win The War' certainly took into consideration that without the co-operation of such men as ourselves there would be serious drawbacks. When a

man comes into your place on beefless day and asked for steak, tell him what day it is. If he still insists, ask him if he had signed a food pledge card. If he says that he has not, eject him from your hotel or restaurant at once.

FIRST "LESS" BANQUET

"NOT long ago it was reported that 25,000,000 pounds of food had been destroyed by incendiaries. That would feed a million men three months. We have got to make up that loss by means of conservation. We all agree that the men who thus destroy food should be taken out and shot, but these sentiments do not help make up that food loss. With our splendid opportunity to conserve food, we will be unpatriotic, yet we will be more than that—disloyal!—unless we exert every effort to help the Food Administration to save." Chief Bowman's constant work, his continued speeches on the subject, his extended travels throughout the country, all combined to make a food conserving unit of the men throughout the country whose business it is to feed the public. After the meeting in Washington he took his confreres, who had so promptly taken the meatless and wheatless day pledges and all other food-saving pledges, to his Biltmore Hotel in New York on a special train where he gave a banquet.

This was the first beefless, porkless, wheatless, butterless and breadless banquet in America.

In appreciation of his patriotic efforts and of his hospitality, the visiting hotel men gave him, that night, a bronze statue of French's "Minute Man."

It was at the Washington meeting where Mr. Bowman, by a master stroke, made it possible for the representative hotel men of the country to meet our Food Administrator and learn directly of the need of their co-operation, that every man—each representing all of the hotel men in his district—arose instantly and pledged to use no more wheat whatever until the coming harvest.

"Of course," remarked a peeved wholesale dealer in foodstuffs, "all of this gallivanting around the country, all

of these special trains and banquets, come out of the Government funds."

"Of course," championed a friend of Mr. Bowman, who knew all of the details of the Chief's work, "not a cent comes out of the Government. For his special train, his famous 'less' banquet, his Washington gathering, his 50,000 miles of traveling and his endless publicity on conservation spread among hotel men, he paid out of his private purse."

In consideration of the fact that his salary is one dollar a year, there is sufficient evidence that it is not exactly a profitable position he holds. There is also sufficient evidence that just as his food-conservation campaign has been and is continuing to be, 100 per cent efficient, so is his patriotism 100 per cent grade.

A SKY-SCRAPER HOTEL MAN

MR. BOWMAN was a Toronto boy of Scotch-Irish parents. He entered the hotel business as a protege of the late Gustave Baumann, one of the most successful hotel men in the country, and worked his way up to the vice-presidency and finally the presidency of the Biltmore. Later he became proprietor of the famous Manhattan, then the Ansonia and he is now building the "Commodore" in New York, the largest hotel in the world, one that will accommodate one million guests every twelve months. This is a \$15,000,000 hotel.

But this is not sufficient for him. Recently he acquired possession of the old Murray Hill Hotel and the equally famous Hotel Belmont, giving him absolute control of all of the great hotels within the zone of the Grand Central Station in New York. And he is planning to build on the site of the Murray Hill Hotel a new one that will tower above the Belmont, and even above the twenty-eight story Commodore, now building. Being at the very top of old Murray Hill it will rise above every other building in New York City, except the Woolworth building, and will stand out "up-town" from the city's skyscraper section as a distinctive feature in Manhattan's world-famous skyline. All of his hotels, by the way,

are connected under ground, so that a guest may journey from one to the other without going out of doors.

Wherever the traveler may go today throughout the country he will find upon the menus, and posted in conspicuous places all about, the words:

“ We Are Members of the U. S. Food Conservation
Service.”

There is plenty upon every menu, and plenty is served with each order, but there is no longer the reckless and almost criminal waste in foods that occurred in other years. There are substitutes for wheat flour that are equally tempting and even more nourishing.

All of this has been Chief Bowman's work, made possible, as he always explains, by the co-operation of his brother hotel men. And the result has been that in the last eight months the saving of important food, which has been shipped “over there” to our fighting boys on land and sea, has totalled more than 205,000,000 pounds of meat and more than 112,000,000 pounds of wheat flour.

“It is merely a matter of hearty co-operation of patriotic hotel men, constant teaching of conservative eating to the patriotic traveling public, and demonstrating that it is an easy matter to conserve de luxe foods,” says Chief Bowman, in explanation of how it is done.

One of the results of this work was shown not long ago in a cable from France which read:

“The American soldiers are by far the best fed troops in Europe.”

“IMPROPAGANDA”

By LEWIS ALLEN BROWNE

MR. MERCHANT eased himself comfortably into a seat in the smoker alongside his neighbor, Mr. Banker. They were not of the seventeen commuters, made famous by the song, who had missed the “five-fifteen.”

“We’ve still got the boches on the run, I see,” he remarked as he extracted a dark perfecto, deftly removed the gilt abdominal band, clipped the tip with a gold cutter and proceeded to light it.

“You bet we have,” replied Mr. Banker, putting down his evening paper, “and what’s equally as important, we’ve got those cursed propagandists over here on the run. John, the public has no idea of the harm they have wrought.”

“Nope, I suppose not,” agreed Mr. Merchant, between deep pulls at his perfecto, “but then,” he added, settling back for a chat during their twenty-minute run out to their town, “you know as well as I, that all this propaganda stuff hasn’t harmed us.”

“No? I don’t see it——”

“No, indeed, we know better than to believe their damnable lies. We know it’s all propaganda. For instance, there was that story about the Red Cross nurses a while ago—you didn’t believe any of that German slander, did you?”

“I certainly did not,” agreed Mr. Banker, “but many people did.”

“Proves just what I say. Only the great unwashed, the uneducated, are harmed by all of this talk the Kaiser’s agents have been spreading through the country. You and I and the rest of the people who use their heads, who think, are not harmed in the least by their lies.”

“Why allow enemy propaganda to harm any of us?” asked Mr. Banker, quietly.

There seemed to be no ready response to that and Mr.

Merchant cast his eyes over the page of his neighbor's paper. A headline, "Liberty Motor Output Satisfactory," attracted his attention.

"The truth about that Liberty Motor is rather dismal, between you and I and the gatepost," he said, pointing at the headline.

"See nothing dismal in that, except for the Huns," stoutly declared Mr. Banker.

"Then you're not in the know! It sounds all right to print stories about making a lot of them, but the truth is they are short-lived."

A LIBERTY MOTOR LIE

MR. BANKER stared at him.

"Yes, sir. Powerful motor and all that, but I got it straight that they are so high-powered that they actually burn out after about three hours' running."

"Who told you?" demanded Banker.

"Who?—Er, let's see. Oh, yes, I remember, a chap who sells me goods, represents a wholesale house."

"Is his name Schmidt?"

"No, Miller is his name——"

"Bet you ten dollars that he spelled it 'Muller' before we got into the war——"

"Spells it that way now, I think. Let me see," and Merchant took some letters from his pocket and found a card stating that this salesman, 'F. H. Muller' would call on him on the tenth. It was the usual traveling salesman's notification card.

Mr. Banker snorted.

"What of it?" demanded Merchant.

"Listen, Merchant," said Mr. Banker, pointing a finger at him by way of emphasis, "you're a damned impropagandist!"

"A what?"

"Impropagandist, one who spreads impropaganda. You are about ten thousand times worse than the uneducated person who believes whatever he hears, for you are supposed to

be intelligent and people listen to what you have to say. Your words have——”

“ But——”

“ Wait. I want you to report this Muller chap—no, give *me* his full name and where he works, and I’ll see that the Department of Justice gets after him. What is he selling?”

“ Leather goods.”

“ How much leather is used in a Liberty Motor? What occasion does he have to visit plants where they are made? Why should he be an authority on Liberty Motors? ”

“ Come now, that’s a bit raw. He probably heard——”

“ He probably got the word to spread that yarn along with scores of others, so that whatever conversation came up he would have some topic to fit in, and all that he said would tend to lessen our faith in our government, our efficiency, our prosecution of the war. It would, in fact, discourage us and therefore give comfort and aid to the enemy.”

“ I never thought of that.”

“ Another proof, Joe, that you are an Impropropagandist. The propagandist is an enemy. He thinks, he cleverly devises yarns or is given yarns from headquarters to spread. An Impropropagandist is a man who wants to be a loyal American, who believes he is one, but who doesn’t think. Let me tell you something—the Liberty Motor has been run at four hundred and forty horse power for seventy-two hours without stopping; it is the best motor ever made for an aeroplane. There is nothing in it to burn out.”

“ Is that so?”

AS MANY “ GEESE ” AS “ GANDERS.”

“ **A**BSOLUTELY true. Now I don’t know how many people have heard you repeat Muller’s story, with added and guessed details, but you begin right now and run around and repeat what I’ve told you and keep repeating it. Try and tell your story ten times to once that Muller tells his. Meanwhile I think we may get him interned before a week.”

Down quiet and shaded Park Avenue, where Merchant lived, he walked slowly that evening, muttering to himself, in a dazed way, "Impropaganda! Impropaganda! Muller—well, I'll be dashed!"

Merchant has a son, a lieutenant, over in France. He has followed the plea of the Liberty Bond boomers and "Bought till it hurt." He has done everything possible for the cause, given his car, his time, his money, his son. And yet he thoughtlessly believed what a clever enemy propagandist told him, and repeated it.

It is true that our Government has been running down our enemies within with the greatest of success. Propagandists galore have been traced and taken care of in internment camps, jails and elsewhere. But the harm they have done has been continued, to a considerable extent, by our "Impropagandists," loyal citizens who have unthinkingly given comfort and aid to the enemy by repeating the propaganda thus spread.

They are not all men. Some of these "ganders" are "geese." Many of our women, too, are unconsciously but surely helping to spread these tales, and the worst of it is that most of this propaganda appears so harmless.

No one with ordinary common sense believed the German slander about our Red Cross nurses, to the effect that maternity hospitals had to be made ready for two hundred of them. The truth, as no one doubted, was that nothing of the sort happened, not a single case.

Nor do we take a moment's stock in those peculiarly "Kultured" letters that were scattered through Italy and later attempted to be scattered through the camps here and at our front in France, to the effect that many of the wives of soldiers were misconducting themselves.

Perhaps a few believe them. They were intended to shatter the morale of our soldiers. They have done little if any harm. But other propaganda got a good start. Some of it started many years ago before the war. All of it is intended as "missionary work," as we all know, to spread a belief that the Germans are supermen and that whatever

they do or say or make or write is the best in the world.

To believe it, to repeat it, to even whisper it or hint at it, is "impropaganda" and amounts to nothing less than disloyalty.

THE LIES ABOUT THE DYES

MRS. CHATTERTON saunters into her bright breakfast room at 9 A. M. Mrs. Leisure, her guest, follows her. James, the butler, seats them.

"Are all of the flags out, James?"

"Yes, Ma'am."

"And the Red Cross cards and Saving Stamp cards and Food Conservation cards all in the windows where they may be seen?"

"Yes, Ma'am."

"Very good. Tell Barker that all except the little run-about is to be at the service of the Canteen workers and Red Cross throughout the day and if there are not sufficient chauffeurs, he is to drive one of the cars."

"Yes, Ma'am."

James stalks out to give the order. Mrs. Chatterton turns to her guest.

"There isn't a single thing, so far as I know, that I am not doing these days to help win the war."

"We must all be like that," murmurs Mrs. Leisure; "I've given my time and my money. Stella is a full-fledged nurse now, you know, and going over."

"I tried for it but was too old," frankly admits Mrs. Chatterton.

"And I," smiles her guest.

"They say——" Mrs. Chatterton pauses and stares at Mrs. Leisure's morning robe.

"My dear!" she exclaims, "how exquisite. Such wonderful colors. However did you get it?"

"I saw the goods and had Clarice make it up——"

"Oh, you got it *here*. Well, be careful of it, for when it is soiled you know it won't wash."

"Oh, but it will, the sales person assured me that it would," insists Mrs. Leisure.

"They say that of course, but, my dear, you must know that we are getting absolutely no German dyes now and of course the chemists here cannot make dyes like the Germans. They all fade, you know."

"Do they? Well, I've heard it, but at the store——"

"Oh, yes," sighs Mrs. Chatterton, "I have been told by a dozen people that our dyes won't stand. Why, even a strange woman in the store the other day kindly advised me to buy only white stockings. She said all the colors would surely fade."

"I suppose it is true, then," bemoans Mrs. Leisure.

That's Impropropaganda!

Germany knows today that we are making just as good dyes as were ever made in her country. She knows that we are making better dyes along certain lines. She also knows that the world has for years been told that her dyes were the best and that no other country had the secrets or could produce them. This belief the Germans know must be fostered. And so the word goes forth to her agents here to keep up the propaganda against our dyes, because after the war she wants to recover her world trade.

THE SILLY SALT SCARE

THE chief reason for such propaganda is to foster this belief and help Germany regain her trade and her power after the war.

Recently I talked with Mr. Elwood Hendrick, of New York City, an expert chemist who specializes in dyes and dye-making.

"It is nothing less than a crime," he said, "the way that our women here believe and repeat all of this German propaganda about the superiority of German dyes. This has been traced to clerks in many stores. It is everywhere. But the truth is that our dyes are today just as fast colors as any that were ever made in Germany. In fact we are making better dyes in this country than were ever made anywhere

else. It is time something was done to awaken our loyal women to a knowledge of this."

Dr. Allen Rogers at the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, N. Y., a member of the American Chemical Society, is another authority who will vouch for the truth of this.

Scientists are the most conservative men in the world. They never make a statement until it has been proven and reproven. When they state that we have beaten the Germans at their own game and now make better dyes than ever came from Germany, that is final.

And yet the country is full of Mrs. Chattertons and Mrs. Leisures, who believe all that they are told, and who publicly bemoan a lack of fast dyes, simply because some sharp propagandist told them about it, or some parrot of a woman repeated it to them.

There is nothing too small, too slight, too unimportant to escape the enemy agents. Not all are keen, but the leaders are. And the word goes forth to the pro-Germans, to their paid agents and their sympathizers to spread a certain story or stories. These people may be stupid, most of them are, for stupidity is a German characteristic as we have learned, from their diplomats down to the least of their underlings, but they spread the rumors as easily as a person of intelligence.

When it was found that we must use every available ship to help our allies and to supply our own men going across, wise ones could foresee a shortage of sugar. Not but what there was plenty of sugar, but there was a scarcity of bottoms in which to transport it. To defeat the U-boats we used all ships procurable for soldiers, war munitions and food for the needy and deserving neutrals. It was not a question of whether we would help the allies and rush our soldiers over or go without that extra spoonful of sugar in our coffee. There was no question about it. We *would* cut down on sugar, and we did.

The German mind worked thus: "Sugar? Ach! If only it were something absolutely necessary they had to go without, like—like—like salt! Ach! Salt!"

And instantly the word went forth to start a "Salt famine" story. It was started last Fall and it spread like wildfire.

TRACING ENEMY PROPAGANDA

PEOPLE rushed to the stores for salt. Such a rush soon depleted the shelves in many a small store. Then, when the clerk would be forced to say "We haven't any salt today" the foolish ones would exclaim "Then it is true! What shall we do without salt?"

An acquaintance went home one evening and was shown, by his proud wife, a stack of twenty three-pound bags of salt.

"That ought to last us a while" she exclaimed.

"How much do we usually use?" he asked.

"Oh, I should say perhaps nine pounds in a year, three of these bags."

"Who told you there would be a salt shortage?"

"Mrs. White."

"Who told her?"

"The man who delivers the weekly case of beer for her husband."

"H-m-," he murmured, "Beer-man. Germans have been known to engage in the manufacture and sale of beer. Just why should a delivery man carting beer about, go out of the way to tell Mrs. White that there was a salt famine?"

"Why—why, out of kindness, I presume. Her husband traded with him you know and—er—perhaps he thought he was doing a kindness."

"He knew he was doing a kindness—to the Kaiser" snapped my friend. However, he assured his wife that he was not blaming her for trying to be wise, but he did blame her for believing every propagandist's yarn that she heard.

"Did you ask your groceryman about the salt shortage?"

His wife said she had not. She merely bought the salt. He went out after dinner. The store was open.

"Is there a salt shortage?" he asked the proprietor.

"No," grinned the proprietor, "not exactly. I was

talking with a big salt man from Syracuse today and he said the output was the same as ever. I have a whole carload of salt on the way for my three stores."

"But why—who—" stammered this mans' wife, when he told her.

"Propaganda" he said.

It all helped Germany in many ways. It created a little scare over here and made many wonder if we were going to smash, if we were going to have a famine in everything. It enabled Germans papers to cheer the German readers by spreading lurid yarns about the shortage of sugar, salt "and everything else" in America. This hurt us and gave comfort and aid to the enemy.

CATCH THE LYING PROPAGANDIST

WHEN this driver of a beer delivery truck went out of his way to tell Mrs. White of the salt famine, she should have notified her husband, or notified the Department of Justice, asking, "Is it true that there is a salt famine?" Then she should have said, "A man named 'So-and-so,' working for 'Such-and-such' a concern, told me."

Then she should not have repeated this story elsewhere. The Government officials would have assured her of the falsity of the yarn and the enemy propagandist would have been traced and a stop put to his work. Meanwhile the news of his arrest in the newspapers would have enabled everyone who heard that story to know that it was false.

Someone whispered the story not long ago that three American transports filled with our soldiers had been sunk, and that Washington was trying to cover it up. The whisper spread. It started from the lying lips of enemy whispering propagandists. But it was thoughtlessly, wrongfully, disloyally repeated by many of our own citizens who did not realize that they were thus making of themselves "Impropagandists," and the only difference between them and outright enemy propagandists was that the enemies knew they were hurting us while the Impropagandists had no idea that there was any harm in repeating such stories.

"Did you know that there is not going to be half as much anthracite coal mined this year as last?" I was asked.

"I did not know it. Do *you* know it?" I demanded.

"That's what I was told," he said.

"What was the name of the coal mine owner, or was it Dr. Garfield himself, who told you?" I asked.

"Oh no, just a story I heard."

By persistent questioning this man was enabled to recall that a man who worked in the same office with him told the yarn. At my request he got this man to tell him the source of his information. After several days, having interested my friend in the patriotic game of "Catch the lying propagandist," the story was traced to a woman whose servant told her, and the servant said that her "gentleman friend" told her. The servant was a German girl. Her "gentleman friend," was someone she met in a crowd at a cafe.

"Did your gentleman friend speak German, 'Liza?" she was asked.

"Ja—er—Yess ma'am," replied truthful Liza.

The story had been told deliberately by an enemy propagandist. There is no reason to believe that the servant, 'Liza, was other than stupid. The "gentleman friend" knew she would repeat it, and the eleven others, through whom we traced this yarn, were—or sincerely believed themselves to be—loyal Americans. However, they were all "Impropogandists."

"They say," German toys are best and especially German dolls.

DON'T BE AN "IMPROPAGANDIST"

GERMAN toys, especially dolls, never have been the best. We are making better drugs and medicines now than were ever made in Germany. We are more efficient in mechanics than they ever were or ever will be in Germany.

It doesn't matter whether someone tells you that a transport of our soldiers has been sunk or that our dyes will not hold color; it does not matter whether they slander our nurses

or say that we are facing a food famine—it does not matter what “They say,” *so long as no one repeats it!*

Enemy propagandists are everywhere. They are still legion.

Our Government can cope easily with spies, traitors, enemy-paid press, I. W. W. troubles, German-inspired sabotage and similar enemy activities, but when an enemy's stock-in-trade consists solely of a story or a series of stories harmful to our country, to our morals and to our aims, and helpful and comforting to the enemy, it is difficult for our Secret Service men to trace and punish such enemies.

There is only one way—whenever a person tells you anything of this nature, either trace its source at once, or send in this person's name and address, and the story he or she told you, to the Department of Justice in Washington where it will soon be run down and the enemies who retail such stories will be properly dealt with.

A story was started to the effect that our Army surgeons and their aids held the most dangerous places in the service, that more than 80 per cent. of them were killed.

Of course it wasn't true. But it spread everywhere after it was once started.

The enemy propagandist is the man with the match. He starts a fire. Our own people, making every effort and sacrifice to be loyal and helpful, are like the breeze, if they repeat that story.

The little fire could be stamped out in a moment. The first story could be nailed in a moment, but the unthinking spread it as the breeze spreads the flames, they do the harm through “Impropaganda.”

There is the good old story of the woman who, at confessional, told the priest that she had been gossiping.

“For penance” said the good priest, “go pluck an armful of milkweed plants, in full seed. Open each pod and walk along the highway two miles, scattering all of the seed to the breeze. Then come back to me.”

The woman did so.

“I have fulfilled my penance, Father,” she said.

"Ah, no my daughter, not yet," he told her, "go back tomorrow and pick up each seed and replace it in the pod."

The woman stared at him. "But—but Father, that is impossible—utterly impossible!"

"Quite true, my daughter. And so it is with your gossip. The harmful words you have so idly spoken are as the downy seed you scattered to the winds. They can never be recalled."

Impropagandists are scattering downy seeds of enemy propaganda, and they cannot undo the harm.

OBSERVATIONS OF EPICTETUS, Jr.

By LEWIS ALLEN

AND now the whirr of the Liberty Motor is mingled with the scream of the American Eagle over in France.

This year's "Midsummer madness" is centered in Germany's War Office.

Politics does not make half as strange bedfellows as war.

Epitaph for William Hohenzollern: "Zwischen Freud und Leid, ist die Brücke nicht weit."

In war it is never too *early* to mend.

Our hundred planes a day

Will make all Germany obey.

The race is always to the swift, providing the swift are sure.

Between the dollar-a-year men over here and the dollar-a-day men over there, there's nothing to it but Victory.

It looks as though August were going to be the hottest and most uncomfortable month Mittel Europa ever experienced.

The Bolsheviks who shouted "Down with everything" overlooked the fact that Russia was quite likely to agree, and begin with Bolshevism.

Dog days will soon be here, and especially unhappy days for the dachshund.

WHO'S SHE IN WAR WORK

By ANNE EMERSON

The Aircraft Women

HER name is legion ! The society columns do not carry her picture, no press agent sends out her photographs and stories of her exploits—but “ she,” by the thousands, is doing her unspectacular bit. Go through one of the Liberty Motor, or aeroplane factories, and you can see her in khaki bloomers, in front of great, roaring, turning, machines. In the shops of Buffalo, of Dayton, of New Brunswick, of Toledo—of a hundred cities—“ she ” is doing men’s tasks in this most essential war industry. The Girl in War Work has arrived—has become efficient—and is doing astonishing work. Along the testing benches of the great factories her skill and patience exceeds the man’s. Her accuracy, where two ten thousandths of an inch means the success or failure of a Liberty Motor part, is a big count in her favor. The story of Who’s She in the Ranks of Industry is to be written and the most skilled will win the highest fame. It is a new chapter in woman work. She is twenty-five per cent. of the factory’s human power. She is fighting the war with all her energies. Her name is Legion, Efficiency, Patience, and Loyalty.

Women in Other War Industries

Not in the aero factories alone are the women speeding the end of the war by their work on essentials that will be the means of crushing the aims of the Huns—for in every branch of endeavor “ she ” is present, and active.

If the aeroplane is the eyes of the army, the wireless key is its mouth and ears, and women are not only holding responsible positions as wireless operators, but are actually engaged in teaching classes of men the use of this instrument which sends news crashing into space, making it possible to talk from the air, across oceans, over continents not strung

with telegraph wires. Mrs. H. S. Owens is chairman of the Women's Radio Corps, and, partly through her influence, all of the recognized radio schools have opened their classes to women on an equal footing with the men students. Five women are employed in the evening schools in New York City to give instruction to men waiting their draft call—two of these women having graduated from Queen's University in Toronto, Canada, where after actual experience in wireless work they were assigned to teaching positions.

The Shipping Board is vieing with the Aircraft producers, in the employment of women. Mrs. G. R. Underwood, of Vancouver, Washington, is the mother of two sons in uniform, yet she is a calker in a shipyard. After her two boys "went over" Mrs. Underwood felt that she would like to be actually engaged in war work. She read the appeals for workers in the shipyards, and applied for the place. Now she feels that each day's work is safeguarding her sons and hastening their return. On one occasion Mrs. Underwood's four assistants were away and she managed the big oakum machine, keeping the hourly supply up to the efficiency mark, so that there would be no loss of time by the men in the yards.

Mrs. S. A. Garth, of Colorado Springs, has been doing her bit by taking a special course in the drafting of iron and steel work. Mrs. Garth had always been interested in art and urges every woman who can draw to go into this work, for there is need of her ability.

"What I have done in six weeks others can do, and drafting is not hard," said Mrs. Garth, "there are plenty of women with a mechanical turn of mind who could easily grasp the construction of iron and steel work."

Women and Their Hospital Duties

Miss Mabel Boardman, who is the only woman on the executive board of the American Red Cross, has recently returned from an inspection tour in Europe. She visited all of the Red Cross hospitals, and made special trips to the canteens which have been erected everywhere in France that men in uniform congregate.

"Many people have asked why American women have been asked to care for the Red Cross canteens when the places are often under fire," Miss Boardman said. "They feel that American men not able to fight should do this work. The relief work carried on in the actual trenches is done by men, even though people do not understand that fact. Women are in the billets—in fact they get as near the trenches as they are allowed.

"The real reason why American women are so numerous in France is because they give an invaluable atmosphere of home to the hospital huts and canteens where they serve. Men build the shell of the house, women make it a home. In one hospital ward I entered I was particularly struck with the absolute home like appearance of the ward. The reason for this was that it was May, and every available container, even a captured Boche helmet, was filled with the flowers that grew in the fields outside. I have seen a unit of Red Cross workers transform a hut in an hour from a dismal place of four walls and a roof to a comfortable, home-like room. Only a tired soldier boy knows the joy of going into a canteen where he sees and experiences comfort—and hears the soft voices of women who are like his mother and sisters."

The American nurses in France number among them some of the best known women in the United States. They are not all trained, but they soon learn their particular task and do it well. The two sisters of The Honorable Robert Lansing, the Secretary of State, the Misses Katherine and Emma Lansing, are attached to the French Red Cross Service. They were recently bombed out of their station, and forced to seek refuge in a cellar, but immediately after the firing ceased went back to their work. Their relief station has been mentioned in the dispatches and the Misses Lansing have been cited for bravery.

Miss Elizabeth Marbury, who besides giving her Paris home as a hospital has been active in every type of war work, recently spoke throughout the East in the drive to enlist 25,000 trained nurses before January, 1919. She told of doing actual work among the convalescents in Paris, and said

that the dangers of "going across" were not half so bad as the danger of "having your conscience torpedoed."

Mrs. Mary Roberts Rinehart, a trained nurse before her marriage to the brilliant Dr. Rinehart of Pittsburg, is going to stop writing best sellers and go back to her old bedside duties.

"I am willing to scrub floors," Mrs. Rinehart told the Red Cross authorities, "for I believe that no matter how humble the service each of us must play our immediate part in the carrying on of the conflict."

Besides the nurses and canteen workers who are doing such telling work in France there are a number of women doctors. Dr. Rosalie Slaughter Morton is the chairman of the American Women's Hospitals, and associated in the same organization are Dr. Belle Thomas and Dr. Mary Walker.

Two Unique War Jobs

A "war job" that is out of the ordinary was originated by Miss Lucy Hewitt, an American girl of social prominence, who has established more than a score of chicken farms in northern France since early spring. Miss Hewitt's procedure was to have thousands of buttons made, each one carrying the legend "I have a Chicken in France." These were sold for ten cents, the price of an incubator egg. The amount seems small, but the response has been great, for people are all willing to give, and many cannot afford larger sums.

"It costs about \$400 to establish a poultry farm," Miss Hewitt said of her work, "this price including the wooden barracks provided by the French government, four incubators of 1,000 eggs each, and the salary of the former soldier who will care for the installation of the farm."

Another class of work in France is that of Miss Fannibelle Curtis, who up to the time of her departure for France was Supervisor of the Kindergartens in Greater New York. Miss Curtis is the director of a Kindergarten Unit sent to France to teach the children of the refugees "to play their way back to normality." The unit will comprise fifteen

teachers, one worker going into each of the several devastated districts which are being reclaimed by American women with the aid of French soldiers.

Helping Out at Home

Mrs. A. S. Burleson, wife of the Postmaster General, is conducting her war work mainly in co-operation with the employees of the Post Office Department. She has been instrumental in the establishing for Post Office employees a co-operative grocery store, which is doing much towards reducing the high cost of living. This store is conducted on a strictly business basis. Membership costs \$1 per year. The overhead expenses are small, as members carry home their purchases, and an unused room in the Department building serves as a store. All goods are purchased at wholesale, at a saving of approximately twenty-five per cent.

A woman who is doing decidedly unique work and has released a man for "over there" is Mrs. Frank L. Briggs, of Springfield, Mass. Her husband was the pastor of the Union Evangelical Church, and when he left to join the Y. M. C. A. as the secretary in one of their huts, Mrs. Briggs offered her services in the pulpit until he returns.

Mrs. Thomas J. Preston, Jr., who was formerly Mrs. Grover Cleveland, is Secretary of the Security League's Committee on Patriotism Through Education. Mrs. Preston believes that one of the most essential forms of war work is a thorough grounding of the people in the war aims of the country, and the conditions that we face. Mrs. Preston has been telling audiences that while knitting, farm work, work in the munition factories, is material, active service of the greatest importance, equally important is the spreading of the truth about the war. She believes that public opinion must not be stampeded, that there must be no losing of heart, nor fainting by the wayside.

THE THEATRE IN REVIEW

By C. COURTENAY SAVAGE

The Theatre Goes to War

THE theatre has gone into the war service. This is a literal fact, for the Community Camp Service of the War Department has already taken over some dozen plays of established reputation, plays like "Baby Mine," "Her Soldier Boy," "Here Comes the Bride," etc., and is sending them on tour to entertain our soldiers in the making. Old and new plays are included in the list already selected, and some of the companies have finished their cantonment circuit. The productions are chosen for their fun making propensities, and while they are playing for the men in uniform the War Department enlists the actors in war service. This service is for a stipulated period at a reduced salary. The War Department supplies all transportation, even to hotel busses, moves the scenery and baggage, supplies the local cantonment orchestra, and charges admission of twenty-five and fifty cents. Incidentally, the theatres, the Liberty Theatres, represent an immense investment running into the millions.

These Liberty Theatres are commodious, seating two to three thousand, and as fully equipped "back stage" as any first-class theatre in one of our larger cities. The touring companies get a touch of camp life, and find themselves under the strict regulations of the War Department.

There has been some little discussion against these theatres, and just how much the theatre adds to the up-keeping of the war morale is speculative, but at least the entertainments provided are the best, and give the boys a treat for the evening, and a happy reminiscence to carry "over there."

Not that "over there" will be void of all entertainment. Despite those who criticize the theatre, the closest students of the morale of the French and English troops find that the

men are greatly elevated mentally after an hour of knock-about comedy and songs.

That is the reason that the War Department, with President Wilson as chief advisor, has decided that vaudevillians are best suited for the "Over There" performances which will be chiefly in Y. M. C. A., and Knights of Columbus, "huts." Some of our best known vaudeville entertainers have already started their work, playing to the boys billeted only a few miles back of the trenches—while others are on their way.

Elsie Janis has been in France for two or three months, and is immensely popular. She gives an entire entertainment in the various camps, learning in advance any individual "camp songs," so that the boys will know she is interested in them as a particular camp. Her greeting, "Are We Downhearted?", is received with a thunderous "No," that comes as a yell from upward of five thousand men. Miss Janis sings, dances, gives imitations, and when she leaves, the boys are ready to go back to work with a zest.

America's Over There Theatre League, which is the official organization sending performers across, was swamped with offers when they announced that vaudeville players were wanted as volunteers, over two thousand applications arriving in one day. The work of selecting the people has not been easy, as there are several points to be considered. First comes the question as to whether a woman player has any relatives in the service, as women with relatives in uniform are not allowed to perform at the camps. The next consideration is the comedy value of the offering, and the effect it will have on the boys. Comedy that brings the hearty laughs, lifting the men from any momentary state of depression, is wanted, and considered of great value. And the laughs must be clean.

The volunteer players are sent in units to give acts, but in the case of extraordinarily popular and clever players, capable of giving an entire performance, only one or two acts may constitute a unit. The players will be in uniform, the men's uniform somewhat resembling the aviator's costume,

the women wearing a special military coat designed by Mrs. Winthrop Ames, who went across with her husband to study conditions under which the boys might have theatrical entertainment.

THE THEATRE AT HOME

THE theatre has not only kept the morale of the fighting men at a high pitch, but it has done its share to make life less of a burden for those of us who are holding President Wilson's "inner line." The President is a frequenter of the theatre, going quite regularly to Keith's in Washington where he enjoys vaudeville.

The playhouses in the larger cities, especially New York, Boston, Chicago and the cities near the camps, have been lavish with extra performances given free of charge to men in uniforms. In New York City, under Miss Grace George's patronage, there have been special Sunday evening performances of all the popular plays, as well as vaudeville shows. Frequently as many as three or four theatres have been open in one evening, the managers and players being anxious to volunteer their services. Special performances have also been given on Sunday evenings at the camps, companies playing at distances leaving New York by special train immediately after the Saturday night performance, playing in a camp sometimes three hundred miles away, and returning Sunday night. This practice will be kept up as long as there are men in training camps.

It would be unfair to conclude a mention of the theatre's war time activities without paying tribute to the patriotic work of the theatrical profession. There are a number of theatrical war relief organizations, the largest being The State Women's War Relief. But to every member of the profession belongs a measure of the success of the Liberty Loans and the Red Cross Drives. From supers to stars they have all worked conscientiously and untiringly. Every theatre has been the scene of an urgent appeal for both the Loans and the Red Cross, and in the hours that they were not playing the men and women of the stage have appeared on

street corners, in department stores, in factories, anywhere they were asked to go, and have solicited funds.

SUMMER MUSICAL PLAYS

THE first of the summer plays was "The Kiss Burglar" which has a charming little story, some good music, and Fay Bainter.

It must be a great source of amusement to the many people in mid-Western cities who knew Miss Bainter's work for years before the East saw her, to read the many adjectives used to describe Miss Bainter. "I told you so," may be bromidic, but it is satisfying and often used.

"I have been on the stage since I was a very young girl," Miss Bainter said, in speaking of her work, "and the only reason I was not a New York success at once was that no New York manager would give me a chance. I would spend a season on stock, and then come to New York for work. It was always the same story—staying until my money was gone, and then going back to stock. I never allowed myself to grow bitter, nor to believe that I lacked talent. Finally my chance came, and —" she laughed. The inference was obvious.

Now, just to show that she is indeed versatile she is singing and dancing in musical comedy, and giving a very charming performance. "The Kiss Burglar" is clean, well-acted, and worth seeing.

Mr. Raymond Hitchcock has made a second edition of his last year's "Hitchy-Koo." It is light entertainment of the highest variety. There is no plot, just a rambling review filled with clever people, who sing, dance or amuse. The music is catchy, the girls are pretty, and Mr. Hitchcock makes his customary curtain speeches, greeting well known people in the audience by name, confiding in them what the next scene will be, etc., all in the characteristically droll manner that has made him one of our most finished comedians. As a running mate for Mr. Hitchcock, Mr. Leon Errol is again in evidence. Mr. Errol does amusing stage falls, and his acrobatic dancing is a delight. The new production con-

tains much that is of the slap stick variety, and for the next year slap stick comedy, which amuses without making one think, is bound to be popular.

A third new production is "Rock-a-Bye Baby." This is Miss Mayo's farce, "Baby Mine" set to music. The comedy is what might be termed "failure-proof" and the music, by Jerome Kern, is dainty and tinkling, even though it does occasionally stop the action of the piece. The cast contains some well-known players, and the usual pretty girls.

"The Follies of 1918," Mr. Ziegfeld's annual crop of beauty and nonsense is a summer arrival that always diverts, more so this year than previously, for the producer has given his entertainment an even more elaborate setting than usual, provided a larger number of heralded "beauties" and more fun. The comedy section of the production is headed by Will Rogers, who as the lassoing cowboy in a monologue of philosophy and wit, pinions current issues on the jester's tongue. "To joke on the topics of the day one must be a careful student of the news. About three-quarters of the laughs that I manage to get come from quips on modern day subjects, and I read the newspapers constantly, particularly the editorials, so that I will have a firm basis for my observations. Extemporaneous wit must be current, and constantly changed," declares Rogers.

LOOKING AHEAD

THE theatrical season of 1918-19 will be watched with keen interest by those who study the psychology of the diversions popular in war time. Comedy is sure to be the favorite, and it is a question whether plays with war settings will draw. There have been many indefinite announcements made regarding the new season but none of the producers have as yet named the dates on which they will offer new plays, and in most cases the new plays are not announced, further than the fact that they have been tried out "somewhere in the East." This somewhere is apt to be Atlantic City, which is a favorite place for the showing of new plays, the cosmopolitan audiences of that resort being considered

a good test for success. Washington is popular for the same reason.

Of the larger firms, Cohan & Harris have been making new productions since Easter, most of them along the line of American comedy which has made this firm popular. There is a rumor that Mr. George Cohan will play next season, and this fact is very likely, for Mr. Cohan is popular and capable. He has been appearing in war benefits, often as frequently as two or three times a week, and has probably proved to himself that the public still desires his nasal twang and his acrobatic dancing.

The Shuberts have tried out numerous plays, and probably have many others that will be put into rehearsal immediately after the season starts. They are among the largest producers, and their season's activities always covers a large range of interesting offerings.

Mr. Al. Woods is another extensive producer. He, too, has been active, more active than most theatrical managers, for he has actually ready to show in New York City, plays which have not only been tried, and pronounced successful, by other cities, but have enjoyed long runs. "Friendly Enemies," which calls for Louis Mann and Sam Bernard to appear together, has enjoyed great prosperity in Chicago. It is a war play of American settings, with a very anti-German angle. Another war play is "My Boy," a novelty requiring only two characters.

"Helen of the High Hand" is a new play by Arnold Bennett promised for next season, and after two years in "Nothing But the Truth" Willie Collier will play in "Nothing But Lies."

The Selwyns have several productions that are ready for their metropolitan premiers, notable among them being "Tea for Three," which requires only three characters. Mr. Belasco has one play scheduled so far, a war play entitled "Daddies," while out in Los Angeles Oliver Morosco has tried out several new plays, some of which are sure to be seen in the East.

The summer season has been notable for several "all

star" stock companies which have been offering standard successes as well as trying out new plays. Stuart Walker has had a company in Indianapolis for a number of weeks, and recently offered "Seven Up," which, judging from local criticism, is a success. It's author is a new writer for the stage, Alta May Coleman, who gained her experience by being a press representative. A stock company in Milwaukee has been particularly successful, many of America's best known players being in this organization. In Toronto another company has tried out new plays—one of them written around the life of Phineas T. Barnum—while Henry Miller, as has been his custom for some seasons past, has a company in San Francisco where he has offered old and new productions.

FINANCIAL SITUATION

By W. S. COUSINS

TRADER and industry in every department are running along at top speed, but with a sharply drawn distinction between essential and non-essential products. There is, in fact, a tendency to criticize some of the rulings of the Government on this important question, for it is obvious that many lines of business, while not directly contributory to the military necessities of the Government, are nevertheless indispensable in their relation to the health and comforts of the people at home. Many articles of luxury now being manufactured in this country are exchanged for articles of direct military value; and profits made from the manufacture of such articles return in part at least to the Government in the shape of taxes and subscriptions to Liberty Bonds.

FINANCING "BIG BUSINESS"

SOME idea of the difficulties which the leaders of the big business corporations are now meeting with in the financial operation of their plants may be had from an observation of their recent application to the borrowing markets. Despite the enormous cash receipts of these giant corporations due to the greatly increased products at ever-increasing prices, many of them have not only been unable to complete contemplated expansions, but in many cases to provide for current running expenses. Only a few may be mentioned at this time, and these include: The Bethlehem Steel Company \$50,000,000 in serial 7 per cent gold notes; Armour and Company's \$60,000,000 issue of Convertible Gold debentures; American Telephone and Telegraph Company \$45,000,000 in 7 per cent notes; Procter & Gamble Company \$25,000,000 bonds, costing the Company over 8 per cent; and the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, through the agency of the War

Finance Corporation, \$17,320,000 at 7 per cent, for the purpose of refunding a maturing 5 per cent obligation. An additional \$34,435,000 of the same issue will be refunded at the same rate through direct agreement with the bondholders.

It may seem strange that corporations with such tremendous gross incomes should be compelled to resort to the loan market for funds with which to keep the wheels of progress in motion, especially in view of the high rates which investors are demanding for their loanable funds. A great many corporations are facing similar conditions, and they are meeting them by pruning their expense sheets of every item which might be considered excessive and non-essential, and borrowing just what is absolutely necessary to keep them from defaulting on current obligations. Excessive interest rates serve their purpose in that they discourage reckless borrowing and encourage careful calculation before an appeal to the loan market is made. It is well recognized that it is not wise business policy to pay from 7 to 9 per cent for funds to carry on a business which may not have paid that much profit on the original investment of capital which is tied up permanently in the enterprise and which takes all the risk of loss through unprofitable operation. Many of the new loans are for short maturities and should not therefore constitute a permanent handicap to the right kind of operation, and business men are of course looking forward to the day when interest rates will come back to normal. Conservative investors will of course give first consideration to the security of their principal, and in the issues of the higher grade there is always the possibility of an additional profit by reason of an appreciation in the market value of such securities.

PUBLIC UTILITIES

ONE of the problems introduced by the War is that of the financing of public utilities. In normal times, public utility securities are held in very high regard because of the universal demand for the services rendered by the companies, the rate of compensation fixed as a rule by Civic Commissioners, and the comparatively small percentage of

loss through "bad accounts," most or all of the service being paid in cash in small lots by households. In war times, however, with the increasing cost of labor and raw materials, many of the utility companies have found their financial position very embarrassing, and not a few of them, including the Interborough Rapid Transit Company of New York, have begun to fear actual bankruptcy.

As a rule the public is not very much in favor of a rise in the cost of such necessities as gas and electric light, power, car fare, etc. The dollar may shrink in its purchasing power, but there is a distinct aversion to the addition of a penny or two to the proverbial nickle for a car ride. But in many cases these advances have been granted, and they have been absolutely necessary, not only to preserve the investment value of the securities of the corporation, but also to enable the corporation to pay the wages of its employes. There have been hundreds of increases of greater or lesser magnitude granted utility corporations in the last year, and in many instances these were granted by, and through, the co-operation of the consuming public. The utility which has been able to secure the good will of consumers by rendering adequate service, promptly redressing justified grievances and using every endeavor to foster and build up the prosperity of the community in which it operates, has had little difficulty in making its consuming public realize that under existing conditions, a utility is entitled to adequate pay for adequate service rendered.

An analysis of the rate situation existing throughout the United States will show that in almost every instance where there has been concerted opposition by the consuming public to a proposed advance in utility rates, the utility has been one which has not enjoyed good relations with the public which it serves. Wherever utility managers have been vitally interested and personal factors in the growth and prosperity of the communities which they serve, they have encountered no great amount of opposition in advancing rate schedules to a living level. The utility organizations in which service to the customer has been the first consideration are

the organizations which have had the smallest amount of difficulty in securing adequate pay for such service.

Statistics collected by the American Electric Railway Association giving the financial transactions of electric railways for the first quarter of 1918 as compared with the same period of 1917, show that operating revenues increased 2.54 per cent, and operating expenses 11.17 per cent, while net incomes decreased 13.79 per cent. The operating ratio for the country increased from 65.68 per cent of gross in 1917 to 71.20 per cent of gross in 1918.

The cities under the jurisdiction of the Second District, New York Public Service Commission, are fast recognizing the necessity for higher fares. Twelve communities have agreed to waive franchise rights, should the Public Service Commission declare the need. Two other cities are making examination of the books of their street railways with the idea of granting increases should the examination prove the need.

Out of the sixty-seven cities in the United States having more than 100,000 population, a six-cent fare is in effect in thirteen, three have increased fares through the zone system, four have abolished reduced rate tickets, four cities have asked for a seven-cent fare with additional charges for transfers, twelve have asked for a six-cent fare, two have asked for permission to charge for transfers and thirteen for relief in other forms.

OUR TRADE WITH EUROPEAN NEUTRALS

TRADER of the United States with the neutral countries of Europe in the fiscal year 1918 is the smallest in many years, while that of 1917 was the largest in the history of our commerce.

This term, the "European Neutrals" includes of course the six countries Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Netherlands, Spain and Switzerland. A compilation by The National City Bank of New York shows that the exports to the six European Neutrals, above named, aggregate in the fiscal year 1918 about \$125,000,000 against practically

\$400,000,000 in 1917, \$320,000,000 in 1916, \$380,000,000 in 1915, and \$183,000,000 in the fiscal year 1914, all of which preceded the war.

Breadstuffs, meats, fruits, food oils, oil cake, cotton, tobacco, petroleum, gasoline, copper, iron, leather and naval stores were normally our chief exports to the now neutral countries of Europe. As all of these countries, with a single exception, border upon or are commercially adjacent to Germany, it goes without saying that the exports to them in the articles which would be required by Germany for military purposes, or otherwise, increased rapidly after the opening of the war and continued to increase until the entrance of the United States into the war rendered necessary the restriction of the movement of this class of material to any and all countries from which it might "leak" into Germany or any of the Central Powers.

Exports to the Scandinavian countries alone increased from 40 million dollars in the fiscal year 1914 to practically \$200,000,000 in 1915, and those to the entire neutral group, above named, from \$183,000,000 in 1914 to \$382,000,000 in 1915 and \$393,000,000 in 1917. With the entrance of the United States into the war in April, 1917, conditions instantly changed, and the exports to Neutrals, which had been 325 million dollars in the ten months ending with April, 1917, dropped to 108 millions in the ten months ending with April, 1918, or just one-third that of the corresponding period of the preceding year, while for the single month of May, 1918, the total to the six Neutrals was but about 8,000,000 against about \$32,000,000 in April of the preceding year.

STOCKS AND BONDS

WHILE conditions in the stock market have been directly related to the rise and fall of the fortunes of war on the battlefields of Europe, it is also true that professional manipulation has been very largely responsible for Stock Market fluctuations during the past few months. On many days when the prices of high grade industrials and railroad shares broke wide open, or soared to new high points,

there has been nothing to account for such movements but the activities of professional operators. It is obvious that at such times the stock market is unsafe for the "investor" of moderate means.

A series of interesting compilations published by the *Annalist* shows that while in the ten-months period prior to November last the total stocks and bonds listed on the New York Stock Exchange had depreciated to the extent of \$5,-093,834,263, the succeeding six months, up to the middle of May, had brought about a recovery in the share list of approximately \$1,233,552,047, or more than 30 per cent. Little or no recovery has been made in the general bond market, however, so that the losses there remain unchanged.

HIGH TAXES AFFECT BOND MARKET

PROSPECT of high increases in Federal taxes are affecting the bond market somewhat unfavorably at this time, and little activity may be expected until the Government announces its tax program. The movement among security holders to shift their investments to securities paying a higher rate of return in order to offset the higher imposts the Government proposes to exact will more likely accelerate than diminish as the days go by. Other investors continue to search out tax-exempt issues, but the available supply of this class of securities is growing scarcer daily and is commanding high premiums.

Under the abnormal conditions prevailing, the existing wealth of the world is undergoing a process of radical redistribution. As a result of the tremendous rise in wages a larger portion of it is falling to the laboring classes, and their gain is made at the expense of the possessors of securities with fixed incomes. While many of the workingmen have increased their scale of expenditures up to their higher earnings, there is no doubt that a large number of them are laying aside a good part of their wages under the spur of the thrift campaign now being conducted. Here is a reservoir of savings which will be ready to be tapped after the war is over and Liberty Loan flotations have ceased.

NEW BOOKS

By CHARLES FRANCIS REED

A New Book on Germany

FORMER United States Ambassador Gerard's new book on Germany,¹ "Face to Face with Kaiserism," lacks the great interest created by his first book only because it is, in a certain measure, a continuation of his first volume, and because much of the general thought contained in his pages is known to those of the American public who have, since the war, carefully followed the books that have been written about Germany.

This does not intend to convey the impression that "Face to Face with Kaiserism" is not of great interest. It is, and Mr. Gerard is a man of keen observation, who tells what he has seen in a straightforward manner that is satisfying. After reading his newest work the reader is convinced of his great sincerity and the care with which he has prepared every statement, lest he should be misleading. The most vital chapters of the book, to my mind, are those comprising an hitherto unpublished diary that Mr. Gerard kept at random and for his own personal satisfaction. Its comments are enlightening and frequently amusing. Two other chapters that will probably be instructive and revealing, especially to those Americans who are not at all familiar with the habits and customs of the German people, are on the women of the country, especially those of court circles, and of the home life and brutality of the nation. In America, living as we do in a state of cultured refinement that is not equalled in any of the European countries (an American boy, one of Pershing's men, recently described to me the shocked minds of his comrades at conditions they found in the small towns of France), we can hardly picture a mob of working people, men and

¹ "Face to Face with Kaiserism," by James W. Gerard. Geo. H. Doran Company. \$2.00 net.

women, undressing on the beach, scorning a two-cent bathing pavilion,—yet Mr. Gerard uses that incident to describe the animal-like mentality of the working people of one city.

“Face to Face with Kaiserism” is one more valuable book in the hand primer series that is needed in this country to help fight the mass of insidious German propaganda that has been carried on in all sections of our land. It is a book of sterling characterization, throwing a vivid light again and again on the traits and customs of the Kaiser and the men and women who surround him and, with him, are responsible for this war.

The Amazing Interlude—Also a New Novel

A book from the pen of Mary Roberts Rinehart has grown to many ardent admirers of the work of our native writers to mark another milestone in the history of American literature. This may sound like praise offered with too free a pen, but Mrs. Rinehart is capable of two things: telling a good story and giving an action story literary polish not often found in books that are filled with what is best described by that old-fashioned phrase, “breathless suspense.”

“The Amazing Interlude,”² the novel that is the cause of the foregoing, belongs in the same class as the author’s “K.” It is the story of a little mid-westerner who is lifted by the great war from her place before the permanent back drop “the great Scene Painter” apparently intended for her, and crossing strange seas finds herself conducting a soup kitchen not far from the Belgian firing lines. To describe the actual story, giving it denouement, is to my mind always a serious fault of any critic, but to say that Mrs. Rinehart has made Sara Lee Kennedy an everyday young person who plays her part with great naturalness, is mild praise. Mrs. Rinehart has a really remarkable faculty for drawing the melodramatic and yet making it appear close to the commonplace. Her hero, Henri, a man whose real identity we can only guess at, is just the kind of a fellow any American

² “The Amazing Interlude,” by Mary Roberts Rinehart. The Geo. H. Doran Company. \$1.40 net.

would like his sister to marry, while to mention the fact that Mrs. Rinehart has been in Belgium since the war tells all the readers that the background of her new story is historically correct.

"The Amazing Interlude" is not unnecessarily amazing; it is something far better—it is real, and likable, a novel of love and service.

There is a remote,—and please remember that word remote,—suggestion of David Grayson in "Professor Latimer's Progress,"³ a new anonymous novel by "an American author of reputation." The publishers have called it a novel; it is rather a series of cleverly constructed essays on contemporaneous life,—allowing such characters as the garage man, the motion picture "queen," the ex-newspaper man, to bring vividly before the reader in their conversations clever philosophy and often amusing comment. Manning, the ex-newspaperman, is a virile character, and when he and Professor Latimer discuss God and this present war, the result is more satisfying than much that Mr. Wells has attempted on the same subject. The whole book is sound and satisfying, for, like the Professor, there are many of us on whom the war had come down heavily, and we are blindly seeking a cure,—an answer.

Professor Latimer's Progress is not "heavy"; on the contrary, it is decidedly entertaining. Every reader who has ever "toured" is sure to like the garage man, and the book as a whole is food for gentle thought.

³ "Professor Latimer's Progress," Anonymous. Henry Holt & Company. \$1.40 net.

The FORUM

For September, 1918

THE WHEAT FARMERS' DILEMMA

We Must Have Wheat—At \$2.20 a Bushel Will It
Go on the Table or in the Trough?

By HON. THOMAS P. GORE
[U. S. SENATOR FOR OKLAHOMA]

The vital food question of wheat backs up to the farmer. Is he treated with justice, in view of a restricted market price, forced to buy in an unrestricted market? The able Senator from the wheat belt of the West takes up the question for the FORUM.

THE price of the wheat should bear some just and reasonable relation to the price of those things which he must buy with the proceeds of his wheat. This is the farmer's point of view. The President has stated the farmer's side with characteristic clearness. In his annual message last December he declared that the farmers complain with justice that they are obliged to sell in a restricted and to buy in an unrestricted market. What is the way out of the dilemma described by the President?

First, to remove all restrictions whatever upon the price of wheat.

Second, to advance the fixed price of wheat to correspond with the general level of advanced prices.

Third, to reduce the prices of all other articles to correspond with the reduced price of wheat.

I shall merely mention a fourth which would be a compromise between the second and the third, by advancing the price of wheat and reducing the prices of other articles until they meet upon a common level.

The application of the first remedy would require a reversal of our policy and a retracing of our steps. I am not certain that we have the power even if we had the disposition to do this. The wheat market has been dismantled by the Government and if it were a legislative possibility I am not sure that it would be a commercial possibility to restore it overnight. If this could be done it would be the simplest and best solution.

There are those who insist that the general level of prices, particularly upon articles purchased by the farmers, should be so reduced as to correspond with the fixed price upon wheat. If this were a legal and economic possibility, it might, indeed, restore the ratio between the price of wheat and the general range of prices. Should we disturb all prices and all economic relations merely in order to attempt with or without success to readjust them? Wheat was selling at three dollars a bushel in Minneapolis the day the Government broke the price. That was the ratio between supply and demand. The Government reduced the price to \$2.17 at Minneapolis.

It is obvious that a horizontal or a universal reduction of all prices to meet this reduction of wheat would be unavailing so far as domestic commerce is concerned. We would merely have our pains for our labor in operating this treadmill and would be fortunate, indeed, if we escaped with so light a retribution. We could make a general reduction in the prices of all domestic articles and could apply these prices to exports. We could not apply this general or horizontal reduction to the prices of imports. We could sell our own products to the Allies and to neutrals at the reduced prices but we would be obliged to continue purchases from them at market prices or rather at war prices.

We are now obliging our farmers to take less for their wheat than it is worth, and are supplying wheat to the Allies

and perhaps in limited quantities to neutrals at the reduced figure.

FOREIGN MARKETS TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OUR REDUCTIONS

I AM informed that neutrals purchase wheat from us upon this lower level and sell it to their own people at famine figures. We are supplying millions' worth of wheat to foreign countries at an artificially low price and are purchasing millions' worth of goods from them at war prices. And to make it worse, some of the neutral countries are manipulating foreign exchanges so as to double their advantage and double our disadvantage. This is transfusion with a vengeance.

The President made the point, however, in his veto message that if we advanced the price of wheat here it would oblige the Allies to purchase wheat at the advanced price. This is undoubtedly true unless some other or better method could be found for obviating the loss. Let me say once for all that if it be necessary to the winning of the war for us to supply the Allies with wheat at \$2.20 per bushel, then that should be done and will be done by the unanimous voice and vote of the American people. The Government of the United States, however, should assume and should absorb the loss. The people of the United States in their public capacity should assume that loss and should not visit it upon the wheat producers in their capacity as private citizens. The United States ought to levy taxes and sell bonds enough to defray the necessary expenses of this war. A good deal of vain-glory has been indulged in in this country on the action of the Food Administration in reducing the price of flour to \$10.50 per barrel. Flour made in England from American wheat sells at the mill door for \$7.50 per barrel. It may be somewhat inferior to American flour, but that is not the point. The Government of Great Britain appropriated two hundred million dollars to compensate the millers against loss in selling flour at \$7.50 per barrel. The loss is, as it should be, assumed and absorbed by the people of Great Britain in their sovereign capacity. It is not visited upon the millers in their

private capacity. The difference should be charged up against the Government as an item of war expense and should not be levied as a special tribute or forced contribution upon the wheat farmers. In order to supply the Allies with a relatively small quantity of wheat at a reduced price, it is neither necessary nor just to subject the farmers to a loss of from three hundred to six hundred million dollars on their entire crop.

That the farmer is taking a heavy loss on wheat is not open to controversy.. There is a pretty definite historic ratio between wheat on the one hand and corn, rye, barley, and oats on the other. Based on this ratio, an expert recently computed that the price of wheat should be approximately \$2.77 at Chicago. The measure recently passed by Congress and vetoed by the President proposed to make the price at Chicago \$2.60. Congress undertook to apply in a limited measure the remedy of advancing the price of wheat to correspond with the general level of other prices. We must adopt one of two remedies, either to advance the price of wheat or to reduce the general range of prices. Congress preferred the former method. Nothing has been done to apply the other method in the eight months that have come and gone since the President declared that the farmers complained with justice of the existing situation. When the president made that declaration in December last, he, of course, had in mind the price of wheat which the farmer was then obliged to take and the price of other articles which he was then obliged to buy.

WHEAT THE ONLY ARTICLE THAT HAS NOT ADVANCED

WHEAT is perhaps the only article in the United States the price of which has not advanced during this interval. The farmer pays a higher price for everything now than he paid in December. He receives the same price for wheat. The Government fixed the price upon wheat harvested during the season of 1917 at \$2.20 per bushel. The Government also fixed the price upon wheat harvested during the season of 1918 at \$2.20 per bushel.

If the price fixed by the Government upon wheat for 1917

was not too high, then the price fixed by the Government on wheat for 1918 is not high enough; or if the price of wheat fixed by the Government for 1918 is high enough, then the price fixed for 1917 was too high. I say this because the cost of producing wheat in 1918 was much greater than in 1917. Seed wheat advanced, farm labor advanced, farm implements advanced. Every item of cost save only soil depletion has advanced. Let us state a few comparative figures.

In 1915 denim overalls sold for nine dollars a dozen wholesale; in 1918 the same overalls are quoted at \$29.50. In parts of the great wheat belt, farm wages in 1917 were \$35.00 per month plus board; in '18 they were \$65.00 a month plus board, and the demand could not be supplied even at this figure. Binding twine has gone up from 9 cents in 1914 to 20 cents in 1917 and 26 cents in 1918. A fourteen-inch gang-plow was \$65 in 1914, \$85 in 1917, and \$200 in 1918. In 1914 a seven-foot self-binder retailed for \$150, in 1917 the same binder retailed for \$185, and in 1918 for \$250. The ordinary farm wagon in 1914 cost \$75. In 1917 it cost \$95, and in 1918 it cost \$150. These are retail prices.

The farmer has been obliged to pay a higher price for the articles necessary in producing the crop of 1918, as compared with the crop of 1917, yet he is obliged to accept exactly the same price for wheat in 1918 that he received in 1917. If the farmer complained with justice in December last, he has much greater cause to complain today. Something has, indeed, been attempted, but nothing has been done to remedy this injustice.

WHY SINGLE OUT THE FARMER TO TAKE THE BURDEN OF LOSS?

THE President once said with equal truth and felicity that equal justice is the heart of democracy. In 1917 the millers received a net return upon their investment three hundred per cent in excess of their return in 1914.

The farmer has to pay the increasing prices of meat, transportation, labor, and utensils, clothing, etc., out of the diminished proceeds of his wheat, diminished from \$3 to \$2 per bushel by a proclamation of the President. The farmer

cannot see in these different attitudes of the Government towards different classes of industry that equal justice which constitutes the heart of democracy. The wheat farmer is not quite satisfied with the honeyed assurances that bread will win the war and that wheat is the one farm product which is indispensable to the triumph of American arms. Is the wheat farmer to be punished rather than rewarded in accordance with the indispensable character of his service?

The wheat farmer who insists that the injustice admitted by the President should be rectified does not thereby brand himself either as unpatriotic or as a profiteer. His patriotism should not be the occasion of his sacrifice or enslavement nor the excuse of denying him that equal justice which is at once the heart and the crowning glory of democracy.

In his veto message the President avowed that personally he did not believe that the farmers of the country depend upon the stimulation of prices to do their utmost to serve the Nation and the world. The President then with less implied praise averred that if the farmer should be given an advance of price, the laborer would require an advance in wages. If the advanced price had registered itself in the advance of flour (which it would not), it would have cost each wage earner in the country two dollars a year for himself and for each member of his family. The object of the existing law under which the President fixes the price of wheat, was not to hammer down the price of wheat in the farmers' hands, nor to afford any other class the benefit of such enforced and arbitrary reduction. It was not intended that the Government should take from three to six hundred million dollars a year from the wheat producer and bestow that amount as a gratuity upon the consumers of this or any other country.

Fortunately the law itself leaves us in no doubt upon this point. Section 14 of the present act, the price fixing section, empowers the President whenever he finds "that an emergency exists requiring stimulation of the production of wheat," to fix a reasonable guaranteed price in order that the producers of wheat might have the benefit of such price and "in order to assure such producers a reasonable profit." The

object of the law and the law-makers was not to deprive the farmers of a reasonable profit and to oblige them and the Government to rely solely upon their spirit of patriotism. The law-makers placed their reliance upon constant economic forces and proposed to guarantee the wheat producers a reasonable profit. The law-makers did not believe that they could stimulate the production of wheat reducing its price.

HOW THE LOW FIXED PRICE OF WHEAT WORKS

THE wheat farmer is now asking nothing more than that the purpose and object of the Legislature be realized and that the injustice be corrected, which is inseparable from a system which obliges him to sell in a restricted and to buy in an unrestricted market. This injustice should be corrected as a matter of practical wisdom and a matter of sound public policy. Whatever is unjust is unwise. But we are not obliged to rely upon this necessary implication. There is particular proof of it in this special instance not only in our own country but in other belligerent countries. During the summer of 1917, the Department of Agriculture carried on a nation-wide patriotic campaign to secure the planting of 47,000,000 acres of winter wheat. They failed. The acreage secured was only 42,000,000, the same acreage that the farmers voluntarily planted in 1914 when there was no other encouragement than the prospect of a reasonable return. Rye presents an interesting contrast and should teach a valuable lesson. The farmers increased the acreage of rye of 4,400,000 to more than 6,000,000, an increase of nearly fifty per cent. The price of wheat is fixed; the price of rye is not fixed. Wheat brings only \$2.20, fifty or sixty cents less than it is worth. Rye which is worth less intrinsically has sold as high as \$3. The farmer can produce more rye to the acre than wheat. The farmer can produce more pounds of corn to the acre than wheat and can under existing market conditions receive more per bushel notwithstanding wheat is worth more intrinsically both as feed and as food. This possibility tends to make the farmer plant corn, rye, barley, oats, and other products the price of which is unrestricted, rather than

wheat the price of which is restricted. The farmers in my state, (Oklahoma) have sold wheat at \$1.90 and with the proceeds have purchased corn as high as \$2.20. One farmer put it in an epigram, saying that price reduction has put wheat in the trough and corn on the table. Millions of bushels of wheat have been fed to live stock which ought to have been conserved as a precious resource for ourselves and for our allies. Thus, price regulation like vaulting ambition sometimes overleaps itself.

A farmer who has fertile lands and favorable seasons and who can rely upon from twenty to thirty-five bushels per acre can realize a profit on wheat at \$2.20. The average yield per acre sown in the United States last year was eleven bushels. This means that millions of acres yielded only four, five, and six bushels. As a rule, our available surplus for export is produced in the semi-arid country where the yield per acre is low. These men cannot produce under existing high costs at \$2.20 per bushel. If they disappear from the equation, our average production per acre would indeed increase but there would be a dangerous diminution in the total output. In times of crisis it is the total output that counts.

We ought to profit by the experience and especially by the blunders of all other warring nations. In 1916, the French Government fixed the price of wheat too low. The French peasant shook his head. The results were disappointing to the state. In the effect, the keen, logical French mind read the cause. They did not repeat it, they profited by the blunder. The government price of wheat in France today is \$3.95 per bushel. The average yield per acre in France exceeds by five or six bushels the average yield in this country. Switzerland is paying for wheat a guaranteed price of \$2.70 per bushel.

WHAT WILL BE THE PRICE OF THE 1919 CROP ?

WHAT is to be done with respect to the crop of 1919 ? At this time, no guarantee whatever has been offered. Mr. Hoover has indicated a purpose to buy and hold several hundred million bushels of wheat grown this year against a

possible shortage next year. Can the farmers be expected to produce a normal crop against a carryover of such proportions? It will be remembered that Mr. Hoover and Secretary Houston appointed an Agricultural Advisory Committee of twenty-four members, and is of a quasi public character. It meets from time to time in Washington. Its traveling expenses are paid by the Government. The members are paid ten dollars per day for their expenses while in the Capital. During the early days of the present month, it met and deliberated upon the price of wheat. Seventeen members were present and voting. They unanimously recommended that the price of wheat for the 1919 harvest should be fixed at \$2.46 basis Chicago. There was, indeed, one dissenting vote, but this member changed his vote to make the result unanimous. This is the official authoritative advice of the Agricultural Advisory Committee selected by Mr. Hoover and Secretary Houston. Will this advice be heeded? It was given after Mr. Hoover had sent a cablegram from London to the committee advising them not to advise an advance. It was given after Mr. Hoover's assistant, and after Mr. Hoover's attorney, had both appeared in person and advised the Advisory Committee not to advise an advance.

In his veto message, the President committed himself to the administrative method of agreeing upon a price rather than the establishment of a fixed price by legislation. I have no doubt that the American wheat farmer will be reasonably content if the President should act upon the advice of this advisory committee and fix the price for next year's crop at \$2.46 basis Chicago. This will not, indeed, amend the injustice for the current year, but it will secure a larger measure of justice, a more near approach to equal justice for the season of 1919. May I be permitted to cite once again Mr. Lincoln's declaration that no question is ever settled until it is settled right. This wheat question has not been settled right. It has not been settled at all. It involves an injury which is admitted by the President, an injury which is felt and suffered by the farmers.

I do not know whether every act of injustice disturbs the

harmony of the moral universe. I do not know whether every act of injustice calls for ultimate retribution. I do not know whether we could hope for greater success in suspending the great law of retribution that James II experienced in suspending the penal laws of England. I do know that a great nation embarked upon a war for Liberty, Humanity, and Democracy cannot afford to violate the great fundamental principles which underlie and which give vitality and value to these high and mighty objects. The United States cannot afford to be unjust to the humblest citizen who has a right to invoke the protection of its flag.

SINCE HE HAS GONE

By LEONIE DAVIS COLLISTER

ALL these silent things about the house,
Are far more silent
Since he has gone.

The yellow blossom in the window,
That used to be so friendly,
Has withdrawn its sun.

I touch the strings of my harp,
And longing flows through
The melody

Like lonely winds
Through a dark forest.

Books

Have grown to be such futile things—
Printed words are cold,
Nor soothe me like the words that come
Through living lips that love. . . .
Even the stars have no message of wars
Or why God made them.

LABOR REGULATION

The Problem of the War Labor Policies Board

By HON. WILLIAM B WILSON

[SECRETARY OF LABOR]

OUR increasing military energies are putting strains upon industry which call for the most careful husbanding of our manpower. We can no longer leave our labor supply to the unregulated forces of competition nor even the patriotic efforts of diverse agencies of the Government unrelated to a comprehensive policy and unified direction. There is an increasing shortage of unskilled labor for war projects and likewise a shortage in certain classes of skilled workers. The needed labor must be secured for war industries by drawing upon non-essential or less essential industries. This has been done largely at haphazard. A dispensable industry competes for the labor of an essential plant; instances are frequent where one Government project secures men at the expense of another. As a result, the labor turnover is alarmingly great, with a loss in war efficiency which we cannot afford. Not the least of the consequences of the existing situation is its effect upon the morale of workers in the restlessness which it produces and even encourages.

These are largely the natural consequences of subjecting to a new terrific strain existing agencies and old attitudes of mind. We can no longer submit to these. The first problem, therefore, to which the War Labor Policies Board addressed itself was the formulation of a plan to centralize the recruiting of so-called unskilled labor and thus to insure the fullest use of such labor to the needs of the war. The Board has arrived at a plan which embodies the opinion of every production department of the Government and is supported by the thought of representatives of industry and labor who have been in our counsel in working out this problem.

ONE CENTRAL NATIONALIZED LABOR AGENCY

THE essence of the plan is the recognition that one centralized national agency is demanded for recruiting the

workers for the nation's war needs; that the United States Employment Service of this Department is the agency appropriate for this task; that adequate resources must be given to this Service and corresponding effectiveness must be secured to enable it to discharge the responsibility. Accordingly, every department of the Government, through the strength at its disposal, whether it be by the mechanism of contract or by shutting off raw material from recalcitrant industry, is pledged to the enforcement of this plan. It will mean, of course, that thereafter all private enterprises in securing labor on a substantial scale will be prohibited by the full authority at the disposal of the Government.

The proper mobilization and distribution of labor are themselves part of a fruitful and just national labor policy, and without these we cannot hope for progress in the solution of other labor questions that call for settlement. The success of the plan is, therefore, indispensable. While it may encounter obstruction because of minor selfish interests which it must offend, we need not anticipate serious difficulties if the public mind is fully apprised and the nation's understanding of our purposes is enlisted. The Policies Board, therefore, deemed the public announcement of this program of sufficient national importance to deserve, and indeed to call for, its public approval by the President.

The need for military supplies has made the mobility of labor an important factor in military operations. The impulse of every department, board and industrial establishment has been to secure the labor required to increase their productive capacity without regard to its effect upon the industrial situation or the priority claims of their neighbors. That condition is rapidly being remedied through the centralization of the responsibility for the mobilization of labor in the Employment Service of the Federal Department of Labor. Even those whose prejudices have heretofore stood in the way begin to realize that the problem can only be efficiently handled through a common policy emanating from a central directing head.

THE INDIVIDUALISTIC STRIKE CAUSES HARMFUL TURNOVER

THE turnover of labor in our country is tremendous. In normal times it is nothing unusual to find establishments where the turnover is 200 per cent or 300 per cent per annum. That naturally reduces efficiency. There is not only the loss of time incident to the change of men, but no man can be thoroughly efficient on his job until he has become familiar with his machine, his shop, the characteristics of his shop mates and foremen, and the hundred and one other details that go to make up the sum total of his shop surroundings.

The turnover is the individualistic strike. It represents the unorganized workman dissatisfied with conditions or the organized workman unable or unwilling to interest his fellows in a collective protest. It produces in the aggregate very much more loss of time than is involved in all of the strikes of trade unions or spontaneous collective protest. The remedy lies in correcting the evil that results in such tremendous turnover.

Since we have engaged in the war, it becomes incumbent upon us to win the war; and, while we may make many mistakes, while we may from time to time meet with disaster, there can be but one ultimate outcome, and that is victory. Under former methods of waging warfare an army, even though it might be an army of invasion, very frequently lived upon the country through which it was campaigning, supplied only with arms and munitions as the product of the labor of the comparatively small number of people at home. The warfare of today is entirely different. The man in the trenches is all-important. He is making great sacrifices and taking great risks. We are proud of him. But the man in the shop has also become an important factor in carrying on modern warfare, and our industrial problems have become more intense by virtue of the fact that the man in the shop and the man in the field are both vitally essential to the successful conduct of our campaign.

WHAT OUR AIRCRAFT NEEDS

A Constantly Changing Science That Requires Skillful Administration

By EDWIN WILDMAN

THE fastest ocean liners are the largest. This has *not* yet been accomplished with the ships of the air oceans. The need of larger and faster aeroplanes is the immediate problem of war aircraft.

Air *fighting* is a new science; reconnaissance, scouting, photographing, and even air dueling, have arrived at a certain degree of perfection, but dreadnaughts of the sky are in the crucible. "Dreadnaughts," in sky-parlance, are bombing planes, of sufficient carrying power to elevate at high speed and navigate at higher speed, carrying air "depth bombs," capable of destroying enemy land forces and equipment. It is the problem in military aeronautics that faces the Allies and ourselves. It involves both the engine and plane, as well as the science of aerial calculations in accurate gunnery, for air ammunition is a precious burden that must be used effectively.

American manufacturers of light and swift aircraft, capable of scouting and giving battle to each other in the air, have achieved quantity production—i. e., the manufacturing methods of output necessary to co-ordinate the functions of different concerns working on aircraft. But while the "eyes" of the army—and navy—are still necessary, and the output must not decline, the call from abroad is for *Bombers*.

A Bomber is an advanced type of a reconnaissance plane, which at present is not a fast plane, but one capable of carrying two or three men, having a climbing altitude of 10,000 feet in 10 to 25 minutes and a speed of from 80 to 100 miles an hour. The reconnaissance machine carries from 800 to 1,000 pounds, and is used for observation, "spotting," and

map making, with complete aerial photograph outfit. The larger Curtiss and De Haviland are of this type.

The Bombing plane goes farther in size and carrying capacity, though at present less in radius of operation. It carries a crew of from two to a dozen men and at least two tons of bombs, at a 100 mile speed on a trip perhaps 1,000 miles, out and back, or around a field of operation. The German Gotha, Friederichshafen, A. E. G., have set a pace in bombing planes, and lead in quantity production designs. They have created the problem, and forced the Allies to develop better machines. England built the Handley-Page which we are perfecting and are now manufacturing, and we have developed the Curtiss Flying Boat which is the bombing plane of the seas. We are now working on the Caproni type, and the French are building the Breguet and Caudron. The Curtiss Flying bombing plane boat carries up a ton of bombs and is an effective weapon against the submarine. It has proved itself in coast patrol work and naval observation as it operates from battleships, and auxiliary "mother" ships, and from coast stations. The Curtiss factory at Buffalo has turned out nearly 600 of these and the government naval aircraft factory at Philadelphia has delivered over fifty, which are now in service over British waters. These flying boats, Secretary Daniels told me, have given excellent results.

A NEW SCIENCE IN FIGHTING FROM THE AIR

THE coming of the bombing plane has developed a new science of air fighting—a science that has advanced so rapidly on the fighting fronts that now over 25 per cent of aircraft are used for bombing purposes. In 1915 the Germans opened the ball by dropping bombs on French and English cities. This act, then new to aerial warfare, inspired reprisals in October of the same year when the French dropped bombs at Karlsruhe. A new era in war from the air began, and the need of actually battling from the sky became obvious. The early bombing planes were slow and in their infancy and were therefore operated at night, and consequently with doubtful results—aside from terrifying non-combatants and

destroying property. They did not prove very effective in actually hitting munition depots, aerodromes, or troops. The need, therefore, arose for day operations and the increased speed and bombing capacity of this type of war ordnance. Also there came into operation a new science of air tactics of squadron formation, in which a group of armored bombing planes could be escorted by twelve to eighteen fast battle and pursuit planes over the enemy's lines and protect them against the hostile attack of high speed planes. These squadron formations shoot up beyond the range of aircraft guns and spread out in V shape formation, protected by the fast cruising battleplanes.

For great distances these squadrons must fly over powerful anti-aircraft fire, pursued by swift enemy battle plane fleets, hold their course and drive off the attacks, until they arrive at their goal or objective, thousands of feet below. The squadron must keep its definite course, keep its sights set accurately so that when the crucial moment of attack comes, bombs may be shot, or dropped, with the accuracy of rifle fire, that they may not go amiss their mark, or explode uselessly in the air.

The operator in the bombing plane must be a skilled range finder and "quick at the trigger." He must calculate the depth, set his sights, know exactly the angle of the plane with reference to the objective, and then let go the charge. It takes a bombing operator three months of intensive training in military and flying practice to learn the science, which includes strict discipline, drilling, theory of flight, aeronautic engineering, knowledge of instruments and explosives, and even the aeroplane itself, as well as astronomy, meteorology, and radio telegraphy.

THE AMERICAN AVIATORS "MARVELOUS"

AMERICAN boys have taken to aeronautics as a duck takes to water. The testimony of Captain Heurtaux, the famous French Ace, is that the work of our flyers is nothing less than "merveilleux." Lieutenant Belloni, the Caproni official representative in this country, reports that his Italian airmen testify that the Americans flying the huge Caproni

bombing planes have performed truly marvelous feats. "Their dash, gallantry, exceptional intelligence and their love for the aeroplane is wonderful," he declares. "They fly both day and night in these giant planes, not yet seen in this country, with sportsman-like skill, loop the loop, spin and do antics that nobody could excel."

Our airmen are over the lines in Italy and France and their record is in the front annals of aerial warfare. Today the Liberty motor, the efficiency of which has increased 50 per cent in the last six months, is carrying the great foreign bombing planes over the enemy's territory; tomorrow our own bombers will auxiliate the planes of the Allies.

Just how soon, is the question that is uppermost in the minds of Americans. On our flying fields at home, the bombing Caproni, the Handley-Page, and the new monster Curtiss, not yet adopted by the Government, but more powerful and swifter than any bombing plane ever built, our aviators are receiving their instructions from our own and from foreign skilled pilots.

As there is a hush before a storm so there is a lull preceding the advance of the bombing squadrons that will go over Germany. "Instead of forty or fifty machines now necessary to start bombing expeditions, it will soon be possible to do the same work with a new machine as powerful as a whole squadron," says the great authority, Caproni. There is under design abroad a machine intended to carry up 100 men and engines almost as powerful as those of a medium sized battleship. Such a machine may or may not play a part in this war, but it is within the scientific probability of the next two or three years. This type of a plane will easily cross the Atlantic. This is not a dream, as we once might have imagined, for the bomber has within the past year developed from a 100 to 1,000 horsepower machine, an achievement reflected in the vision of the plane drawn in the first chapter of this series, and only a precursor of what aircraft will develop in the coming years. Caproni himself predicts that war in the future lies in the air, to come about as rapidly as the commercial development of production comes into its own as a great industry. When that day

arrives, land and sea forces will be no match for the great warships of the air. The fighting forces of the earth will be transferred to the air and great bombing fleets and their air colliers will fly over land and sea, only challenged in their military supremacy by other fleets of equal or superior size and carrying power.

SENATORIAL PESSIMISM AND EXPERT OPINION

IN this relation one is surprised to read such statements as appear in an interview given by Senator Morris Sheppard, an Administration Senator. Speaking of the aircraft production, the Senator said, "Sometimes I wonder whether some of our people are not making the same mistake in banking on the aeroplane that the whole German Nation made in banking on the submarine. The Germans made their promises of submarine efficiency official and practically staked their all on that new development in warfare; while our promises of aeroplane efficiency have been at all times unofficial, superinduced by an eager hope on the part of the public, and fed by a volume of more or less imaginative journalistic speculation."

Quite apart from the support which the press of the country have given the commendable efforts of the Administration to promote aircraft production, the Senator would have sustained his support of the present aircraft program if he had informed us of the present management of the "Army Air Service." Under the direction of General W. L. Kenly, with the title of Director of Military Aeronautics, there are thirteen separate departments of the Army Air Service, each department under a separate chief, with innumerable personnel attached to each one. These sectional divisions of the Army Air Service create a formidable and somewhat complex control of aircraft production, through their power to select and determine all types of airplanes and accessories used in the Army. Although comparatively new in authority, it is doubtful if so complicated a division of executive control can fail to delay a successful speeding up of this gigantic war industry. It may be that except for the "imaginative jour-

nalistic speculation," which Senator Sheppard refers to, the present speed of aeroplane manufacture would not call for a Senatorial investigation.

In a report issued in August, by the Naval Consulting Board, W. B. Stout, Technical Adviser of the Aircraft Board, points out some important changes that will be necessary in the technical program of making war aeroplanes. He says that the present aeroplane propeller suggests a large field for research. Wooden propellers are far from satisfactory, according to his opinion, although no substitute has yet been found. The aeroplane compass is also far from satisfactory. Mr. Stout thinks it possible that the future steering of aeroplanes will be along wireless rather than magnetic line with definite control between cities. The problem of the plane tanks is still conjectural. They must be made more bullet proof and a decrease in fire danger should be studied. New types of exceedingly large bombing planes, carrying tons of bombs and flying at night, are in demand. Night flying involves new problems, in protective measures relating to anti-aircraft guns, searchlights and combat tactics. Also, considerable speed can be added to all types of aeroplanes, says Mr. Stout.

That America is not behind the world in its preparations is evinced by the recent government \$100,000,000 aircraft corporation, which Mr. Baker has explained as a financing adjunct to the air program, both of this country and the Allies, to facilitate loans for the construction and purchase of aircraft, and to develop the spruce cutting industry for the common benefit of French, British, Italians and ourselves.

A "SCHWAB" OF THE AIRCRAFT PROGRAM

OPINION throughout aircraft circles demands a capable Production Chief, a "Schwab of the Aircraft Program." While the Dayton-Wright Company has completed its one thousandth plane, and the Curtiss Company some 3,500 in the past year—while other factories are in various stages of production, working upon the numerous types, the centralization of a co-ordinated control, with absolute one-man

power, is lacking. As the ship program halted until a production head was selected, so the aircraft production program is held back by the lack of that kind of efficient central authority necessary to co-ordinate it as one gigantic business, each arm and part a smooth working unit of the whole.

To the automobile industry has the government been obliged to look for aircraft production, aside from one or two aircraft plants of pre-war small proportions. The great automobile concerns at Detroit, Toledo, Flint, Elmira and Buffalo—the Ford, Packard, Willys-Overland, General Motors, and the Pierce, were brought into the aircraft program, as were large body making concerns to produce the fuselage, or aeroplane body. These highly equipped concerns were designated, along with a few newly expanded aircraft plants, to produce parts, exchange them, and assemble completed planes. The method produced quantity production, but so complicated and vast is the disassembled units that the need of an all knowing production chief has become apparent.

It took a steel expert, a shipbuilder, to bring chaos out of the shipbuilding program; it will take a motor and automobile body expert of vast grasp and practical ability to bring together all the complex ends of the aircraft program and co-ordinate them and inspire the great army of workmen with the same sporting war spirit that has speeded up the ship program.

To seek to accomplish this Secretary Baker has taken Mr. Ryan into the cabinet, with full authority over the Army section of aircraft, with powers similar to the Air Ministry of Great Britain. Whether this will solve the question of coordinating production is problemetical. It will help, undoubtedly. The Army abroad is asking for development of the best and most needed bombing types, and increasing production. A mere minister, in our political sense, may and may not be able to accomplish these results. It will depend upon whether Mr. Ryan combines qualities necessary to co-ordinate industry and speed up deliveries. That seems to be the crying need. Political selections or nominations based upon equipment in political circles have no place in such a

program. What is wanted as Production Chief is a man fitted from the ground up, measured by known achievements in closely, if not actually, affiliated work both as to production and the handling of labor, the genius for organization and co-ordination of related units of manufacture.

AIRCRAFT WORK IN OUR MOTOR CONCERNS

CRITICISM has been levelled at the automobile manufacturers, and the shortcomings of aircraft deliveries laid partially at their door. This is unjust and an evasion of the facts. The trouble lies in the delays caused by changes in models, indecision as to best types, and the constant development of aircraft science. Automobile and aeroplane factories have been in intensive operations in some units and in others large facilities in partial production. For instance at the Packard factory there has been an uncertain output of perhaps 50 motors per day, with facilities under way but not completed, for a much larger production. The Packard does not produce a Liberty complete, confining its work largely to machining parts and assembling. So with the Ford, who are turning out a like number, manufacturing 80 per cent of all Liberty cylinders from steel tubing furnished by the National Tubing Company, and devoting five floors, 900 feet long, to machining parts, while assembling and testing a number each day in their newly erected sheds for that purpose. The day I was there, only three Liberty motors were under test in their 160 testing sheds. The output of the Liberties is accelerating with great rapidity. \$11,000,000 has been put into the Lincoln Motor Company's plant at Detroit, with government assistance. The plant has a large capacity for motors and is devoted exclusively to producing the Liberty. It could turn out probably a hundred a day, perhaps more, if it had the labor, but here, as in some other factories, labor is a problem that needs a master hand and government co-operation. In the training camps are many skilled machinists, but to deflect them into service in the factories is to create a difficult labor situation which, under army regulations, is hard to overcome. A machinist

in uniform, working on soldier's pay, is not an efficient workman, nor is he amenable to the same discipline as a machinist in overalls. Too, the sex problem protrudes itself where there are from 10 to 25 per cent female laborers in the shops. In the soldier's uniform is a fascination hard to resist in the imagination of the girl workers, and a valuable asset to the Don Juan of the shops, yet under government regulation the soldier must wear his uniform.

These are minor instances in the working out of a big problem, but essential to overcome, as is the problem of cost-plus evil, which disrupts a shop's personnel, and gives the shop working on this plan an advantage over the shop building engines or fuselages on a flat price basis. The science of paying men by piece work, too, has not been reduced to definite ratios. Labor, and particularly transient, or wandering labor, has so long been in the habit, in the majority, of holding back, resting on its oars, on per diem pay, and uncertain continuance of its job, that to determine its efficiency with relation to piece work pay, in aircraft factories, is a difficult problem, not yet based upon certain ratios or percentages.

The whole woman-in-labor problem, which has thrust itself forward in these war days, is wholly an unsolved science of economies. If women can earn men's pay, the men want more, is an anomaly that has arisen. The adjustment of women, working side by side with men, is a speculative phase of economics as well as of efficiency.

In the quick development of a great industry, which has had to commence at the training school for labor, and the laboratory for its scientific beginnings, and the testing room for its proofs, there has emerged a myriad of problems that cry for the master hand at the top, organization throughout, efficiency and co-ordination everywhere, and definite orders and far sighted plans of production in the control centres at Washington.

Probably the most ideal example, from a manufacturing point of view, is found in the great Curtiss plant at Buffalo, the largest aeroplane plant in the world. This plant covers

80 acres, with 57 acres under one roof. It has 17,000 employees, and a payroll of about \$400,000 per week. It is turning out 30 flying boats per week, and 85 advanced training planes. Underneath its roof are some sixteen units or different professions, from laboratorial experts to patent attorneys and opticians. Despite every method known to secure labor its supply is still short, although only one one day strike has occurred in the past year. This company does not manufacture all the parts of a completed plane in this particular plant, but does in closely affiliated plants. It therefore achieves quantity production under its own roof. That is perhaps the ideal of aircraft production, but, of course, not by any means essential to the greater idea of a national quantity production. It merely illustrates the possibilities of the future, when the industry shall have developed its own plants and not be dependent upon a hundred widely scattered units, manufacturing parts and all subject to different manufacturing and labor conditions that now permeate the aircraft industry.

Two vital and necessary conditions must be solved today, before perfect working production can be accomplished; absolute efficient control and authority at the top, now aimed at in the appointment of Mr. Ryan, and perfect co-ordination throughout the entire now separately producing units, involving complete knowledge of each unit's capacity, complete inventory of materials, entire clock working regulation of output of each and every part that must be transported and delivered so as to meet assembling requirements, and a go-ahead program on the big bombing types, so urgently required abroad. This is essentially a manufacturing question and only the wise selection of a Production Chief, a thorough going factory genius, working upon a definite plan of production as to types, engines and quantities, can put our aircraft program "over the top."

This is a gigantic task and one that is taxing the utmost brains of the men who are conscientiously trying to work out the problem at Washington.

THE GREATEST ASSEMBLING AIRPLANE PLANT IN THE WORLD

Where Planes Are Completed and American
Fliers Have Their Final Training

By HAMILTON M. WRIGHT

[SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE FORUM IN FRANCE]

TODAY America's airplane preparations are beginning to yield results on a great scale in finished airplanes in France, results that far surpass expectations. Yet it is only a few months ago that the statement was made in Congress, and out of it, that our air programme was a failure.

The best answer to any past criticism of our air programme is to be found right here in France. *American airplanes are now arriving in France in very large numbers* and are being skilfully and rapidly assembled by great forces of experts. I have seen them not only being assembled but in flight, and have talked to men who have piloted them. I have just visited "Somewhere in France," a wonderful Air Service Production Center, one of the marvelous enterprises established in France by our Government which has within a years' time (in many cases within six months' time) completed a far greater work than the construction of the Panama Canal.

This Air Service Production plant is far from war or the scenes of war. It is a tremendous industrial plant operated on a basis of wonderful efficiency, where a day or two could easily be spent in the assembling plant, repair shop and hangars alone. Yet within scarcely more than a half year the workers for this Air Service Production Center were selected and brought from the United States, the construction of the plant was completed, the organization came into active operation and a giant enterprise that suffers nothing by com-

parison with long established industrial concerns was under way.

THE GREATEST ASSEMBLING PLANT IN THE WORLD

THE production is synchronized like that of a great automobile factory. The main idea is production and system.

The American airplanes reach the plant in knocked-down form, the engines installed in the fuselage, but the other parts unattached. The boxes containing the parts are painted to indicate whether their contents are fuselage, wings, landing gear, struts, etc. The distribution of the parts as they reach the plant is thus simplified. On arrival at the proper departments, the boxes are opened and their contents inspected by skilled men. Parts found damaged in any way not entering the assembling plant, go at once to the repair shop. All parts of the American airplane are standardized and interchangeable.

The method by which the parts are assembled suggests high grade automobile production. As the planes come in at the lower end of the plant, they are without tails or wings and look like huge dragon flies from which these appendages have been plucked. As the parts are fitted in and attached, the plane begins, like a chrysalis unfolding, to assume more picturesque form. With the successive steps of its assembling the plane is moved toward the opposite end of the long aisle. By the time it has reached the further end it is turned out completely assembled, a finished product, so far as the assembling is concerned, a monster of the air, beautiful, swift and powerful.

The planes are put together for front line service in a remarkably short space of time, while the pilots are coming in continually from the different instruction centers, ready for service. The productive capacity is tremendous, amazing. *There is nothing like this plant in Europe or in the world.* At the height of its capacity it will reach a *daily* production that would have been considered a *month's* record two years ago.

As in the great automobile factories, each man has his line of work, for which he has been chosen because of peculiar fitness. The construction and maintenance department does all the production of airplanes. The personnel is made up largely of mechanical engineers. It includes men who were instrumental in the organization of the great mechanical industries of Detroit and Toledo, motor mechanics, assistants and others. This marvelous plant is operated by men who never speak of "overtime." No report is put in as to time. All the officers work as hard as the men, and are fine, clean-cut fellows. As throughout the army, men who commanded large incomes in the United States are working here.

"Glad to have the chance," said one, though he confessed that he would like to be in the front line.

The American plane in air is a wonderful success from the point of view of the men who fly it and who expect to go into service with it. "It's a great machine," said one, "and climbs when on the loop." It is said to actually gain in altitude when looping.

Recently an American airplane flew 30 miles in 15 minutes against a heavy head wind in ordinary going. It is expected to climb 20,000 feet in $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 minutes, or an upward climb of approximately a mile a minute. The motor yields two horsepower for every pound of its weight.

AMERICAN FLIERS SUPER-MEN

THESE young fliers are a remarkable class of men. In the first place flyers are selected for mental, moral, physical and psychological qualities of a super-normal type. Pilots are strongly and, as a rule, sparely built men ranging between 5 ft. 9 and 6 ft. or more in height, the taller men being more numerous. A large majority are college graduates. The flyer is the real sport of the army. He joins the flying corps because it is a sporting chance. And that is just the man who is wanted.

"I hope those fellows at the front will save the war until I get in," said one of the flyers. "It's the only war we have, after all, and I want to see it tenderly handled till I get there."

A racing motor car would seem dull enough sport to a man who has dropped from the skies like a plummet, for 2,000 feet, fallen sidewise to diminish air resistance, made tail slides and nose dives, climbed up into space, and hurled his machine through the air like some aerial torpedo.

Outside of the assembling plant sounded the roar of motors being tested. Here were planes whose motors were being "warmed up," that the machine guns could be made to synchronize with the revolutions of the propeller so that the guns might shoot between the revolving blades. The synchronizing was done in an open, concrete-floored shed. The wheels were blocked to keep the propeller from pulling the wingless machine forward and an extra man sat on the tail of the airplane. The head of the plane faced a high bank of earth into which the shots were fired. At this plant a number of planes can be synchronized as to their machine guns and the revolutions of their motors at the same time.

In another portion of the grounds pilots were engaged in machine gun ground practice. Each man of the squad in training sights at a small dummy airplane poised as if in flight mounted on a stick before a sand bank. The sights are deflected so that the man's marksmanship is registered on a target close by the dummy plane. The men are drilled to handle their guns and shoot almost instantly. Pistol shooting and shooting at clay pigeons are practiced on the ground; in the air, shooting at shirt sleeves trailed behind aeroplanes, kites or small balloons.

PLANT BUILT IN RECORD TIME

THIS Air Production Center with its great sheet iron structures, assembling plant, repairing plant, salvage plant, flying fields, barracks, machine shops, American locomotives and cars, railway switches, saw mill, farms, thousand of trucks, etc., is on land purchased by the American Government. Within four months the construction department has built and equipped a city that would hold the same number of inhabitants as dwelt in the capital of the United States before the war. The group that built this and several other

stations was made up of squadrons of professional men selected by the War Department in conference with the American Institute of Architects, the Engineering Society of America and recognized societies of the allied trades and professions.

On arrival in France, they built the air training camps and all of the necessary buildings and flying fields in the zone of advance. Through the sanitary precautions enforced by the Medical Department of the engineers, the sick list is kept down to a minimum basis. At the center I visited there had been but four deaths, a remarkable showing where thousands of men are together. Only one of these deaths was from disease, the other three being accidental. Disciplinary punishment is practically obsolete at the Center and at the aviation camps. Unlike other wars, the court-martial is practically unknown.

Bible classes, a class in French history, band and orchestral music, concerts, vaudeville shows and athletics enliven what little spare time there is. The musical programme at the Center is in charge of a former architect in New York City. The lieutenant who courteously showed me through the Center was formerly teller in a Boston bank. I met several former architects and a veteran of the Philippine campaign and of San Juan Hill, Captain Charles Edwards of St. Louis. The Commanding Officer, Major E. V. Sumner, came from the United States regular cavalry. Corporal Sconce of Nebraska is the amateur athlete champion of the Air Production Center. On the Fourth of July, with competing French and American teams, he won the shot put and 220 hurdles; he was second in the 50 yard dash and second in the broad jump. On Bastille day, July 14, the center sent the track team to Orleans and won the 220 and was second in the shot put, the best athletes in France competing.

The camp, which lies in one of the fairest spots in France, on gently rolling or level ground, a wheat field country, a great barracks. The Red Cross has a fine social hall here, and serves, at 3 francs, an appetizing meal. It was in the dining room of the hall that I received the first white bread I

have seen in France, also plenty of butter and jam, coffee with milk in it and sugar. Iced tea, beefsteak, new potatoes, string beans, pudding were included in the meal. At night the dining hall can be converted into a moving picture room. The Y. M. C. A. is performing an equally important work. The streets of the camp suggest New York, and the headquarters are located at "Broadway and Fifth Avenue."

OLDEST CAMP NEWSPAPER IN SERVICE

THE camp publishes a newspaper, *The Plane News*, printed once a week, which has reached its thirty-fifth issue, the oldest weekly published with the American forces. Its editors and publishers have built up a plant that represents an investment of 30,000 francs (\$7,500). A recent editorial says: "It is disclosing no secret to state that when the American forces began their invasion of Mexico in 1916, our air service comprised the following: one aero squadron, twenty pilots, and eight airplanes. One aviation school had been established at San Diego, Calif.

"Omitting details, one cannot but realize the tremendous growth of the air service by a single comparison. We cannot obviously print here the strength and equipment of this post, but every man here knows that our camp alone is infinitely a greater organization than was the entire American Aviation Corps a year ago. And when one adds to this great Center the schools in the United States and those in France, England and Italy, the realization comes that the air service, a year ago the infant of our Army divisions, today stands out as the division having accomplished more than any other branch of the Army."

Apart from the machine shops, the barracks, the hospitals, the headquarters, and the hangars, there are seven flying fields at the camp. It requires usually a great deal of work to produce a good flying field, much more than is essential in the making of a race-course. Obstructions and bumps must be removed. One of the most skilful of the pilots said that despite his length of service, he always drew in his breath when he landed. To the men in training, their first landings,

in a small high-powered machine, are fraught with anxiety. The different fields are for successive steps in training.

When a man reaches France he has already received a good deal of training in America, always his ground school training. He has enlisted as a cadet with the rank of a private. He has the standing of an enlisted man, but, with very few exceptions, the privileges of an officer. He has been put through a physical examination that only a physical thoroughbred can pass.

When he finally arrives in France, he first takes the roullers, a stationary machine equipped with all of the controls. In this his hand and mind are trained to work as one. The next step is to take a flight in a double control machine. The pupil holds the driving stick and feels every move that the instructor makes. Virtually he flies for a month before he ever goes into the air alone. Next he goes into the 23 meter single control and performs his first solo flight; he is then given his brevet and becomes an R. M. A. (Reserve Military Aviator). His next solo flight is in an 18 m. machine, and next in a 15, and it is in the 15 m. machine that he first encounters real danger. This machine is very small and hits around at about 60 miles an hour. In the 15 meter machine it is necessary, because of the small wing spread, to land at terrific speed.

Then, having become an expert at map reading, he takes his cross-country flights. Then he goes into the spiral class; he next goes into acrobatics where the machine goes through every form of evolution necessary to actual combat, and then into a course of aerial gunnery. Up to this point it has taken him five months from the time he went to ground school. He takes a month with the machine gun in the air, shooting at kites and balloons and aerial targets. After a man has finished his aerial gunnery, he is considered ready for front line service. He is then assigned to an esquadrille (squadron) and goes to the front.

In the event that a man has not proved himself a good shot or not an especially skilled flyer, he is sent to what the aviator terms bombing. It is here that he learns to pilot the

slower machines that seek higher altitudes and never enter into actual combat except through bombing.

FRENCH TRIBUTE TO AMERICAN AIRMEN

A YOUNG French aviator paid a remarkable tribute to the skill and experienced work of the American flyer, than whom, he said, there was no more brilliant air fighter in the world. Nor was there any, he thought, who could turn himself to better account in so many phases of aerial warfare. He was referring particularly to the average higher standard of the flyer who had reached the front after his period of training had been completed, rather than to the work of any particular individual.

No other country has undertaken the production of airplanes on quite the same scale as that on which America is undertaking this work. Our airplane production bears a close analogy to our method of standardized automobile production. The French who have been able to watch our progress closely regard both the method and its practical application as highly effective.

Concerning the operations of the Allies in using airplanes for war purposes in greater numbers and dispositions, Captain Paul Meunier, the expert French aviator, said that America is right in thinking that the use of the airplanes now being sent over by the American Army will be the deciding weight in the war scale.

"I have seen," said he, "whole groups of the enemy absolutely put out of action by a single airplane. The airplane sending down bombs on the enemy can stampede the horses of the artillery, rendering it useless. In some cases the bolting of the artillery horses may cause the loss of the guns.

"As for the men! An airplane can make the enemy crazed with fright. There is no escape from an airplane unless you go deep down into cellars and pits thrown out laterally.

"Taking airplanes as a means of action, they must be in masses, that is in groups of, say, 200 airplanes. These should be subdivided into fifties and the whole directed by an

Admiral. You must get accustomed to think of the navigation of the air as analogous to that of the sea. Why not an Admiral of the air as well as an Admiral of the sea? If the rank does not already exist, it is because there are not enough machines to be employed en masse.

“The Americans are doing a wonderfully good thing in getting thousands of airplanes together. When this is done the rest will follow as a corollary.

“Airplanes can keep reserves from coming up; they can wreck railway centers; they can prevent provisions and ammunition from being brought to the lines. They can go behind the enemy’s lines and cut off the men at the front.”

This is probably fairly representative of the Allied view of our air programme. That programme is being executed with the same efficiency with which we assembled and trained our troops and transported them to France, and with the patriotism that has marked the American soldier in every part of the line that he had occupied. It is being conducted with the highest degree of business and industrial efficiency of which our people can boast.

In connection with this, we should not neglect to mention and pay tribute to the wonderful air work of our Allies. During the year beginning July 1, 1917, and ending June 30, 1918, the British have brought down over 4,000 enemy aircraft, while the loss in British machines has only slightly exceeded 1,213. This is according to the British Official Press Bureau. In that year 2,150 enemy aircraft were destroyed by the British on the West Front alone, while 1,083 enemy aircraft have been driven down out of control. During the same period the Royal Air Force units, working in conjunction with the Royal Navy, shot down 623 enemy aircraft. The other theatres of war make up the total already given. The figures for the French or our other Allies are not at hand, yet the Communiqués every day give an index of their activity.

THE DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN OF 1918

By HOMER S. CUMMINGS

[VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE]

THERE is a sound basis for the belief that the Democratic party will be successful in the coming Congressional campaign. Events seem to have made such a result inevitable. The leaders of the Republican party, being quite aware of this situation, have sought to forestall it by urging that it would be better for the country to elect a Congress adverse to the Administration, than to choose one in harmony with it.

The mere fact that such a suggestion is seriously made is an indication of extreme poverty of invention, and a proof of the hopeless plight in which the Republican party finds itself.

The Republican party is a minority party. It is without a single attractive issue upon which it can go before the country, and it is unable to suggest an alternative program, which the American people would, for one moment, think of endorsing. For ambitious politicians, who have made no pretence of adjourning politics, this is, indeed, a most distressing predicament.

Manifestly the overwhelming business of America is to win the war. This is a purpose to which all other considerations are subordinate. The outstanding fact is that President Wilson is not only President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, but he is the leader of his party, and is at the head of an administration which is actually conducting the war, and conducting it with success. The fundamental difficulty which the Republicans confront grows out of the attempt to justify a distinction between support of the President and such limited support of the President, for war purposes only, as the Republican leaders, in

their wisdom, think proper. To persuade a majority of the American people that it is wise to make such a distinction will require more plausibility than the Republican leaders possess. It is a program which counsels domestic and political confusion during a period of war. It is pregnant with opportunities for political "sniping" and can serve no purpose of patriotism. The resolute spirit of the people at large requires a whole-hearted support of the Administration. Any attempt to equivocate or to draw fine distinctions can lead only to the discomfiture of the person or the party making the attempt. The great mass of our people believe in the President and propose to stand by him. Surely the Administration would be in a better position to devote its energies to the problems of the war if supported, in Congress, by those who have confidence in it, rather than by those who, openly or covertly, seek to take advantage of it. Our President has become the leading figure in the affairs of the world, his influence was never greater than it is today, his words carry into every quarter of the globe and the statesmen of the allied governments have accepted his leadership. It would be a sorry commentary upon popular government if the results in November should impair, in the least degree, the influence of that illustrious and commanding figure.

TO READJUST THE PROCESSES OF PEACE

NEITHER has the Republican party, as an organization, in any wise, purged itself of its ancient vices or made itself a trustworthy vehicle for the expression of the best thought of the American people. It is still narrow, partisan and provincial. It has neither fully grasped the significance of the democratic ideal nor evinced any adequate appreciation of the greatness or destiny of America. During all this formative period, when great undertakings were afoot, it has contented itself, for the most part, with gloomy foreboding and futile criticism.

There is, today, a general recognition that the great purpose to which our people are committed has been carried forward with expedition and success. To readjust the processes

of peace so as to serve the activities of war has been an undertaking requiring leadership of unexampled skill. So striking has been the result, so prompt has been the response of the people, so free have our public affairs been from any suggestion of scandal or improper influence, that it scarcely lies in the mouth of those who conducted the Spanish-American war to indulge in the luxury of criticism. This great business of the war has been scientifically handled.

The plans of the Administration, avoiding the bizarre, the abortive and the spectacular, have been carefully considered and effectively matured. Today we have one and one-half million men overseas, well armed, well provisioned, properly supported, sound in health, adequately trained and under competent military leadership. Day by day the number grows. Under the careful administration of the Selective Draft Law, the uninterrupted flow of men to France will continue until the victory is won. It is fair to say that the leaders of the Democratic party knew how to conduct the war. No ingenuity of phrase, no plea of partisanship will seduce the American people into taking any action in November which would indicate a desire for a change of leadership or invite the disturbances which would come of divided council.

CONSTRUCTIVE POLICIES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

THE present Administration has been effective not only in war but in peace.

The nation has traveled far under the leadership of President Wilson. The Federal Reserve Law, vigorously opposed at the time by Senator Root and the anti-administration forces, has completely reconstructed the finances of this country and placed our affairs upon such a stable basis that we have been able to meet the great demands of the war without monetary disturbance or the semblance of a panic. The Farm Loan Act was a constructive measure which has proved of inestimable benefit to the farming population and has had a most happy result in stimulating the growing of the crops needed for the war. The taking over, by the Government, of the railroad system as well as the telephone and telegraph

lines of this country were progressive and stabilizing measures. The organization of the War Finance Corporation was an act of statesmanship. The Bill providing for an Alien Property Custodian to take over enemy-owned and enemy-controlled property was a constructive measure of the highest consequence. The establishment of the War Trade Board has proved of great service, not only to our own country, but to our Allies as well. The establishment of War Risk Insurance was another evidence of the alertness and foresight of the Administration. The establishment of a Tariff Commission was another measure of statesmanship, well calculated to remove the discussion of tariff schedules from the domain of politics. The Ship Purchase Act and the Merchant Marine Law, so bitterly opposed by reactionary Republicans, have proved of enormous benefit to America and promise to make America supreme upon the seas during the reconstruction period following the war. The Smith-Lever Act was another measure of wise statesmanship. The laws passed with reference to labor and in the interest of workmen and workingwomen evidence the concern which the Administration feels for the social betterment of our people. Vocational education has now become a fact under laws adopted by a Democratic Congress. It is gratifying to observe the manner in which the Treasury Department has been handled, the Liberty Loans floated and the credit of America strengthened. The State Department has maintained the high standard of American diplomacy and our international record in the period leading up to and during the war will constitute forever a glorious page of American history. Without exception, the other departments of the Government have likewise proved themselves to be efficient, constructive and progressive. All along the line, we have proof of a party keenly alive to the pressing questions of the hour and quick to apply the remedies needed for the development of our country and for the greater protection of our people. Whether measured by the accomplishments of peace, or the standards of war, the administration comes to the people rich in achievement and unsullied in honor.

TO WHOM WILL THE COUNTRY LOOK FOR LEADERSHIP?

OUR purposes are not limited by the war. What we have accomplished thus far, both in the matter of war preparation and in domestic reform, serve as an indication of the spirit with which we will undertake the great problems of reconstruction which will follow the cessation of hostilities. Vocational training, already undertaken, must be further developed, having in mind not only the training of the youth of the country, but also with a view to the needs of those who have been injured or disabled in the war. We shall be confronted, in probably much changed aspect, with the question of employer and employee. It is highly essential that there shall be established a basis which shall make the recurring conflicts between capital and labor no longer a disturbing element in the life of America. The ultimate status of the public utilities and essential war industries taken over by the Government during the war period must be fixed and their relation to the life of our people must be determined. Foreign trade must be developed and the methods of taxation must come under the closest scrutiny. All the activities of our country must be freshened and renewed after this period of sacrifice and stress. It must be a stimulated, not an exploited, development. The best thought of America must be concentrated on this great business so that the future may afford an increasingly better lot for the generations yet unborn. This is the task to which America must address herself in the days of peace following this period of war. It is impossible that this great development can properly be conducted except under the most disinterested and intelligent leadership.

To whom will the country look for that leadership? Will it turn back to the discordant elements of the Republican party and to discredited and stationary statesmen who seek to reapply the processes of antiquity, or will the American people follow in the path blazed by our great President, and continue a purpose which has already brought us immeasurable advantage and which has so signally reaffirmed our faith in the democratic form of government? There can be but one sane answer to this question.

IS LABOR BEHIND THE GOVERNMENT?

By DR. CHARLES A. EATON

[HEAD OF THE NATIONAL SERVICE SECTION OF THE EMERGENCY FLEET CORPORATION]

Dr. Eaton has just returned from a trip to the coast, through the great shipyards of America, accompanying Mr. Schwab and Mr. Piez. He defines the real attitude of labor in the shipbuilding industries toward the war.

NO one can understand the labor situation in America apart from the development of class consciousness.

One of the foundation principles of American life is that all men are created free and equal. As our industrial development and our racial characteristics became more complex, we began to lose sight of this fundamental idea. There were imported from Europe class programs, class catch words, and class leaders. Capital organized on a class basis. Labor of necessity followed suit. The issue was sharply drawn. What was good for one was bad for the other.

Other class distinctions revealed themselves, based largely upon money, or the lack of it, and this all threatened the spiritual and social unity of the nation.

Then came the war; a war of peoples, rather than of governments. Our supreme question was, "Will labor and capital stand side by side in the common defense of their common country?" In other words, can we overcome class consciousness by substituting a national consciousness? Can we break away from class interests and devote our whole national life to national interests?

Capital has answered this question in the affirmative. Hundreds of thousands of young men from well to do families have given themselves to the defense of their country. Rich men have abandoned their business and are working in subordinate capacities to help the Government. An income tax of unheard of severity is being paid by the well to do classes without a murmur.

On the other hand, labor both organized and unorgan-

ized has covered itself with imperishable honor by its attitude towards the war. Everywhere the working man has pledged his loyal service to the country. He, too, is sending his sons, or going himself into the Army and the Navy. Many of the questions for which organized labor has been fighting for a generation are voluntarily held in abeyance until we win the war.

The key to the winning of the war is—ships. Mr. Lloyd George has told us that even in the month of July, of the 300,000 American soldiers carried across the sea, 180,000 were transported on British ships. Without ships we could not win the war.

The Emergency Fleet Corporation, under the leadership of Mr. Schwab and Mr. Piez, is charged with the production of ships. It has let contracts, amounting to \$3,800,000,000.00. In the month of June for the first time, the output of England and America in new ships surpassed the sinkings by the German submarines. In July, we made our first great stride forward past the mark, having produced more new tonnage than in any year before the war.

PERPLEXING LABOR PROBLEMS

AT the beginning there was a serious question as to whether the men would build ships. A scale of wages was adopted, higher than was ever paid for this class of work in the history of the world. For a time even this failed to produce the required result. Many men would work part of the time until they had received the amount of pay to which they had been accustomed in previous occupations. Then they would loaf the rest of the week. No one seemed to realize the terrible gravity of the situation.

This was the task assigned me by the Government; to educate these men of the shipyards as to their duty. To my great surprise I found the men open minded. They had not been thinking in national terms, only in class terms. All they needed was to know. Almost immediately a tide of enthusiasm began to set in throughout the shipyards. We organized a corps of trained speakers, returned soldiers and

civilians. Great meetings were held in all the shipyards of the country; literature was distributed. The public press gave us their unqualified backing and the wheels turned faster every day.

Soon the men themselves began to take the matter in hand. The most unpopular man, next to a pro-German, in the shipyards is a slacker. In fact, as soon as he is detected, it is impossible for him to remain on the job. The output is increasing every hour. The spirit is improving day by day. Both management and men understand each other and trust each other as never before. Both are enlisted for one purpose; to win the war.

If I am asked, "Is labor with the Government in this war," I must answer truthfully, "yes."

There is still much discussion of old questions between the employers and the employees. The findings of the Macey War Labor Board are the subject of continuous discussions as to their application. Men are still fighting for proper conditions, for regulated hours and for the recognition of the Union. These disputes all stop short of interference with the building of ships.

Now that the Government finds the necessity of putting five millions of men under arms, our labor leaders realize that this changes the entire situation. We must postpone most of the questions over which we have been fighting until after the war is over and then there is a strong belief, growing stronger every day, that there will be so many new and vaster questions, that these old ones will have settled themselves.

The great spiritual miracle of a universal interest in war problems is sweeping away class problems in this and every other country.

We are not only fighting a war, we are re-building the American nation, upon a national basis and national ideals. We are seeking to establish a democracy which shall give a square deal to every man and every class of man; that shall have room in it for the big man and the little man, side by side.

Money is not an issue in this war, so that there is no money class at work slowing down the spiritual awakening which is sweeping over the whole people.

A NATIONAL LABOR POLICY

THERE are no easy jobs left. Our task is to win the war and fighting is always hard, whether it be done by the second line of defense in the industrial plants, here at home, or by the first line with rifles in France.

Gradually our Government is evolving a national labor policy. Machinery for wage adjustment and for the handling of financial labor problems is being evolved and made efficient.

In England organized labor at the beginning of the war and organized capital met with their Government and perfected a policy for the period of the war. There was to be no profiteering either of capital or labor. Labor laid aside the issues for which it had fought for so long and the Government agreed that when the war was over to put labor back in the same position it had occupied when the war began. While this promise was made in good faith it is doubtful whether English labor will desire to be put back where the war found it.

In our country only a small percentage of labor is organized and capital is not organized upon a national scale. This made it impossible for our Government at the beginning to place all labor and all capital upon a national basis. That, however, is the objective towards which we are rapidly approaching, and both capital and labor are giving their cordial support to the Government in this effort.

These are fundamental facts that it has been difficult to explain to labor, difficult to present to them in understandable form. It has been my privilege and my personal pride to do my share in making these facts clear to the vast army of men in the great shipyards and industrial plants of this country. In July we spoke to over a million men. I was asked to find the souls of these men and to talk to them in their own interest, and it has been a labor of love on my part.

The psychology of the temporary labor unrest some months ago in this country was very simple. Labor had not had its heart opened to the passions of national honor. I have been talking to workmen in open-air meetings for nearly a year, and I have seen them change from their former habits of thought. I have seen them feel their jobs, not merely do them. The man who is strong enough, skillful and sharp enough to perform any task of labor, is usually a man with a deep, primal appreciation of his fellowman. He measures men as he measures lumber, or iron, or steel, by the feel for quality in him. He is rarely mistaken. He weighs a man up and follows him through fire, once he is convinced of his honesty of motive. Labor is the soul of honor, and it has been expanded by the emergency of this war to the soul of national honor.

A LABORER WHO WAKES UP

I REMEMBER speaking to some thousands of men in Fore River a few months ago. It was the coldest day of the year, and the meeting was in a great shipyard. The men stood there, and listened half an hour. I talked to them about their duty to the nation, of their value to the war, of the lives of the men at the front which depended upon their labor over here. As I left the platform a giant workman barred my way. He just stood and glared at me. I thought he was going to knock me down.

"Well, what d'ye think you're looking at?" he shouted at me. There was menace in his tone, rage in his eyes.

"I should say, that you are a splendid specimen of American workmen," I said, "I should take you to be a representative labor man."

He seemed to struggle with himself for a second, his face grew red, the words tumbled pell mell in thick articulation.

"No I'm not, I'm nothing of the kind. I am just a d—— fool, that's what I am. Why until I heard you talk I didn't realize what my job meant. I've got two boys at the front, and, to think of it, I layed off three days last week. It just

come to me, that them three days' lay-off may have meant the lives of them boys, my boys over there in France."

There were tears in his eyes, he was choking as a man does in dry sobs.

I was surprised by the flood tide of passion in his soul. I couldn't answer him. Abruptly he turned and strode away. As I watched his massive body stiffen and swell to the forces of his spirit he stopped and looked at me again. His face changed to the most radiant expression. His smile was like a burst of sunlight after the storm.

"All right, you just watch your uncle on the job from this time on," he shouted, as he raised his huge fist in the air, an instinctive gesture of allegiance to the great cause that had just dawned on him.

Singular as this instance may seem, it demonstrates the soul of labor as I have seen it and felt it in the great assembly of workmen. They need leadership, they need to be told what their jobs mean to the nation, not what they mean to themselves, or to the individual employer, or to their individual glory.

It is difficult to find men who can talk to them, men whom they will believe. They size a man up instantly. They either want to listen to him, or they don't want to, and there's no compromise.

HOW MR. SCHWAB IS RECEIVED BY LABOR

IN the recent trip to the coast which I took with Mr. Schwab, Mr. Piez, and others, we visited the shipyards of the Pacific Coast. We all talked to the men, held conferences, saw parades, and listened to pledges of extraordinary unanimity of war feeling against Germany. There were no formalities, no white collars or silk hats to adorn these occasions. The men came down to the station in their working clothes, the dirt on their faces, their bands playing us into town.

"Hello, Charlie, we're with you—you'll get the ships all right, Charlie—don't worry!"

So they yelled and cheered, and hurraed as soon as Mr.

Schwab came into sight. He has two marvellous qualities that stick out all over him. He has the supreme magnetism of a man who is enjoying his job, and he is all American from head to foot. He speaks the language of work; because he is afire with the impulse, the dignity, the joyousness of the work. His enthusiasm is for the job, with the man who is doing the job. And he believes that there is only one job left for any man to do, and that is the American job that wins the war. He is a wonderful leader, and he has done more to interpret the national impulse for labor, than any other one man in the country.

Mr. Piez is, too, a man of extraordinary gifts and is trusted by managers and men as the soul of justice and square dealing. In a conversational tone he will hold a mass meeting of workmen in hushed silence, while he talks to them in quiet, statistical fashion, giving them information of solid character and explaining the machinery for winning the war, of which they form a part.

Our first journey was among the shipyards of the Great Lakes. We went to Cleveland. I have lived there a good deal, and I know the place. There are a great many Germans, Hungarians, Bohemians living there. There is a great deal of foreign blood from the Central Powers in Cleveland. Unquestioned enthusiasm for the Government prevailed at the public meeting. The loyalty of labor in Cleveland was publicly pledged to the Government representatives in the presence of the shipyard workers themselves.

PATRIOTISM IN THE SHIPYARDS

CAPITAL stood on the platform with us, as did labor, each pledged to the emergency of increased production. At private conferences where differences were discussed, there were no distinctions of class. The labor representatives attended the meeting in their shirt sleeves, with capital sitting opposite, while the Government listened, and argued with them. The issue was not money, or a better job; the issue was how much faster could ships be launched and how loyally would the work be done in the future. We attended banquets

at which the most violent attacks on Kaiserism and the German menace were made in the language of labor aroused to indignation, made by men with German names, of German ancestors. We went to Toledo, Elyria, Detroit, and found the same enthusiasm, the same industry, the same patriotism in the shipyards.

On the Pacific Coast, labor was the first to understand, to adopt the principles of war. There was more enthusiasm there than on the Atlantic Coast in the first months of our Declaration of War. In San Francisco, where labor is universally unionized, we received a tremendous ovation. The streets were lined with throngs of people as we went from the station to the shipyards. As we watched one huge ship slip down the ways, the keel of its successor would be lifted into place.

At one shipyard as Mr. Schwab and the rest of us stepped upon the platform in the yard, the men began to walk away. Mr. Schwab jumped to his feet, and immediately began to tell a funny story. They came back slowly, stopped, then with loud laughter and applause, massed themselves in front of "Charlie." Before we left this shipyard they pledged themselves to work unceasingly, not to strike, to devote themselves to the will of the Nation in winning the war.

From California, we went to Portland, Oregon, with its New England settlers, its temperament of conservative homeliness, its culture, and its New England tastes.

In Portland a prominent labor leader stood on the platform, and in the presence of the workmen, publicly pledged the labor of the shipyard to the support of the Government. It was an impressive moment, when he read aloud the short, simple pledge of loyalty endorsed by these thousands of workers. But, it was in Portland we received the only shock of the trip. Just as we were stepping on the platform there, a telegram was handed to Mr. Schwab stating that 3,000 of the men in the shipyards of Oakland had walked out. This, in spite of their pledge to us. Mr. Piez immediately telegraphed them, so did Mr. Schwab, with the result that they returned to work.

In Seattle, where the elements of San Francisco blend with those of Portland, there was the same enthusiasm, the same unanimous understanding of our National war policy was declared.

We returned from this eventful survey of the workmen in the shipyards with a conviction that there was no need for anxiety concerning the enormous ship productions of this country.

Labor is united. It is awake to the soul of our National life. It will stick in a body till we win the war.

And we shall win it !

MOTHERING THE BOY AT THE FRONT

From Coffee and Cocoa to Razor Blades and Pins. All
in the Day's Work by the Salvation Army Close
to the Battle Line in France

By EVANGELINE BOOTH

[COMMANDER OF THE SALVATION ARMY IN AMERICA]

EVOLUTION in war methods and conditions has brought us to the proposition that war-relief workers, as underwriters of the morale of fighters, constitute a war necessity. They might perhaps, as they toil back of the line, imparting that invisible something to a man that makes him eligible to victory, be referred to as the "last line of defense." For, as I see it, when the hour shall come that war-relief workers are not needed, when their presence upon a battlefield will not be tolerated or desired, that will be the black hour when our last defense will be crumpled up, and when victory will have perched upon our antagonist's banner.

As long ago as the Boer War, when the business of killing men and destroying property had not been reduced to the exact science to which the autocrats of Berlin have brought it, the Salvation Army of Great Britain received its baptism of fire with the troops of the Crown. It was found that military discipline went just so far—but did not fill that aching void in every man's heart and stomach which, when duly displaced, made a new man of him! From that day to the present, fighting forces of Europe have been trained to the idea that "morale," which war-workers can best sustain, is greater in importance for the purposes of winning a war than even bullets or projectiles. And all this for the reason that first came the man who must fire the ammunition—then came the ammunition. Unless the man is all courage, and all hope, and fairly well at ease in his brain and physical well-

being, he has already been tabbed with the ear-marks of defeat. Hence, war-workers and hutments.

Less than two weeks from the day that Germany opened fire on little Belgium, letting loose her destructive agencies, smashing a peaceful little nation into smithereens, and then reeling as in a drunken debauch through the misery of that brave, ever-resisting people, the Salvation Army moved in to the defense of the downtrodden at the side of the troops of Great Britain. Almost with the first American troops to take the field, as a result of the united request of the Army Chaplains, and with the endorsement of General Pershing, the Salvation Army workers began our work in France. To-day, with all the Allied armies we have more than 900 workers, 46 ambulances with Salvation Army drivers and more than 500 huts and hostels, and our organization—and this is a conservative estimate—has been of direct aid to more than 25,000,000 men. We are serving over 300,000 men per week and our ambulances and stretcher service has cared for more than 60,000 men.

Our workers are chiefly women, although we have men workers over military age or incapable of service because of some physical defect. Our women workers are all thoroughly trained in our work at home before going into the field; that they are efficient is abundantly proved by the regard in which they are held by the fighting men. And this work is thoroughly practical. Wherever a hutment is set up—and a Salvation Army hutment may be sheltered in an abandoned farm building, in a deserted and possibly shell-ridden house, in a dugt-out, a tent, or a hastily thrown together hut—our work takes on immediately the highly practical aspect of cooking pies and doughnuts for the hungry soldiers. It is nothing for us to serve 250 pies and 2000 doughnuts a day. In many other ways we try to give immediate practical help. Our expenses are reduced to a minimum since our workers receive no compensation whatever. Their transportation is paid and they draw food and clothing from the Quartermasters' Department of the army. We are at present working on a plan to pay these women \$4 a week when they are

mustered out in order that they may have a little leisure to economically adjust themselves.

MOTHERING THE MEN AT THE FRONT

THE public in America, when giving to war fund drives, should know and remember many things. It should know there is no possible rivalry between organizations for mercy over there. To begin with, the military authorities assign all the organizations to zones, and design where huts can be placed, and there is therefore no overlapping. There is no possible chance for duplication. If all the splendid organizations now working for the troops in France were to be multiplied by twenty-five over night, they would not then begin to serve the fringe of that mighty legion of men who make up the army of the Allies!

The organizations form vital cogs in a great machine, and they work in harmony and with full understanding, each doing its allotted part and each standing ready to help the other. And after all there is but one judge competent or entitled to pass a binding opinion on the work and the workers, and that is—the man in the trench. If you ever are in doubt, consult him. Write one of them. That answer is the last word you could ask upon the subject. We need no other recommendation. That word would come from the man for whom it is all being done!

The Salvation Army does not ask or expect any pay for the hot coffee and cocoa it serves to the men in the night on sentinel duty, or as they come up in the pitch dark with ammunition trains, etc. We would give away all of our stuff, including candy, razor blades, and fruit when it is obtainable, thread, pins, and the many other trifles which grow to be important over there, if we could only get them for nothing! No soldier, no regiment of soldiers, without pay perhaps for a time at the front, has ever been refused credit in our huts and never will be. They can buy without money even as with money, and they know that we will do this until we come to the end of our string. Knowing it, they do not abuse it. Americans at the front are real men!

All troop movements are under cover of darkness of course, and that is why our workers are out so much at night serving hot coffee and sandwiches to the men. When there are no troop or ammunition train movements and the men are in the huts, they jam us, as a rule, to the doors and then they read, write, play innocent games, sing, enjoy music—such as we have to offer, have their clothes mended, or dried, or even washed, or perhaps they will join in a prayer meeting!

WE PAUSE TO PRAY EACH DAY

ON the point of religion I want to say that while it is our plan and undoubted mission to save souls as well as to sustain and save lives, yet we obtrude religion upon nobody. We pause to pray each day—true. If the men care to join they do. They are obliged to do nothing. They do sing with us and many of them raise their hands for prayer. I know the people of America would be astonished if they could hear of the thousands of men who, since reaching the trenches, and looking over into No Man's Land, have of their own volition decided to get better acquainted with God without further delay. The Salvation Army is non-sectarian, and we know no creed or no race. We know only the teachings of Jesus Christ, and that every human being belongs to the flock, and should be in the fold. We know better than to bother men about religion at the front. When the time comes they want to lead righteous, careful lives, they let us know quickly enough. Good, pure women toiling with them in the mud and danger have an effect upon them, sure enough. It gives the most careless of them pause. It prompts men to come to us just before they go over the top, impart their little secrets, leave last messages, have a little prayer perhaps, place a bundle of little old trinkets in our hands, and then fare forth to do or die! If they do—and come back, the trinkets are restored and the matter is blotted out. If they do not come back, then we may have to plod out into the arid deserts of Arizona to deliver a silver watch to some old mother, with the word that her boy died in the faith of Jesus Christ, loving his

country and her, and true to his fellowmen even as to his God! That's what our work means!

So great has come the general volume of our responsibilities, in this regard, that we have had to provide a special warehouse service in Paris, with a clerical system that carefully checks each item in motion until it is finally disposed of.

Why are fighters by the thousands deluging the daily and weekly press of America today, through their parents, with letters praising the Salvation Army? Because we are of them—with them—and serving them with zeal and in honest determination to help them and not to annoy them. They know that "service" is the watchword over there with us. They are perfectly splendid to us, there where the shells are falling all about and where human life is held so cheaply by the invader! At last they have come to understand the Salvation Army!

We asked for one million dollars in our last war-fund drive in this country, and up to the latest announced reports we had been given \$2,367,544. It shows that the people believe in us, and in our ability to spend money wisely, sensibly and effectively. It shows that the mothers and fathers of America want us right there with their boys, in the worst of it, and in the thick of it, cheering, consoling, and doing the things they would do if they could get there. Sailors, even as soldiers, are receiving our attention. We seek only to do our part, and to do it well. We help all the drives of recognized organizations as they come along, and we shall hope in turn to be helped by them in the future. Our references? The average men in the trenches—the military authorities at headquarters—President Wilson and Secretary Baker.

KEEPING THE HOME FIRES BURNING

THE soldiers seem tremendously interested nowadays in saving for their relations in America all they can, and they refer with pride to the insurance they have taken out. That they are not spendthrifts, and that they are constantly thinking of their folks at home, is shown by a cablegram re-

ceived the other day by Commissioner Estill at our headquarters in Chicago from the Salvation Army headquarters in France, ordering that the sum of \$7,012 cash be paid out at once to relatives from men in the trenches.

This sum represents but one day of savings or deposits at hutments by soldiers, who commission the Salvation Army women to handle the details of a transfer for them. Some are paying to aged fathers and mothers, some to wives, and some even to sweethearts, many of course sending money for Liberty Bonds. If there were no war, and if we had a million men in Europe looking things over from a business standpoint, and not even bent upon pleasure, there would still be no such systematic and persistent disposition to be frugal and thrifty as the present situation has developed.

Whenever money is entrusted to a Salvationist, a proper receipt is given, and a book entry made, and forthwith some one of our workers has to gather up the many items and rush them to Col. William Barker, our highly capable representative over there for the work we are doing among American troops. There is no charge asked or collected for such a service, and we are glad to send the cablegrams at our own expense.

I have mentioned the list for just one day—the list that aggregated over \$7,000. When you consider that the remittances are all small ones, and that they go to very many people, and that this is but one day out of the 365 in a year, a great deal of money is being sent home by the troops. And if the Salvation Army, which is not the largest organization in the world, is doing this volume of transfer work for the fighters, what must be the grand total per day when one considers the other mighty organizations also working over there for the uplift and weal of the American soldier and sailor!

The amounts run from \$25 to \$100 and the senders range from doughboys to majors. We gladly serve them all. One sergeant sent \$1,000 to a lady in Alma, Ill. A private came next—a mere boy—who had saved up \$600, and he sent it all to his mother in Kennett, Mo. In that general region, our records show that about \$10,000 a week is now being sent by

fighters to their folks. And there we have one of the few out-cropping advantages that arise from a *red war*!

LOOKING AFTER THE BOYS' INTEREST OVER HERE

THE time consumed in these transactions is usually not more than forty-eight hours. We like to make delivery wherever possible by our own uniformed members and with some direct and personal message from the soldier boy to whoever he is sending money to. It is this human connection that makes the recipient all the happier, and the money all the more appreciated. If we can say to an old mother, "Mrs. Smith, this remittance is from your son William, whom our hutment workers saw day before yesterday, when he was perfectly well and as happy as a lark, excepting that he longs for you! He sent you his love and wants you to write him again right away," then we feel our service has been doubly effective and worth while. Not infrequently, in delivering remittances and words of love and cheer, we are apt to stumble upon some condition that warrants our proffering aid to the old mother or father, and we do it then and there without hesitation, on behalf of the lad with whom we are in contact on the other side.

May I not ask the mothers of America, by this means, to lean upon the Salvation Army as heavily as they desire, in this crisis? Who knows but that the very boy you worry about and dote upon and love, is in our care every day and every night? Who knows but that we are passing out to him pies like you used to make and sugared doughnuts, and talking to him at the same time of you? Who knows but that we are mending his clothes, telling him what a wonderful thing it is to be a man of God-fearing qualities, and perhaps gently interesting him in the Bible while still sewing up a tear in his shirt? Ah—wars are the destroyers of nations, rulers, and peoples, but it seems that in the fire of it all we are perhaps chastened! Never are the waters of the seas so pure as after the storm.

TO THE LAST HEART-BEAT

By STÉPHANE LAUZANNE

[EDITOR IN CHIEF OF THE PARIS MATIN; MEMBER OF THE FRENCH COMMISSION TO THE UNITED STATES]

IN October, 1916, a few days before sailing for the United States, I visited a public school in a small French village. In the boys' class, on a table, in front of a small eight-year-old, a history book lay open at the page of the American War of Independence.

Curiosity seized me to know what such a child could think of the United States. So I asked him:

"What do you think of America?"

The reply came quickly:

"America," said the small boy, "is the only country in the world with which we have never fought!"

The child's ingenuous reply was accurate as a matter of fact: between America and France there has never been the smallest quarrel, or the slightest disagreement. Better still: throughout history we have an infinity of points in common. We were conquering our interior liberty at the very time America was conquering her exterior liberty. We have always had the same ideal of independence, the same passion for democracy. And we have the same colors for our flag.

At the very outset of this terrible war, which France did not wish, for which she did not prepare and in which all she did was to straighten up when she was assaulted, it was a saddening thought for the French that for two years America, a country of ideals, did not seem to realize that France was fighting for an ideal that is common to all humanity. And today it is our deepest joy, our most glorious pride, to see the United States soldiers in the cause of right, fighting side by side with us for that right.

I often hear Americans say: "We are going to pay the debt we incurred a hundred and forty years ago." And my reply is always the same:

“No; in the first place we are too much like brothers to stand with regard to one another in the position of a creditor towards his debtor, and in the second place, you owe us no debt. But towards humanity, towards liberty, towards the civilization, that has made you the great human, free and civilized people that you are, you have a debt. And that debt you are now paying.”

BROTHERS IN THE TRENCHES

ALL those who, for the last three months, have seen American and French regiments fighting side by side on the battlefields of France, whether it happened to be in Lorraine, or on the Somme, or on the Marne, have been struck by their extraordinary similarity: the same good humor, the same quick mind, the same disposition to make the best of any given situation, the same ardor in battle, the same high spirits. The French poilus have bestowed on their American comrades praise which, in their minds, is the highest of all praise.

“In the trenches,” the poilus say, “the American soldiers are as dirty as we are.”

Perhaps it is a fact that the American boys are as dirty as the French poilus. It is a difficult matter to be perfectly clean when day after day and night after night one lives in the mud; it is quite a problem to be exquisitely groomed when one's present job is to kill—and to kill unceasingly. But that job is a sacred one to-day if we want humanity and civilization to be safe; it will be a necessary one as long as the Germans fail to understand that they must give up their brutal dream of supremacy. The fact that the American boys are as dirty as the French poilus proves that they are putting the same hand to the same piece of work; no greater compliment could be paid them.

A year ago, when Joffre and Viviani were going through the United States, they were welcomed at the entrance of the University of Chicago by the president of that University, who told them: “We are brothers in the same cause. For

that cause you shall have our last man, and the last beating of our hearts."

It was nobly spoken, and these generous words shall one day be engraved in bronze.

Yes, to the last man and to the last heart-beat, so that free nations shall live free under the flag of liberty. To the last man and to the last heart-beat, so that our children and the children of our children may enjoy in peace the blessing of the sun, without having to fear a return of similar horrors. To the last man and to the last heart-beat until victory is won; and that victory will not be the victory of a people: it will be the victory of an ideal—of the ideal of right, of justice, of humanity and of civilization.

SAN FRANCISCO TO FRANCE

By ELEANOR PRESTON WATKINS

I, TOO, returned to thresholds desolate,
Where yesterday earthquake and ruin passed;
And saw, beyond a black, flame-twisted gate,
Nothing but piled-up rubble, stark, aghast.
Four splintered steps led up to nothingness
(Home-seeking hearts once leapt to climb them so!)
Charred trunks of trees stood sentinel, comfortless,—
O! Francois, brother of mine, I know! I know!

But grass has grown again, and gardens fair,
New trees, and placid homes from hill to hill.
A crumbling wall remains, the only scar.
So in your blood-soaked ground the roots shall stir,
When peace shall come, and there is no more war.
The immortal seed of hope they cannot kill!

HAS THE WAR STIFLED MUSIC?

By ENRICO CARUSO

Note: The opinions of the greatest tenor in the world, which means a man who has spent his life in the study of music, become authoritative upon a subject that concerns musical art. This article contains the first expression that Mr. Caruso has made of a serious nature since the war. Mr. Caruso does not write articles in English. In fact, he does not write for publication at all, but this article has been read and approved as his own view.

THERE has not been any great music written since the war. There will be none, because war is the terrific discord, the world horror. Out of the ruins of towns, of mangled humanity, of deserted fields and vineyards, there remains only grief in silence. All beauty is crushed out of the heart, in its place is sublime courage and death. Such things are not for music. Music is the wisdom, the passion, the soul of beauty.

How can the war inspire music?

Of all the arts music is the most sensitive, and the most frank. In painting, in writing, in poetry, there is a subtlety of expression that is in the artist's own interpretation. Music is all the art assembled in open conference with nature. The war can be caught, to some degree, by painters, by writers, poets, but not by musicians. War stifles music, it crushes it, makes it indifferent, even neglectful of its own inspiration. There is only one inspired force upon which music thrives, and that is beauty.

The so-called war music which has been written since the beginning of the war, has been negligible. There have been a number of war songs which have become popular in the camps, there has been some military music material, and some sentimental words set to music as in the former ballads, which have had a war feeling in them. But in the larger view of music which we are now considering, these are not an ex-

pression of war in music. There will be no musical interpretation of the war.

The great composers of contemporaneous life, are most of them beyond military age. Such men as Puccini, Leon Covello, Mascagni, are beyond the military age. The younger composers, the rising generation of musical ambition, of course are in service. But, there has been an unwritten law among the allied nations to preserve the art of music from the destructive elements of war. These young composers have been placed on military duty of more or less safety to themselves. This has been done with the purpose of preserving music as one of the greatest influences upon the future of world happiness.

It is significant that the theme of grand operas, of ballads, songs, and concert music, has never been war. It has been love, melancholy, regret, hope, sorrow, but never horror. Music speaks only upon beautiful themes, of which war is not.

The second act of the one war opera that comes to my mind, "*Francesca da Rimini*" was never a great success. In this opera an effort was made to show the war time of the middle centuries. This was a period of history when invading armies were scalded by great floods of boiling water poured upon them from above, when huge stones were hurled at them from parapets, when the bow and arrow, the javelin, the spear were the instruments of warfare. It has never been a pleasing form of amusement to operatic audiences. The music failed to inspire either happiness, hope, or horror. Of course, there have been moments in celebrated grand operas when the war thought was injected. This has usually been consistent with a story entirely apart from war. Military marches have been injected, military choruses, a soldier song—but these were a small part of inspired musical themes of the opera itself.

THE BEGINNINGS OF NATIONAL MUSIC

I BELIEVE, that at the beginning of the war in 1914, the United States spent three times as much money for music as for armament. It was estimated that the United States

devoted \$600,000,000 a year to music, whereas Germany gave ten times as much for what is called National Defense. It is obvious that Americans are music lovers, and that their chief contributions to music have been of the popular order. The beginnings of musical expression in the United States is shown in national songs. "The Star Spangled Banner" was the first stirring declaration of American music. The story of its composition on board a battleship during the siege of Fort McHenry is no doubt responsible for many subsequent attempts to make the music melodramatic. As a matter of fact, it is far from that. It was first printed in Baltimore, and first sung by about twenty volunteer soldiers in front of the Holliday Street Theatre. Ferdinand Durong was the first soloist to sing the Star Spangled Banner, a Frenchman. There is another authentic story of the birth of the Star Spangled Banner, which confirms the thought that war music, or music affiliated with war sentiment, is an emotional discovery of the moment. The words, written by Francis Key were read aloud several times to a division of soldiers who were electrified by its patriotic eloquence. It was then that Ferdinand Durong hunted up a volume of flute music which was in one of the tents, whistled snatches of the tunes, and finally hit upon one called "Anacreon in Heaven." It struck his fancy, and he fitted the tune to the words. This was the first time the Star Spangled Banner was sung.

THE MOST SUCCESSFUL "WAR SONG" NOT MARTIAL

OF the numerous songs that have acquired a great vogue during war times, one thinks immediately of "Tipperary." The words have absolutely nothing to do with war, they sound no patriotic note. They reflect simply a rollicking, naive wistfulness, and, there is no taint of vulgarity in the words. There is no affected bad grammar. It is merely an Irishman in London giving vent to his longing to get back to "Tipperary," and especially "to the sweetest girl" he knows. The sentiment is "Home, Sweet Home" and "The Girl I Left Behind Me" combined. Strangely enough of the millions who sing the refrain, very few have any knowledge

of the words which tell the narrative of the song. It is very singable. It is born of an intimacy with the music hall audience, something perhaps which our best composers do not attempt. One of the authors, although born in Birmingham, England, is a true Irishman. It was first published in 1912.

There is no especial mystery in the success of these war affiliations with music, because it is after all, the universal language. The greater successes in composition have not come to those who studied it as an exact science, but chiefly to those whose emotions it stirs, to those who find its appeal to their hearts. Of course, instrumental music is the highest, the most perfect form of the language of music. Patriotic music has always had the widest appeal. The followers of King David proved the triumphs of music, for the son of Jesse drove out Saul's evil spirit by playing upon the harp. It was he who fascinated a nation when he sang his psalms.

THE ALLIED NATIONAL ANTHEMS

“**A**MERICA,” “God Save the King,” “The Italian Royal March,” “The Hymn of Garibaldi,” “The Marseillaise” have stirred hundreds of thousands. Such music has been played by massed bands of twenty regiments to the wild cheering of a hundred thousand people. The effect of a great volume of sound, of diatonic melody is to stir every emotion of ardent loyalty and patriotism of which human beings are capable. Of course, there is one other form of patriotic influence in music, and that is the effect of a single voice, say like Adelina Patti's singing “Home, Sweet Home” before many thousands of silent people. Into such an event one must take into account the exquisitely beautiful tones of the singer, the incomparable art, the singer's personal imagination, all of which complete the miracle. No doubt, music is the kindling, inspiring touch of war—before and after. But, there is no interpretation of war possible in music. Music is the most abstract of the arts. It expresses the moods of nature, rather than the reason. Moods are the elusive faculties of nature, brilliant or sad, in gaiety of song

or in murmur of reverie, in tremendous strain of passion, in triumph or despair.

"The Marseillaise" was the song of the revolution of France. It was written in times of stress when a race, no matter how civilized, becomes elemental, when it puts aside reason and restraint, when it harks back to days of savagery. Of all the anthems of war, "The Marseillaise" stands out for the effect it has had on the destinies of the French nation. It was written in the province of Alsace-Lorraine. It was sung in Paris first, in 1792, and it is now sung on the battlefields of northern France with as much enthusiasm and force as it was then.

The national air of Belgium is "La Brabanconne." It was composed by a Belgian, F. Campenhout. In Belgium it is suppressed, but it is often sung in the quiet of a night by the soldiers in the rear lines of Belgium battlefields.

Japan's entry into the war projects the value of the Japanese national anthem. It is more or less barbaric. It is called "Kimi Ga Yo." It is perhaps interesting to quote the lines of this Japanese war song:

"May our Emp'ror's reign endure,
When a thousand ages more
Are grown old, myriad fold;
Like sand grains, in firm rock massed,
Changeless last; bearing moss of ages past."

United Italy sings "Garibaldi's Hymn." It is a stirring song, a martial one. The music inspires a place in the heart of every son of Italy.

SONGS OF THE MARCHING MEN

NO matter how intense and highly colored any music may be, it is compelled to express above all, general emotion, moods, passion. Only in great patriotic compositions, are moods forgotten for the single passion of triumph. The popularity, or one might say the vitality, of a successful composition in music is a secret which neither composers, critics, or publishers have definitely discovered. It is like genius, it refuses to be defined. Frequently an old favorite will find

his way into the tramping hordes of soldiers. For instance, "Annie Laurie" goes straight to the heart, and the British army sang it all through the Crimean War. Your own Civil War songs are destined to immortality; at least two of them. They are "Dixie" and "Glory Hallalujah." Of course, there are other favorite American songs that are distinctively appealing. "Old Folks at Home" is one of them. "Nellie Bly," "Old Dog Tray," "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp," "Marching Through Georgia," and "The Battle Cry of Freedom" are among the others.

There is in these folk songs of intense popularity, the fundamental interest allied to any great national crisis, such as war. Modern music still remains, to a great extent, a hidden treasure for the general public, which is certain that there is no medium between musical classics and ragtimes. The performances given at the Metropolitan Opera House have, of course, been highly educational; therefore, the entire blame cannot rest entirely with the public in general. The music of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway has, until quite recently, been entirely neglected. Of the three countries whose music has just begun to be known in America, the Swedish music is the least popular. That is because it is of a more classical nature. The Scandinavian folk songs are the most brilliant, the most rugged.

The music of the future will neither lose by the war nor gain by it. The great composers of the present generation are for the moment silent, waiting, as all the world is waiting, for some great hour of triumph upon which they can establish victorious music.

WAGES AND THE COST OF LIVING

By LEWIS ALLEN BROWNE

Labor profiteering has been charged in war industrial work. Man-power has continually sought a "living wage." These are questions that are falling under Government observation and investigation.

ON July 20 there were strikes in more than three hundred and fifty important machine shops in the State of New Jersey. There were a great many other strikes throughout the country, walk-outs which involved shipbuilding as well as numerous other industries doing war work.

On that same date, July 20, the announcement was made as a result of a most careful investigation of conditions in Bridgeport, Conn., where the principal industries include making rifles and ammunition, that the cost of living in that city had increased 61.4 per cent. during the past three years.

On the other hand it was shown that wages had increased, since 1915, in Bridgeport, 81 per cent.

The laboring man in Bridgeport, Conn., was 19.6 per cent better off on July 20, 1918, than he was on July 20, 1915.

Bridgeport is not an exception. I cite it first because labor in that city is in the throes of a battle with the Government for yet a considerable increase, shorter hours, and general recognition of the Union—a war-sought advantage not possible in peace times.

Labor leaders have sturdily maintained the patriotism of labor. They have, at the same time, constantly pointed out the ever increasing cost of food, fuel, clothes, rentals, amusements and sundries—all included under the general term "Cost of living."

The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States

Department of Labor has compiled tables showing the weekly earnings in all industries in the State of New York, up to March of this year. In ten of the most important industries they show the following increase in wages:

INCREASE IN WEEKLY WAGES

	March 1917	March 1918
Machinists	\$18.07	\$21.07
Firearms	17.22	21.73
Electrical	17.43	21.05
Shipbuilding	20.97	24.37
Wood working	12.80	15.55
Chemicals	16.19	18.00
Paper	16.08	19.69
Textiles	12.13	14.60
Meat packing	16.68	19.57
Rolling mills	23.53	27.95
Total weekly earnings ten men.....	\$171.10	\$203.62

This gave the men a weekly increase in wages for this year over last year of approximately 19 per cent.

Having taken the wages in ten important industries into consideration, let us go into the details of the prices of ten of the most staple foods, comparing the figures of June, 1918, with the figures of June, 1917. These figures are compiled for the Educational Division of the United States Food Administration by the same investigators and statisticians as compiled the wage figures given in the preceding table, the United States Department of Labor. The ten most important foods given herewith are from a list of twenty-six varieties:

Commodity	Unit	June, 1917	June, 1918
Sirloin steak.....	lb.	\$0.328	\$0.426
Ham	lb.	.391	.465
Fowls	lb.	.288	.376
Eggs	doz.	.409	.425
Butter	lb.	.469	.511
Flour	1/8 bbl.	1.937	1.642
Potatoes	pk.	.960	.435
Sugar	lb.	.093	.091
Canned salmon.....	lb.	.263	.295
Rice	lb.	.108	.125
Totals		\$5.282	\$4.791

SMALL AVERAGE INCREASE IN COST OF FOOD

THESE figures show that one pound each of sirloin steak, ham, fowl, butter, sugar, canned salmon and rice and one dozen eggs, one peck of potatoes and one-eighth of a barrel of flour cost forty-nine and one-tenth cents *less* in June of this year than they cost in June 1917!

This is a *decrease* of about $9\frac{1}{8}$ per cent in the cost of ten staple foods this year over last.

The reason of the astonishing results—cheaper food this year than a year ago, as shown in this table—is due to the fact that potatoes and flour were both much higher last year. The prices of the twenty-six foods, selected as staple by the Government, for this June and June, 1917, are:

Cost of twenty-six foods, June, 1917.....	\$9.077
Cost of the same foods, June, 1918.....	9.188

The New York State scale of wages is a conservative one for the country, since comparatively little war work is being done in the State, as the great shipyards, steel plants, arms and munition factories are largely in other localities. Official food figures show that a dozen eggs, loaf of bread, peck of potatoes, eighth of a barrel of flour and one pound each of twenty-one other different foods cost, in the aggregate, eleven and one-tenth cents more this June than they did one year ago !

Some of these quantities of food like bread and meat, are not sufficient for the week's food. On the other hand, many of them, like the peck of potatoes, eighth of a barrel of flour, and the like, are sufficient for considerably more than a week. It is safe to say that the \$9.18 worth of food is a week's supply.

This is an increase of one and a fraction per cent in the cost of twenty-six staple foods over last year. The actual increase reads: 1.007 per cent.

The ten men employed in the divisions of labor whose wages increased approximately 19 per cent a week this year over last are, then, about 18 per cent better off. That is,

their "net profits above living expenses" have increased about 18 per cent.

The issue raised in Bridgeport by the metal trades, whose men, employed on war work, went on strike, was that increased wages were necessary because of the increased cost of living. "We must have a living wage," was their slogan. No one disputed it. And if it were true that they were not receiving a living wage there could be no argument about it—more money would be necessary. However, an investigation was started through the efforts of the Manufacturer's Club of Bridgeport. No person residing in Bridgeport or attached to any Bridgeport industry was a member of the statistics committee that made the investigation and no compensation in any form was paid for the work. There could be no charges that the investigators were "hired by the manufacturers" or that they were personally, directly or indirectly interested in the outcome.

It was found, as briefly mentioned at the beginning of this article, that while the cost of living had increased 61.4 per cent in that city, wages had increased 81 per cent. But many more interesting things were found. The investigation included twenty-three great industries, many of them the largest of their kind in the world, and although the corporation names do not indicate it, a great share were doing war work. These concerns included the American & British Mfg. Co., American Chain Co., American Tubing Co., Bullard Machine Tool Co., Locomobile Co., Remington Arms, Remington U. M. C., Singer Mfg. Co., etc. The total employees numbered 34,000. About 4,000 of these being women. Thirty-three different occupations were involved. Here are some of the findings of the committee:

	Per Cent
Cost of living increased.....	61.4
Weekly wages increased.....	81.0
Weekly earnings of males increased.....	78.0
Weekly earnings of females increased.....	87.0
Hourly earnings of males increased.....	72.0
Hourly earnings of females increased.....	99.4
Hours of male labor increased.....	3.6
Hours of female labor <i>decreased</i>	6.5

WAGES GREATLY EXCEED LIVING EXPENSES

THESE figures cover a period from January, 1915, to June, 1918, and were given to the National War Labor Board to assist it in the adjudication of Bridgeport's labor dispute. In determining the cost of living the investigating committee covered practically everything under four heads, food, housing, fuel and light and "other," the latter representing clothes, amusements, reading matter and other items that have become so necessary in these times. Compiling the figures on food and wages alone would have been unfair, since other items than food have increased more rapidly in some instances than food.

The State of New York's own Bureau of Statistics presents some interesting facts and figures in relation to wages and living expenses. Its latest detailed report is for May of this year, and covers 1,648 firms employing 617,000 men and women who are earning weekly more than \$12,000,000.

May wages, 1918, increased 3% over April wages, 1918.

May, 1918, wages increased 27% over May, 1917, wages.

May, 1918, wages increased 52% over May, 1916, wages.

May, 1918, wages increased 98% over May, 1915 wages.

There has not been a month since June, 1914, in the State of New York when the increase in wages did not exceed the increase in the cost of living !

The cost of living in Chicago has increased about 66 per cent, it is estimated. This figure seems to prevail in most localities, and has been quoted by Government investigators and statisticians as a fair estimate of this increase since 1914 throughout the country. It includes more than food, of course, embracing rents, fuel, clothing and miscellaneous expenses.

One of Chicago's biggest industries is meat packing, as all the world knows. This is not skilled labor. Probably no other industry of the size and importance of meat packing and with such an army of workmen, employs so few really skilled laborers. The meat packers have met the "living wage" question by increase after increase, without request from the laborers. Then came requests for greater in-

creases, and the eight-hour day went into effect. Swift and Company is the largest of the Chicago meat packers. This is the situation today at the Swift plant in Chicago:

Increase in wages since 1914..... 109 per cent.
Increase in the Chicago cost of living since 1914 66 per cent.

The net increase over the cost of living to the thousands of meat packers appears to be 43 per cent over 1914. What this concern has done for labor, other meat packing concerns have done.

There is as much, if not more, war work going on in Detroit as in any other city. Detroit has grown in a most astounding manner. It had to, to keep pace with the automobile industry. There are 35,000 employed in the Ford plant now. Five thousand are in the service. The output reached 4,000 cars a day. It has been reduced to 1,200 a day. It may be reduced still more. Nearly three-quarters of the work in motor and shipbuilding plants is engaged in war work now, such as U-boat chasers, tanks, Liberty Motors. Liberty Motor cylinders, gun caissons and other lines. Another plant—the Lincoln Motor Company—devoted entirely to war work, costing \$11,000,000, has been put up, and every automobile engine and body concern has cut down its production of cars to take up aeroplane and munition war work. Detroit's population is 800,000. She has a greater number, pro rata, of wage earners, as distinguished from salaried men, than any other city.

CONDITIONS GOOD IN WAR-WORK CITIES

OF wage and cost of living conditions in Detroit, Mr. William Stocking, statistician for the Detroit Board of Commerce, says:

"An examination of the prices of twenty-seven standard articles of table use show increases in the price of twenty-three within the past year and decreases in the price of four. The average cost of food increase for the year is 15 per cent.

"The city price for common labor has increased 33 per cent within a year, although the price actually paid in the factories began to advance longer ago than that. In some lines of skilled labor the increase in wages has been 35 to 40 per cent."

William N. Kessel, assistant secretary of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, accepts the Government figures of a 66 per cent increase in the general cost of living over that of three years ago as holding good in Buffalo, the home of the Curtiss aeroplane factory, the Pierce Arrow, and other large war working concerns. He says:

"Buffalo has an unusually large number of plants devoting their entire, or nearly entire, effort to the production of war materials. A survey which we recently made showed approximately seventy plants engaged directly or indirectly in making war materials. These plants have increased their men's wages greatly, we believe, in many cases 100 per cent, as some machinists are now making eighty cents an hour and there are higher wages paid in some plants."

Secretary Kessel points out the fact that while wages have been greatly increased, in some instances as much as 100 per cent, this does not hold good with salaried men. "Salaried men," he says, "and those engaged in such business as mercantile establishments, sale of insurance, clerical work, printing, newspapers, retail stores, wholesale warehouses, etc., have not, so far as we have noticed, received wage increases anywhere equaling the 66 per cent increase in the cost of living."

This holds good everywhere, and has been the case right along, just as John Bruce Mitchell, in his article on "Labor's Hold-Back" in the January issue of this magazine, pointed out. The salaried man, the clerk, small executive, professional man—all of these have not enjoyed the increase in earnings that have come to the laboring classes who receive "wages" instead of salaries. However, it is not these salaried men who are delaying our war work. They are not striking or sending out ultimatums; they are not walking out, but are doing their level best to be patient, to stand the decrease in their surplus due to the fact that the cost of living is increasing faster than their incomes.

In every instance it has been the wage-earner who has been striking or talking strike, just as it has been in every instance the wage-earner whose pay envelope has been getting fatter and fatter, week by week and month by month.

Rentals, clothing and especially luxuries (which the

workingmen class as "cost of living") have increased more than food, consequently, while the food increase has not been as great as many have been led to believe, the total cost of living has reached as high in some localities as 66 per cent.

Dr. Oliver M. W. Sprague, Professor of Banking at Harvard University, said, before the House Ways and Means Committee hearing on taxation at Washington, June 10:

"The laboring class is better off in a financial way now than a year ago, while the middle class or those receiving salaries are worse off than a year ago by reason of salaries not having been increased by leaps, as has been the case with wages."

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF LABOR

NOT all of our labor strikes are based on a demand for a "living wage." Secretary Wilson of the United States Department of Labor made this clear to a conference of forty editors and publishers whom he addressed at Delmonico's, in New York, last month on the subject of the Government's control of labor. He went exhaustively into reasons why the Government has found it necessary to place labor in war industries under the jurisdiction of the Employment Service Bureau of the Department of Labor. He declared that the first great difficulty, in dealing with wage-earners at the time the United States entered the war, was to overcome their false notion that all wars were of capitalistic origin. This error has been corrected, but Secretary Wilson deplors the attitude of labor today because, as he explained, now that the United States had been in the war a year, the main difficulty lay in strikes, and in the migratory habits which had been contracted by the workmen themselves.

"When it first became apparent that we must send an army abroad," said Mr. Wilson, "and it was estimated that for every soldier in the field the country must have the service of from six to ten men to supply him with war's implements and necessities, our industries were nearly all young industries, filled with the pioneer spirit and therefore difficult to co-ordinate."

"The Government found itself in need of men and in going out to get them found itself in competition with private industry which was equally hard pressed. Men who had

never drawn more than a common laborer's wages began to ask and to receive extortionate prices and to rove from place to place seeking still higher wages."

When the National War Labor Board decided against establishing a minimum wage to be applied generally throughout industry, and announced that the determination and application of a fair living wage would be made in each case on the basis of the facts involved, this board included in the resolutions that it unanimously adopted, the following:

"That the period of the war is not a normal period of industrial expansion from which the employer should expect unusual profits, or the employes abnormal wages."

Profiteering in foodstuffs has been made practically impossible among manufacturers through Government fixing of a limitation on profits. But the retailer may, and to all appearances frequently does, boost his prices out of proportion to cost.

This state of affairs holds good, in a large way, in industries. Most of the Government contracts are either on a cost-plus basis or so awarded that the profit to the manufacturer will be small. There is a way of reaching him. But the laborer is much like the retailer, he cannot be reached under present conditions, and his strikes are a means of getting more profit out of what he has to sell—his services, just as the retail grocer may boost his prices regardless of the limitations put upon the manufacturers.

NO "DOUBLE PAY" FOR SOLDIERS

IN our earlier stages of the war when strikes were being called on every hand, friends of labor sought to champion the laboring man by declaring that the strikes were almost entirely due to the work of pacifists, German influence working under a cloak of pacifism, I. W. W. backed by capital that was, at least, unpatriotic, radical socialists and similar causes. But the pacifist is practically gone from among us. If he exists he dare not admit his identity; the I. W. W. activities have been held down until they are slight, enemy propagandists fomenting strikes are but little in evidence. And yet

the strikes continue. The industries that they temporarily tie up, the uncompromising demands that so many of the strikers have made, continue to result in direct and serious embarrassment to Government war work, as well as private essential industry.

Continually comes the demand for shorter hours. In normal times one might expect such a demand. In these days we have over a million men on the firing line and 300,000 going over each month to join them, who are giving no particular thought to "shorter hours." Workmen here, getting all the way from fifty to ninety cents an hour, demand "time and a half" pay for overtime and double pay for Sundays and holidays, and demand, and are stopping work, at 3:30 in the afternoons. Not long ago some of our boys over there fought, on a pay never exceeding \$36 a month, thirty-six hours without sleep and with scarcely any food; again some of them fought steadily with just enough relief for an hour or two for sleep, for five days. They are not asking for "time and a half" or double pay, or increased wages, or shorter hours.

There have been strikes in shoe factories where workmen are turning out shoes for our soldiers in France. In Lynn, Mass., for example, 25,000 workmen suspended work for two months.

Thirty-six thousand iron workers and shipbuilders in the San Francisco district are, at this writing, demanding an increase in wages.

The president of the American Woolen Company, William M. Wood, of Lawrence, Mass., has had to apply to Secretary of War Baker to help settle a strike in three of the company's big factories where cloth for Army and Navy uniforms is being manufactured.

Eight hundred workmen engaged in Government work at the Blake-Knowles Steam Pump Works at Cambridge, Mass., walked out on strike, demanding increased wages.

Electrical workers at Holyoke, Mass., engaged in work that has, indirectly, to do with the war, went on strike for an increase of eleven cents an hour, and got it.

Twelve hundred coastwise longshoremen went on strike for higher wages. Their labor was just as necessary as that of the deep-sea longshoremen, as they are called, who handle trans-Atlantic cargoes, because we have to do this work in conjunction with the across-the-ocean work.

Street car men in Newark, N. J., went on strike and tied up thousands of workmen who wanted to get to the big shipyards to work on Uncle Sam's ships.

Because four hundred out of a thousand men could not unionize the majority of six hundred, in a Peoria, Ill., factory where the endless tread or "caterpillars" are made for the fighting tanks, the work was tied up nearly three months at a time when every tank was needed. It was necessary for the War Department to send soldiers there to prevent the union men from picketing the factory and keeping the non-union men from work.

Ten thousand meat packers struck in Kansas City.

Seven thousand khaki weavers in Philadelphia walked out.

In 1917 there had been thirty-five strikes or serious labor disturbances among the workmen building the army cantonments.

Aside from the shipbuilders in San Francisco who are demanding more wages, there were 35,000 in the New York district; 6,000 in the Newark, N. J., district; 12,000 in the Norfolk district and 9,500 in the Washington district who went on strike for higher wages and delayed shipbuilding.

WE'VE HAD 3,000 WAR-TIME STRIKES

SINCE we entered the war nearly a million and a half workmen went on strike and left their work for long or short periods, and, during that time, there have been published in the various newspapers accounts of a total of more than 3,000 strikes !

There are some instances where the laboring man sincerely believes that he is not getting a living wage. He knows that he is earning more—twice and three times as

much—than he ever did before. Yet he has difficulty in meeting his rent, in settling his provision bills, he seems to be broke much of the time and he attributes this condition to the cost of living which he believes to be greater than his wage increase. But the fact is that so much money is new to him. He gets at the end of a week more than he used to get at the end of a month. With him it is often "Easy come, easy go." So he spends, as he never spent before, or in some cases, banks it, and he finds himself decidedly hard up. What shall he do? To strike for more money seems to be the only way out.

I was recently talking with a member of a big industrial firm on labor problems. This concern has millions of dollars worth of Government orders. It has spent millions in erecting a new plant. It already operated seventeen plants. He spoke of day labor and piece work.

"We cannot afford to keep men on day's pay," he told me, "and when we change a man from day work to piece work we figure that he will become at once 40 per cent more efficient."

It seemed a rather big statement. My informant explained. "If a man working by the day turns out sixty pieces of work for his day's labor and is paid \$4 a day, when we put him on piece work we fix the price per piece at four cents, so that he will have to turn out one hundred to get the same \$4 a day wage.

"Now if he were doing all that he possibly could on day work, and that limit was sixty pieces, he would earn but \$2.40 and the four cent price would be unfair. But we have no fear about unfairness. He will turn out the hundred jobs just as easily as he did the sixty. He will do more, he will turn out nearer two hundred in a day."

WANTED—A STANDARD RETURN FOR WAGES

LABOR has long sought a standard wage. But labor has never fixed a standard return for its wages. It was when I asked this manufacturer of his attitude toward a

standard wage that he gave me the example of day and piece work.

Authorities do not agree on the number of workmen over here necessary to maintain a soldier over there. Some place it as high as ten. Probably the most conservative estimate is four workmen engaged here to one soldier maintained abroad. Today the war industries of the country are in need of half a million more unskilled laborers and, as our army increases abroad, we shall need very soon three million more workers.

Already the newspapers from one end of the country to the other, carry, day after day, column after column of advertisements for laborers, common and skilled. Here are some excerpts from these advertisements:

"Machinists wanted. First class men. 73 cents an hour."—*New York Times*.

"Wanted—Helpers. 30 cents an hour."—*The Pittsburg Dispatch*.

"Toolmakers. 80 cents an hour."—*Detroit Journal*.

"At once—Internal and External grinders. Big pay."—*Toledo Blade*.

"Laborers wanted. 40 cents an hour."—*Cleveland Press*.

These are typical of the advertisements appearing in newspapers throughout the country. Even common labor is bringing as high as \$4 a day.

The set of principles adopted by the Labor War Board includes this:

"There should be no strikes or lockouts during the war."

There had been more than two thousand labor strikes in this country before we were through with the first year of the war. There have been a thousand more strikes thus far this year—a total of 3,000 strikes since April 6, 1917. This is at the rate of about six strikes a day! And these strikes are continuing.

The "set of principles" also includes:

"In fixing wages, hours and conditions of labor, regard should always be had to the labor standards."

What are the labor standards? Secretary of Labor

much—than he ever did before. Yet he has difficulty in meeting his rent, in settling his provision bills, he seems to be broke much of the time and he attributes this condition to the cost of living which he believes to be greater than his wage increase. But the fact is that so much money is new to him. He gets at the end of a week more than he used to get at the end of a month. With him it is often "Easy come, easy go." So he spends, as he never spent before, or in some cases, banks it, and he finds himself decidedly hard up. What shall he do? To strike for more money seems to be the only way out.

I was recently talking with a member of a big industrial firm on labor problems. This concern has millions of dollars worth of Government orders. It has spent millions in erecting a new plant. It already operated seventeen plants. He spoke of day labor and piece work.

"We cannot afford to keep men on day's pay," he told me, "and when we change a man from day work to piece work we figure that he will become at once 40 per cent more efficient."

It seemed a rather big statement. My informant explained. "If a man working by the day turns out sixty pieces of work for his day's labor and is paid \$4 a day, when we put him on piece work we fix the price per piece at four cents, so that he will have to turn out one hundred to get the same \$4 a day wage.

"Now if he were doing all that he possibly could on day work, and that limit was sixty pieces, he would earn but \$2.40 and the four cent price would be unfair. But we have no fear about unfairness. He will turn out the hundred jobs just as easily as he did the sixty. He will do more, he will turn out nearer two hundred in a day."

WANTED—A STANDARD RETURN FOR WAGES

LABOR has long sought a standard wage. But labor has never fixed a standard return for its wages. It was when I asked this manufacturer of his attitude toward a

standard wage that he gave me the example of day and piece work.

Authorities do not agree on the number of workmen over here necessary to maintain a soldier over there. Some place it as high as ten. Probably the most conservative estimate is four workmen engaged here to one soldier maintained abroad. Today the war industries of the country are in need of half a million more unskilled laborers and, as our army increases abroad, we shall need very soon three million more workers.

Already the newspapers from one end of the country to the other, carry, day after day, column after column of advertisements for laborers, common and skilled. Here are some excerpts from these advertisements:

"Machinists wanted. First class men. 73 cents an hour."—*New York Times*.

"Wanted—Helpers. 30 cents an hour."—*The Pittsburg Dispatch*.

"Toolmakers. 80 cents an hour."—*Detroit Journal*.

"At once—Internal and External grinders. Big pay."—*Toledo Blade*.

"Laborers wanted. 40 cents an hour."—*Cleveland Press*.

These are typical of the advertisements appearing in newspapers throughout the country. Even common labor is bringing as high as \$4 a day.

The set of principles adopted by the Labor War Board includes this:

"There should be no strikes or lockouts during the war."

There had been more than two thousand labor strikes in this country before we were through with the first year of the war. There have been a thousand more strikes thus far this year—a total of 3,000 strikes since April 6, 1917. This is at the rate of about six strikes a day! And these strikes are continuing.

The "set of principles" also includes:

"In fixing wages, hours and conditions of labor, regard should always be had to the labor standards."

What are the labor standards? Secretary of Labor

Wilson intimated recently that they seemed to be the jumping about from place to place to find the highest wages.

Frank P. Walsh, Chairman of the National War Labor Board, in an article in the August number of this magazine, wrote: "There is a noticeable desire of labor to meet the war emergency."

To have this desire *noticeable* seems scarcely sufficient. To say that there is only a "noticeable desire" on the part of our soldiers in France to defeat the enemy would be an insult. Our soldiers are determined, even at the supreme sacrifice, to defeat the enemy and the sooner that our war laborers over here meet the war emergency, not with a noticeable desire, but with determination, the sooner will our army achieve victory.

More laborers must be secured to keep up the work. There will be plenty of money for them. Their wages will be in excess of the cost of living, just as statistics show that they have been for years. The slogan now is "Work or fight." Our soldiers are fighting fair. Are our laborers working fair?

President Wilson is fully awake to the situation. He summed it up in a few words in his telegram of June 15 to the convention of the American Federation of Labor:

"The war can be lost in America as well as on the fields of France, and ill-considered or unjustified interruptions of the essential labor of the country may make it impossible to win it."

In an article in this issue Secretary Wilson sets forth the objects of the Government's employment service, in its function to regulate labor supply. It is an attempt to wring order out of the chaotic condition of labor with regard to its economic distribution for war work. While it does not solve the wages and cost of living question, nor prevent strikes, the agency of Government regulation will have a salutary effect upon labor.

OUR MYTHOLOGICAL HISTORY

A New Perspective Needed to Adequately Teach American History

By PROFESSOR FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS

[AN INTERVIEW WITH THE FORUM]

THE fact that true American history has not been taught in our schools need not be confusing to our patriotism or our national pride. It will be necessary to change many of the historical statements contained in our textbooks of American history as they are now used in American schools.

The modifications of American history should not be confusing, because its facts in the present vision of world affairs have become merely the horizon of world democracy. In the glory of its National evolution American history became a Western World mythology. It consists of a series of war dramas and political conflicts associated with the names of Washington, Monroe, Jefferson. These men, of that hour in historical time when they were leaders, have become the gods of American mythology. Since mythological events are symbols of human ideas, they may well enough be retained, but in their proportionate values.

Washington, the god, is in the maturity of our knowledge of war, becoming Washington the man. Monroe's doctrine of national isolation is becoming an American ideal of liberty for the world.

It is the intention of American educators who are devoting themselves to teaching Americanism to America, to readjust the proportion of historical nationalism so that it will apply to the new conditions of world democracy. We must create a dynamic patriotism. The first impression

which the children of this generation must receive of American history requires a new vision. It must no longer consist on the one hand of a dry record of dates and statistics, nor on the other hand be taught as a fanciful fairy tale of a nation sufficient unto itself, and independent of world evolution.

American history, as it is being taught in our schools, reflects our national character in the adornment of mythological splendor. Our chief historical facts are heightened by the influences of a great ideal—Liberty.

But Liberty, let us recognize, in the form and figure in which America has pictured her is no longer a symbol of isolated Americanism. She is the Goddess of the world's ambition, she does not represent a unique ambition, peculiar only to American freedom. She does not belong exclusively to America. Although freedom was the first impulse behind the events of American history, Liberty is no longer the supreme Goddess of the Western Hemisphere only.

The emotional thrill which Liberty inspires through the record of the facts of our American history has been enormously extended. We are discovering that Liberty has represented not only our national independence, but also our international safety. Our world vision has been an error, because we are not independent of world evolution.

In 1776, according to our historical mythology we are presented with a false impression. We are told that America fought England in 1776 and instituted a democracy entirely repugnant to the British mind. Perhaps it was, but the revolt, or shall we say the awakening of the people of our Colonial period to a distinct objection to Imperial Government is no longer repugnant in Europe. The Imperial mind of 1776, was generally in Europe then, what it is today in Germany only, and is now nowhere else on the face of the globe. The significant fact in our historical mythology of 1776, was not the Imperial attitude, but American repugnance to a form of government that threatened the rights of Liberty. The most impressive fact of the Revolution of 1776 was not what it achieved against England, but what it demonstrated for world democracy.

OUR HISTORY NEEDS READJUSTMENT

OUR Revolutionary history requires readjustment, not so much in its statement of facts, although that is bad enough, as in its interpretation of motive.

The events of stirring courage and sacrifice in those days of National emergency, were not merely romantic and picturesque, as they too often appear to be in some versions of American history. The American Revolution was not romantic; it was realistic. Fundamentally it was resistance to an invasion of the rights of Liberty, a Liberty not so well understood then, as now. Mythological enthusiasm, and the spell of literary adornment have distorted the underlying principle of our first great historical fact.

We are given the impression in American history, and no doubt it was the chief impulse of our National birthright, that the Western Hemisphere should become a paradise sufficiently remote from the long reach of Imperialism to remain an Eden. In the enjoyment of that idea we were impressed with its wisdom. For that idea our ancestors fought bitterly and brilliantly to establish an isolated continent, where Liberty in ornate and poetic splendor, should preside. It did. These errors of American history in this period of our national career, become obvious to us today, when we realize that there is no such thing as human isolation for individual, or for nation.

Again, as our tradition would have it, in 1812 we defeated England a second time and America, still in splendid isolation, was declared pledged to the principles of a paradise marked "Private," for Americans.

By these two war dramas as recorded in American history, the impression that Liberty could be safeguarded only in America, has been fostered. Perhaps the enthusiasm of American historical mythologists has been excusable, but it has isolated the Goddess of Liberty. This mythology of United States history should now be corrected in our schools, and cast out of our history.

The gods of 1776 and later from Washington to Mon-

roe, were the leaders of a predestined cause, which we today are justifying. Washington was the god of an American paradise without entanglements, and Monroe was the god of National appropriation. They successfully destroyed Imperial repugnance to Liberty on the Western Hemisphere, but they did not do it by the mysterious forces of mythology. And yet, American history gives the impression that, under the god-like forces of these mythological figures the people of America should be forever secure against European invasions. American history, always exhibiting our isolation, with heroic phrases, has dis-associated European politics and European ambitions from American principles. This has been done in the name of the gods themselves.

American history so mythologized has created an impression that the American gods invented Liberty. One might gather from these errors of American history that Thomas Jefferson discovered democracy, and that England was the natural enemy of Liberty. And this, notwithstanding the fact that if these historical suggestions were true, it should have been a cause of great anxiety, rather than of great rejoicing. In the enthusiasm with which the early historians dilated their records, democracy was presented as a mysterious force, a superhuman power, a divine light that required no military power, no material strength to maintain its principles. For a while the civilized monarchies of Europe seemed to share this impression. They kept their hands off the Western Hemisphere, and it looked as if we would be forever free of European invasion, of European politics and ambitions.

The chosen theme of American history, namely the achievement of national isolation, can no longer remain its basis. If we look at the actual historical facts in their true relations to modern international facts, the American Revolution was not confined to America. It was the first phase of a world movement. It was by no means a war against the English people. It was not a war of English men in America against English men in England. It was a war of the liberal element of both countries against aggressions of a German crown. This has not been explained in American

history. Mythology has dealt with symbols and not with broad facts.

GERMANY ON THE ENGLISH THRONE

THE greatest battles of the American Revolution were not fought on American soil, but in England. They were the battles of British politics fought out in the British Parliament. The monarch of Great Britain at the time of the American Revolution, George III, by no means represented the English people. He did not represent any English idea. George III was not English. He was a German, and all his policies were the natural policies of a German monarchy. He inherited the throne in a legal and legitimate way, but he was a German Prince, whose legal right to the throne of England was duly recognized. His colonial policy which involved the American Revolution had little support in England. That is why he was forced to depend on troops borrowed from the Prince of Hesse—a German. That was why the Hessians became conspicuous in the American Revolution. German brutality was busy in the days of the American Revolution, but American history has not yet exhibited it.

One of the chief and bitter memories of the American Revolution which incited the hatred of Americans for England, was the treatment of Revolutionary prisoners on the prison ships in New York Harbor. These ships were not British in their management. We had documentary evidence to show that they were manned by Germans.

Mythological American history insists that we defeated England in the war of 1812. We did not defeat England. The war on land was a disastrous series of defeats for us.

The army of invasion, in spite of the disadvantages that an oversea invader has, marched on Washington and burned our Capitol. America did eventually win what she was fighting for, in spite of our unpreparedness, but not because of any triumph of our arms.

We were fighting then for the freedom of the seas. And, while the valor of our navy had much to do with the result, the pressure of political liberals, in England was a decisive

factor. It was not by any precise terms made with England, that England ceased to impress our sailors into service. It was by the actual change in English policy that the practice was abandoned

American history is glorious enough without distorting its actual events. It is glorious enough to be recorded in all its realism. We cannot detract from the glory of Washington or of Jefferson by placing them in their true proportion to world events. Nor can we detract from the Declaration of Independence when we show that it was only a first blooming of Revolutionary thought. It is our duty to place American history in the true perspective of world history, otherwise it cannot be adequately taught. The rise of democracy must be explained, and that can only be done through a complete understanding of the ambitions of autocracy.

TRUE UNDERSTANDING OF AMERICAN HISTORY NECESSARY

THE first reform which American history must undergo is to give all Americans the history of modern Imperialism. We cannot teach American history in its true relation to the affairs of the world unless we make clear the dominant part that Germany has steadily played in an effort to rule the world.

This world war is not an accident. It is the accumulative moment of a dream of Empire, which American history should have revealed to the American people long ago. The idea of German dominance has been instilled into every German child through Germany's educational system. No child in Germany could learn the alphabet without absorbing Imperial propaganda. America never dreamed of a place in the international sunlight of power. That was unfortunate. We should have dreamed it long ago. Americanism, when defined, was always associated with the idea of Liberty only, and our notion of Liberty tended to become the idea that in America everyone could do as he pleased. He could support the government or he could blaspheme it, he could be loyal or disloyal, he could emigrate from a country where he was not allowed to say a word against authority and upon his

arrival in America he could attack the tyranny of the Americans.

It never dawned upon our nation that we had a world mission. We were content to be an object lesson to the world. We were proud of our isolation, we were united in the idea that we could work out our own salvation, giving a free pattern of national ideals to other countries. Scarcely five years ago, not a man in America could have believed that we should have a million soldiers in France today fighting to make the world safe for democracy.

We must accept the situation and change our history. Our old security has gone. The United States has suffered disillusion. We have learned that no country can be independent of the civilization that surrounds it. Either the American idea or the Prussian idea must survive. One or the other must make room. It has taken American invention to destroy the mythology of American history, the aeroplane and the submarine. The sea has ceased to protect us, and both the sea and the air have become routes for invasion.

The time for the patriotism of isolation has gone; we need rational patriotism in organization and service and conscious of a world situation. American history must be moulded to this idea.

Instead of a narrow nationalism we have a new sentiment of national force, called Americanism. It is a living, growing thing. It is something more than personal Liberty. It is charged with ideas of freedom and of equality of opportunity, and it opposes coercion and conquest. It has become a passion to preserve these ideas at any cost. Of course, it is related to the old Americanism which worked out the present destiny of America. Where before, Americanism represented a mythological fairyland of free isolation, it is today charged with a world mission. We can no longer shout "America for Americans." We will no longer be content with a false sense of security. Not until all the people of the earth are guaranteed equal freedom to work out their destiny will America have achieved her place in the sun.

THE "PLEASURE-CAR" MISNOMER

How The People Use Their Cars

By JOHN BRUCE MITCHELL

"The present tax of 3 per cent on the gross sales of the manufacture of automobiles was increased to 10 per cent on pleasure cars, while tax on commercial cars or motor trucks was fixed at 5 per cent."—News dispatch, July 30.

THE House Ways and Means Committee classes as a "pleasure car" one that is privately owned for carrying passengers.

Among the many who volunteered their aid to the House Ways and Means Committee last June, in the way of offering suggestions for taxation, was Dr. Oliver M. W. Sprague, Professor of Banking at Harvard University. He appeared before the committee and for more than an hour elaborated upon a number of theories of taxation, in the course of which he was quoted as saying:

"Luxuries, in which automobiles are included, should have a stiff tax imposed upon them."

John Doe picked up his newspaper on the morning of June 11 and read Professor Sprague's statement to the effect that an automobile is a luxury.

"It sure is," says John Doe.

Again on July 31 he picked up his morning paper and read that the House Ways and Means Committee had decided to increase the tax on "pleasure cars" from 3 to 10 per cent.

"Why not tax pleasure cars?" asked John Doe.

"No reason in the world," replied his neighbor, Richard Roe, "we're in serious business now; we're winning a big war. This is no time for luxuries and pleasures. People who can afford them can afford to pay taxes on them."

The conclusions of Doe and Roe would be logical if it were true that a passenger automobile is a pleasure car. An automobile that carries passengers cannot be classed as a

pleasure car any more than a man who goes on a week's fishing trip every year can have his occupation set down as "Fisherman."

The phrase "pleasure car" is a great misnomer and is working an injustice to automobile manufacturer and owner alike. It gives one the impression of a car used exclusively for "joy riding." A "joy ride" is a hilarious party off on a trip from road-house to road-house, from cabaret to cabaret, a party that is doing no work, achieving nothing worth while, but wasting time and money on a frivolous trip.

There are more than four million passenger cars in the United States today. Not five thousand of them were *ever* used for joy riding, not one hundred of the whole four million are kept *solely* for joy riding.

Because an automobile contains cushioned seats instead of a delivery body or a truck platform, it is classed at once as a "pleasure car." Here are some figures on this subject, compiled from conservative estimates supplied by automobile manufacturers.

Motor vehicles in use in the United States.....	5,000,000
Of this number the passenger cars total.....	4,000,000
Motor vehicles used for business purposes.....	85 per cent
So-called "pleasure cars" used <i>solely</i> for business.....	65 per cent

This means that 2,600,000 of the passenger cars are *never used in any manner for pleasure*. The remaining 1,400,000 are used for "pleasure," such as daily work on the farm, taking the family on a Sunday trip, commuting to save railroad fares, helping in Red Cross and Liberty Loan drives, doing the family shopping, doing important errands that have to do with business, taking the children to and from school in rainy weather, or every day at a distant school, going to church, going into the country to get fresher and cheaper provisions, doing war relief work, giving soldiers and sailors a "lift," and an almost endless list of uses.

For every mile that these automobiles, miscalled "pleasure cars," are run on a purely pleasure trip, they are run one hundred miles on business, on useful, helpful, patriotic, and necessary errands.

OCCUPATIONS OF AUTOMOBILE OWNERS

THE division of our country's motor vehicles is interesting when compared with the divisions of occupations. A certain big manufacturer of automobiles—*real* automobiles—who has a capacity of a thousand a day, has kept so closely in touch with the owners of his cars, through a clever system, that he knows the name, address and business of every owner of his various styles of cars. Coupling this systematized information with other returns he has made the following table:

Division by Occupation in the United States		Per Cent of Automobile Owners Among These Occupations
Per Cent		Per Cent
33.2	Farmers and Stock Raisers	53.1
9.5	Trade	18.9
27.9	Manufacturers	10.1
4.4	Professional Men	7.3
3.0	Transportation	6.9
2.5	Miners	2.1
9.9	Domestic and Personal Service	2.1
1.6	Clerical	1.8
1.2	Public Service	1.6

The farmer does not use his automobile as a pleasure car, except when he takes his family to church or once a year goes on a trip to visit Brother Ed or Sister Jane. He uses it in his business, day in and day out.

The occupations under the general term of "Trade," is made up of 9.5 per cent of all the occupations, and 18.9 per cent of these men in trade own cars. There are few exceptions to this, and the one great exception is that of the owners of the so-called "Pleasure cars."

Such people are classed as "Domestic and Personal Service," they embrace 9.9 per cent of all the classified occupations, yet only 2.1 per cent of them own automobiles !

With but one filling of the tanks of the automobiles in the United States twenty-five million people, or a quarter of the nation's population, could be moved one hundred miles. The transportation value of the automobile can scarcely be estimated, its part in developing good roads has been told and re-told, but never with sufficient credit.

It requires five acres of ground to support one horse, according to United States Department of Agriculture figures. One automobile will, of course, more than replace one horse. It will replace from five to ten horses at a low estimate in a day's work, but, as a basis, consider one automobile taking the place of one horse. The total number of automobiles now in use in this country are releasing twenty-five million acres of tillable soil ! Counting the automobiles in use on the farms alone, and we have released for growing food for human consumption ten million acres of land, which is sufficient to support nearly three and a half million people !

" Ah," exclaims the pessimist, " but consider the cost of supporting an automobile !"

Very well, let us consider it. One acre of land will support an automobile !

It takes five acres to support a horse. The automobile then, releases, free and clear, or " net " as the business man would put it, four good acres of soil, and at the same time one automobile will actually do the work of ten horses in a day, thereby releasing at least four extra drivers who are today doing their bit either at the front, in munition factories or on the farm.

All of this is an extremely conservative estimate. An automobile will come nearer doing the work of twenty than ten horses. One car releases far more than one horse. The farmer can raise more provisions with less men, carry it to market better, earn more money, buy more Liberty Bonds—release more men for direct war service in khaki and more men for indirect war service in factory and on the farm.

THE AUTOMOBILE IS A NECESSITY

THE automobile is no more a pleasure car today than the daily dinner is a " pleasure meal." The car has become almost as necessary as the meal. Like so many others, misled by the phrase " pleasure car," I thought that I was buying a car just for pleasure. My neighbors who have cars thought the same. Like almost everyone else, we took it for granted that whoever coined the phrase was right, that they were

pleasure cars. My case is like the cases of every other man in my position, one who goes to his work every day, one who is neither poverty-stricken nor by any means wealthy.

I live too far out to make it advisable to commute in the car. Besides, there's the boy, the daughters and friend wife who all like to use the car. The first week that I got it, it was at the station on two occasions—rainy days—to whisk me home. It was used for gathering up members of the local Red Cross circle and taking them to the parish house for the day's Red Cross work. It took the children to and from High School on two rainy days. It brought and returned a colored woman to help with a day's work, it took flowers to a hospital, it was used one evening by an orator in a public square who was making a War Savings Stamp appeal, and on two evenings it took me out for a couple of hours after dinner on a restful ride, after a hot, wearying day at the office, bringing me home full of ozone, ready for a sleep, to be refreshed for the next day's work.

Call those two little evening trips, four hours in all, "pleasure trips," if you will. I call them "medicine trips." Aside from that the car, during that first week, was used solely in good offices. As a means of transportation during a rain it prevented wet feet, spoiled clothes and the expense of replacing them; it saved two hours in getting the Red Cross workers together and home again, got out a bigger crowd and enabled that little branch to do double the work it had ever performed previously in one day; it enabled a speaker to reach a crowd of about a thousand in a public square while workers in the crowd made enthusiastic by the oratory, subscribed most liberally for the stamps.

Yet Professor Sprague of Harvard would class the automobile as a luxury and the House Ways and Means Committee insists that a motor vehicle privately owned and provided with seats for carrying passengers, is a "pleasure car."

Before the 10 per cent increase was proposed in taxes the rate was 3 per cent on automobiles and 2 per cent on face powder. Now it is planned to put face powder taxes right up on a par with automobiles, 10 per cent.

How much land is released by face powder ? How is the Red Cross and Liberty Loan work helped with face powder ? To what extent is transportation speeded up, business speeded up and extra workers released by face powder ?

The doctor owns a car with seats in it. It is classed as a pleasure car. The manufacturer is to be taxed 10 per cent for making it for the doctor and the doctor, it is now strongly recommended, should be "stiffly taxed" for owning it.

Mrs. Jones' baby is stricken at 1 A. M. He was normally a healthy baby boy. Doctor Blank is called by telephone. He gets up, gets into his car and is at baby's bedside in ten minutes. Baby is saved, but was it a pleasure ride for doctor ? That "Pleasure Car" in ten minutes' time and with about ten cents worth of gasoline, saved a sturdy youngster to grow up and be added to our citizenry—and the wealth of any country is, after all, its citizens.

Bill Smith is doing great work in a machine shop, helping to turn out Liberty Motors. One evening in opening a can of beans at home he severs an artery in his wrist, he sees the danger, clasps his wrist and rushes out, hails a passing automobile, is rushed to the hospital, the cut is fixed up so cleverly that he is at his work the next day, hasn't lost an hour's output, thanks to a so-called pleasure car.

"COULDN'T FARM WITHOUT MY CAR."

AT harvesting time the farmers were everywhere threshing wheat—the wheat that is enabling us and our allies to win the war. His threshing machine breaks, the hardware store where he bought the machine is twelve miles away. He hops into his "pleasure car," gets over to town, gets the part, returns, replaces it, and has lost exactly an hour and twenty minutes. If he had harnessed a horse and driven over in the heat and dust and driven back, he would have lost the entire day, a shower might have helped the Huns by coming up and spoiling the wheat, meanwhile, but his car enabled him to go ahead and with a little speeding up to "make up for lost time" his day's work was the same as though the accident had not happened.

The farm with an automobile is to a town twenty miles away what the farm used to be to a town three miles away.

An investigation of the use of the automobile among farmers was made, among other places, in certain localities in the middle West. Some bankers and merchants were interviewed but, for the most part, farmers were seen and their statements carefully reported. There wasn't a farmer in the lot but what felt it a personal insult when asked if he considered his automobile to be a pleasure car.

Their statements, taken from their letters answering the inquiry, are of interest. One of them, a County Agent for the Department of Agriculture, declared that there was no greater necessity on the farm today than the automobile. He wrote that he had been largely instrumental in solving the labor shortage problem, he told how seeds were delivered by automobile, thus making it possible to bring about the world's bumper crop and explained that seventeen hundred of the 2,300 farmers in his county owned automobiles. Such farmers kept no driving horses, and thereby saved not only the grain their horses would eat, but the acreage necessary to grow it.

The owner of a farm of about six hundred acres, stated that his automobile took the place of one man on the farm. His wife, he wrote, distributed Red Cross work among the farmers' wives every week by means of the car.

How constantly an automobile is used on the farm for business was illustrated in a letter from a farmer who cultivates 365 acres. He has owned an automobile seven years, and has averaged 7,000 miles a year, *all business trips*. He says that it is much cheaper than a team and cited a recent instance (it happened the latter part of July) in which in the midst of harvesting his binder got out of order. He made two trips to the city, fourteen miles distant, got the necessary parts, made the repairs, and got in all of the grain just as a tremendous rain storm came up. This storm, he added, would have ruined his entire field of wheat. This farmer is also in the cattle business in South Dakota, where he uses fourteen automobiles. He stated that in his work for the

Second and Third Liberty Loan campaigns, he used his car five days, and his county went far above its quota.

Another farmer was terse and direct to the point when he wrote: "I have used a car nine and a half years and would have to quit farming without it." He cultivates 280 acres.

An official of a national bank in Illinois wrote that his bank had always and would always lend money to the farmer to buy cars. Last year an automobile upon which his bank had advanced \$1,200 saved a crop that not only paid for the automobile, but produced a large amount of food.

The President of another National Bank wrote that he had been a farmer and a banker for 43 years, and that he had found that the automobile had done more for the farm than any other thing.

"If you don't believe a farmer has a use for his car, go ahead and try to buy it from him," the owner of a 300-acre farm wrote. He added that the day would come when the use of passenger cars as well as trucks would do away with the necessity of keeping switching crews at a great expense and loss of time for local freighting at tank stations.

Still another farmer found the automobile so necessary in his work that he supplied his foreman with one. Last spring he had some wonderful spring wheat. His neighbors thought so much of it that he delivered 800 bushels of the seed throughout the neighborhood in an automobile which was the means of producing the finest wheat fields ever seen in that section.

A woman who owns 2,000 acres has 21 tenants on her land, and practically all of them have automobiles. She declares that they couldn't operate the farms without automobiles.

SIXTY BILLION MILES A YEAR BY AUTO

THE owner of five farms lives in an Illinois town but keeps in touch with his property by means of his automobile. These farms are located four, five, ten, fifteen, and twenty-two miles from his home. He says that he could not oversee

them or make them pay without his own automobile, and without automobiles on each farm. "I can truthfully say," he writes, "that I could buy a new car every six months and throw the old one away and be well paid."

The Food Administrator of a county in a mid-western state asserted that the labor shortage was of such a serious nature that, without the automobile, farmers in his locality could do nothing. He found that the farmers could work longer and get home quicker by means of the automobile; that it had done wonders for the farmers in broadening their vision and in increasing their business ability.

The vice-president of a bank in a farming district stated that it is now getting so that the farmer depends more and more upon his automobile. Nearly all of them in his district owned cars, and he is constantly wondering how it is that the cars last so long considering the great loads of milk, grain, vegetables and other produce that they haul into town. This man was chairman of the three Liberty Loan campaigns in his county. He appointed local township chairmen, who each had five to twenty men under them, and each man was selected because he owned a car. "Thanks to the automobile," this banker writes, "our county went 57 per cent over its quota on the Third Loan."

Another farmer, owner of 200 acres, pointed out that, owing to the war, automobiles were needed more than ever, because of the necessity to speed up with the crops for the Government, and the scarcity of labor. "Without automobiles," he declared, "nothing could be done."

The head of a County Farm Bureau explained the necessity of automobiles on the farm. He stated that there were 3,700 farmers in his county, and that there were more than 3,000 automobiles on those farms. "A few years ago," he wrote, "everybody said that a farmer who bought a car would neglect his business and go broke, but today we do not consider that a farmer is efficient unless he owns an automobile." Farmers in his section move the laborers from farm to farm to put up the grain, using automobiles. With the scarcity of labor, which made it impossible to get extra help in town, a

large share of the crops would have been lost but for the automobile.

"I have found," the owner of 700 acres wrote, "that there is no profit in attempting to farm these days without an automobile. Time is the great factor on a farm just as it is in a factory."

The merchandising manager of one of the largest and most progressive stores in the Middle West made this statement less than two months ago: "Three years ago we had a little over three thousand out-of-town charge customers. Today we have 18,000 charge customers, because the farmers have automobiles and can come in to our store without loss of time. They save not only hours but dollars in this manner, and we have increased our trading radius from 40 to 100 miles."

Farmers in every section of the country have the same story to tell. The automobile is more than a passenger car to them. It is a necessity.

Estimated transportation figures give the following:

Annual passenger mile service by railroad. . . .	35,000,000,000
Annual passenger mile service by automobile. .	60,000,000,000

The automobiles in the United States travel about forty million miles a day, or a distance equal to sixteen hundred times around the world.

Transportation has won many a battle, many a war, transportation of food and munitions as well as of man. We are further from our base of supplies than any of the other allies. But, thanks to our "pleasure cars" here at home, our thousands of men who are transacting the business of keeping supplies grown, manufactured, grouped and shipped, are able to get about without loss of time and all the world knows the result—a miracle of efficiency and speed.

AUTOMOBILES INCREASE MAN POWER 20 PER CENT

THERE isn't a passenger automobile in the country now but what saves at least two hours time a day. This represents in total time saved every day what an army of one million workingmen could do in that time.

With the automobile:

School superintendents can take charge of more schools, get around to supervise them quicker, do their work more efficiently;

The housewife can do her shopping quicker and save several hours a day for more war work;

The Red Cross workers can do three times as much work in a day than they could do without a car;

The professional man can increase his services and make them of more value by prompt response to calls;

The farmer can get his produce into market in a fresh condition while saving time and labor;

The salesman can cover more territory, can do the work of four men without cars and release men for other service;

The manufacturer can jump from office to customer or supply station and speed up his work at least 50 per cent;

The commuter can save money and get health;

The men in Army and Navy department work here at home can speed it up 70 per cent;

The farm is no longer isolated and more men are going back to farming;

Man power is increased 20 per cent; and

Our army cantonments were built nine months quicker than could have been done without "pleasure cars" for conveying workmen, doing errands, getting superintendents and managers and contractors about.

Automobiles have advanced but slightly in price. Wages have increased greatly. In 1914 it took 1,142 bushels of corn to buy a car. Today 590 bushels of corn will buy one, and so on, with about the same ratio with other values.

Here is the story of one "pleasure car." The man bought it three years ago for \$800. He sold it this spring for \$400. He traveled 24,000 miles in it. He kept careful account of everything and this is the way he figured it:

Car cost	\$ 800
Interest three years at 6 per cent.....	144
Gasoline, oil and repairs.....	800
<hr/>	
Total cost for three years.....	\$1,744

Saved in railway fares, self and family of five.....	\$ 680
Saved in expressage by carrying goods.....	78
Saved cost one salesman.....	1,300
Sold car	400
<hr/>	
Total saving by means of automobile.....	\$2,458
Net profit on car in three years.....	\$ 714

Not every man can do as well. Not every man is as well situated as to home, location of business and nature of business. This man saved commutation fares and fares for his family of five, he could make two or three trips around the city and keep up his office work, thus saving the expense of a city salesman.

Sundays in summer he took his family into the country on picnics, in winter he took them in the country for skating parties. Many evenings in good weather he took little trips here and there, all pleasure trips. But who can say that he owned a pleasure car ?

Abolish the passenger cars today—the cars that are classed as “luxuries” and “pleasure cars”—and our war work, commerce, crop production, all would slow up and fall off at least fifty per cent.

The phrase “Pleasure car” is a decided misnomer.

There are some who would, even in these war times when criticism is not a safe indoor sport, go so far as to timidly suggest that our war work and commerce and business in general and prosperity in general wouldn't be harmed in the least if face powder and perfume and patent medicines and satin slippers and platinum jewelry and 25 cent cigars and \$16 men's silk shirts and a list of similar non-essentials a mile or so long were all taxed 100 per cent, while the good old automobile be allowed a square deal.

THE VISION OF THE SHIPS

A Look Forward in Shipbuilding for After the War Trade

By STEPHEN MARSHALL

THERE is an after-the-war vision in the Shipping Board's program that opens up a world dream, hardly suspected by the public.

It reaches out to the furthestmost parts of the earth. It carries America across the Seven Seas and brings to our national life the products of all the world—in *our own ships*. It knits the world's diplomacy into a brotherhood of a good will and establishes the comity of all peoples in mutual interest.

Before the war America was a passenger; after the war she will be a cargo carrier. We are bridging the seas and going down the ways as a maritime nation.

We go into far lands, not as jealous rivals, smug in our isolation, but as competitors on terms of mutual benefit. We shall make our friendly allies of commerce partners in our all-world mart.

Rivalry and suspicion of our Yankee shrewdness will be displaced by the spirit of cooperation for common good—for we shall build our ships for all. As a shipbuilding nation, possessed of the natural resources—steel, wood, skilled labor—we enter into the production period as builders and sellers of ships.

American labor will construct for foreign purchase. South America, Europe, the Orient, may buy or lease on equal terms with American firms.

The Shipping Board's program has visioned the future, and it is not a vision of self-exploitation. It is a prospect that brings the world's commerce into a vast organization, so closely united and so practically coordinated that rivalry can only exist in *Service*.

This sweeping peopling of the seas with a maritime community of interest is not alone the dream of one man, but is the evolution in the readjustment of mercantile sea affairs, brought to a crisis in the war necessities of the construction of the Emergency Fleet.

It has been made possible by the vast sums the American people have placed at the disposal of the Shipping Board. It is the outcome of the policy of practical men—of Schwab and Hurley and their chosen associates. It is the thought of these men, approved by the President, to build for permanency, not for emergency alone—though never forgetting that war emergency is paramount.

While the public is asking what is to become of our ships after the war, the Shipping Board is answering the question. Our ships are to go into the trade of the world and serve as carriers of raw and finished products, that the balances destroyed by the years of war may be readjusted and permanently stabilized. That the marine of stunned nations may be replaced and the goods of the world go where they may restore blighted nations and suffering peoples.

“Why should we not build ships to sell, as well as to lease,” is the perspective of the heads of the Board.

It is not the aim of the government to operate, now or after the war, but to build and lease, or sell—and to build where conditions are favorable to construction and helpful to international relations.

PUTTING CHINESE LABOR TO WORK

IN pursuance of this program a \$30,000,000 contract was awarded to a Shanghai yard. The arrangements were made for this contract in true American business-like spirit. Diplomacy was not consulted, policy of balance of control in China was not invoked; none of the old questions of cause and effect on poor old China were considered, further than to enlist her interest and aid in the ship program. The idea of calling in the resources of China was decided by the Board, and after a few interchanges of cablegrams, the contract was

awarded, for four 10,000 ton steel cargo carrying vessels, and options upon the output of the Kiangnan yards for 80,000 additional tons of steel freighters. About thirty-five thousand tons of steel will be shipped to China. The deliveries are to begin in about six months after the steel has been received. All iron castings will be obtained in China. Only steel plates and shapes are to be supplied from here, one ton of steel making about three tons of shipping.

"The action of the United States Shipping Board in awarding a huge contract to the Shanghai yard is going to produce remarkable results for America in China," is the opinion of R. B. Mauchan, manager of the Kiangnan dockyard and a noted Scotch engineer who has lived in China for the last thirty years.

"Do you realize the effect building American ships in China will have upon the young men of China?" says this authority. "Knowing as they do the part shipping plays in winning this world war, can you not see the sentimental side of it as well as the economical? Closer commercial relations must result; a development of the vast opportunities for commercial relations between China and America. China is intellectually awake. Shipbuilding in China is not a new venture. It goes back hundreds of years. But building American ships there is new and novel. It has an appeal that strikes the Chinese mind with tremendous force at a time when all eyes are turned toward her.

"After the war America must have an outlet for its surplus steel and machine tools, machinery and agricultural implements. Without a large export business built up with countries like China, America will be in a disadvantageous position. But the development of shipbuilding in China will in no wise effect America. The reciprocal relations will more than balance."

So much for planting our industrial flag on Chinese soil. Of vast importance too, is the outlook in South America, where our wooden ships will play a great role, and subsequently our steel cargo carriers.

The most important trade of the United States today,

with the possible exception of the coal carrying, is the nitrate trade with Chile. Nitrate is necessary to explosives; it is also the base of fertilizers. We are absorbing practically the entire output of Chilean nitrate, the greatest in the world.

Of almost equal importance is the movement of manganese from Brazil to this country. Manganese is an alloy used in the manufacture of steel. It is also necessary to send vessels to Brazil for coffee and rubber, though we are temporarily well stocked with the latter. To and from Buenos Aires and Montevideo ships are carrying wool for the soldiers' uniforms.

The diversion of fast ships from the Cuban trade to transatlantic service has operated to handicap rapid operation between New York and Cuban ports, but peace time averages have been approximated.

In the oil trade with Mexico, in the vitally important sisal trade with Yucatan, in the banana trade with Central America and Colombia, American ships are being speeded up. So in the Pacific, for trade with the Orient and Australia, and the Philippines.

In the trades that are still considered essential in war time, the movements of vessels to all these ports have been quickened over normal or pre-war pace by day to day observation kept by the Shipping Board. For the first time in the history of American shipping a centralized organization is watching the work of the ships, contrasting their performances and striving all the time to speed them up.

EXPANDING HARBOR FACILITIES

KEEPING apace with the record-breaking production of ships for the war—and after—the Shipping Board will expand the port and harbor facilities of the country.

A doubling, and perhaps trebling, of docks, piers, marine railways and terminal facilities in general of Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific ports will be necessary, once they are released from war traffic—even new ports may become necessary.

For the first time in the history of port development of this country a complete inventory of port facilities is being

made, and a study of all their facilities, advantages or disadvantages, taken into account.

All ports where coal and oil are, are under investigation. This is the most important of all the coastwise trades in which past performances have been handicapped by inadequate facilities—a trade, as revealed during 1917 and the present year, limited only by shipping and port facilities. One of the immediate tasks is to expand these facilities so that the bulk of coal for New England war industries may be expedited by water.

Port facilities are taxed to capacity now by the present shipping—in many instances overtaxed, and are facing serious congestion, particularly in New York harbor—the greatest problem of port development in the world today.

Some of the Southern ports show congestion in sight unless their facilities are expanded. A great deal of traffic is now being diverted by the railroads from overland routes north to southern ports either for shipment north or to the West Indies and South America. Galveston and New Orleans are notable examples, and the expansion of port facilities at Mobile, Jacksonville and Charleston, are to be given required attention. All Southern ports face phenomenal expansion.

One of the larger problems of shipping is the diversion of imports and exports from northern to southern ports, especially those going to and from the Middle West. Hitherto, they have passed through the port of New York, thus increasing not only the burden of the facilities of that port, but of the badly congested railroads along the north Atlantic seaboard and in Pennsylvania and Ohio. In the future, to relieve the congestion of the port and the eastern railroads, other routes may be supplied—to the Middle West, for example, via Southern ports, railways and waterways.

A great deal of the enormous trade in sight with South America is prospectively considered in relation with the ports of the South, and if plans go through, the expansion of waterfront facilities in that part of the country becomes of front rank importance.

All the Pacific ports, if British shipping history points a moral, face likewise notable expansion of trade with the Orient, and therefore of port requirements far beyond all pre-war plans. For the Pacific trade as for that on the Atlantic and Gulf ports, the need of port facilities on a comprehensive scale is one of the most essential tasks of the special Port Harbor Facilities Commission of the Board.

The development of port facilities links up with the railroads, and it is proposed to give ports in the future a closer connection between shipping and railroads than they have ever had in the past. Port development on both sides, land and water, becomes feasible with shipping and railroads under government control.

Now that both these great arteries of transportation are under government direction, their needs can be determined exactly in relation to one another, and so matched. Keenly alive to the peace time significance of the great shipbuilding program of the country, the Commission is working with a broad vision toward the expansion of port facilities to handle the great after war commerce.

SCHOOLS OF SEAMANSHIP

WITH these great expansions of our marine in view, great training stations for seamen are being developed. Uncle Sam must supply his ships with skilled men, to keep apace with the growth of his cargo carrying trade. He must no longer depend upon the old haphazard method of "Shanghaing" waterfront idlers to man his ships. Boys will be enlisted in training stations and equipped as A. B's, ready to go aboard and take places assigned to them. For this purpose schools of seamanship will be distributed on the coasts, near ports, and under the control of the government. Seamanship will emerge into an American trade of skilled and properly paid proportions. Training service will be given upon ships in the service, and no seaman will be sent to sea until qualified.

“ Before the war ocean commerce traveled in bottoms owned and operated by private capital,” says Chairman Hurley. “ Now this gigantic merchant fleet which we are turning out is to be controlled by one central body by the greatest corporation in the Western World—the United States of America.

“ We are beginning to fulfill our destiny. In round numbers, and from all sources, we have added to the American flag since our war against Germany began nearly 4,500,000 tons of shipping. I do not believe I am over optimistic in saying that our tonnage output will continue to increase until this year closes we will be turning out a half million tons each month.

“ We have established a shipbuilding industry that will make us a great maritime nation. We have today under contract and construction 819 shipbuilding ways including wood, steel and concrete, which is twice as many shipbuilding ways as there are in all the rest of the ship yards of the world combined. Our program for the future should appeal to the pride of all loyal and patriotic Americans.

“ It calls for the building of 1,856 passenger, cargo, refrigerator ships and tankers, ranging from 5,000 to 12,000 tons each, with an aggregate deadweight tonnage of 13,000,000. We are also contracting for 200 wooden barges, 50 concrete barges, 100 concrete oil carrying barges, and 150 steel, wood and concrete tugs of 1,000 horsepower for ocean and harbor service, which aggregate a total deadweight tonnage of 850,000.

“ Exclusive of the above, we have 245 commandeered vessels, taken over from foreign and domestic owners, which are being completed by the Emergency Fleet Corporation. These will average 7,000 tons each and aggregate a total deadweight tonnage of 1,715,000.

“ This makes a total of 2,101 vessels exclusive of tugs and barges which are being built and will be put on the seas by the Emergency Fleet Corporation in the course of carrying out the present program, with an aggregate deadweight tonnage of 14,715,000.

A LOOK FORWARD, BY CHAIRMAN HURLEY

“IT will require \$5,000,000,000 to finish our program for 1918, 1919 and 1920, but the expenditure of this enormous sum will give to the American people the greatest merchant fleet ever assembled in the history of the world—a fleet which I predict will serve all humanity loyally and unselfishly upon the same principles of liberty and justice which brought about the establishment of this free republic. The expenditure of the enormous sum will give America a merchant fleet aggregating 25,000,000 tons of shipping.

“The total gross revenue of our fleet is very impressive. From the ships under the control of the Shipping Board a total gross revenue is derived of about \$360,000,000, an amount more than the gross revenue of the New York Central Railroad and almost equal to that of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad, and the N. Y. C. R. R. combined.

“If in 1919-20 we have the passenger and cargo tonnage we have planned, we will be in a position to establish a weekly passenger service between New York and Rio de Janiero, Montevideo, Buenos Aires and Caracas on the east coast, and weekly service between Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Valparaiso, Chile, on the western coast. On the west coast we now have two fast passenger steamers plying between New York and Valparaiso. These are the first to carry the American flag on that route. They have cut the time between these two important cities from 27 to 18 days—a saving of 9 days.

Our Central American neighbors, Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica must all have the very best passenger and cargo service, as must all of our South American neighbors. With the wonderful resources which these countries have, their products should be distributed in the world's markets and they should have sufficient ships at their disposition and at such rates that will enable them when it is necessary, to sell their products in competition with other nations. This will give them an opportunity to receive their

share of profits which will permit them to further develop their countries.

“On the Pacific we must provide sufficient tonnage to meet Russia’s requirements. That country has many products which we need. Those articles can be moved in bottoms controlled by us at fair freight rates and this will be most helpful to the expansion of Russia’s trade.

“China also has many commodities which we require, and should receive the transportation necessary to move them, not only to our country, but to other countries that she may desire to sell to.

“What better use can we make of our merchant marine than to assure to these countries the best possible regular steamship service?

“That progressive nation, Japan, is rapidly upbuilding her own merchant marine, but the demand for tonnage will be so great on the Pacific that Russia, China, Australia, and other foreign possessions will receive service which they have never been able to receive before.”—A wonderful dream of the commercial expansion on the sea, through the open hand of fair play, of helpfulness to all the world—of the insoluble permanency of international interest, founded upon man’s right to inhabit the world, to trade with each other—to exchange each other’s products in complete recognition of each other’s interests—these are the dreams that are materializing in the brains of our Shipping Board—dollar a year men—who are working for Uncle Sam—for the freedom of the seas.

THE THEATRE IN REVIEW

By C. COURTENAY SAVAGE

The First of the War Plays

THE Metropolitan theatre season of 1918-19 officially arrived with the warmest night of the year, and that an audience should remain in their seats for the very end of a play in spite of the perspiration, the longing for an iced-drink, or a cool bath tub, emphasizes the fact that the play was a success.

This play, "Friendly Enemies," had been a phenomenal success in the West, and on its opening night in Washington, President Wilson rose in his box and expressed to the audience and players the desire that the sentiment of the comedy they were witnessing might soon grip the entire country.

It is a war play, the first of many that are bound to be offered for the theatregoers' approval. The leading characters are both Germans, one of them of the loyal German variety, the other staunch in his belief that the United States is fighting for a democracy that has never existed in the Fatherland. They are friendly enemies, and the characterization of the authors allowed for many laughs, with a final emotional scene to grip the audience. This scene comes when the champion of the Fatherland learns that the vessel on which his boy is sailing for France has been torpedoed.

This drama is frankly popular in its appeal. Mr. Al. Woods, the producer, had his schooling in the realm of melodrama, and he knows what makes the greatest appeal in the theatre. The characters say things people want to hear, and there are outbursts of patriotic applause. The acting was excellent, and interesting, with Sam Bernhard, and Louis Mann to play the contending Germans. As the producer announces that there will be four companies of this play throughout the country this season, and that each company will be played by

actors of merit, it would seem that there is a large fortune in store for Mr. Woods, and the theatregoers of the country are sure of one first class comedy-drama.

"Allegiance" by the Prince and Princess Pierre Troubetzkoy (The Princess is the popular Amelie Rives) is a drama of German intrigue in America, of gripping interest, perfectly acted—a classic in play-writing. The story portrays the conflict of blood—the German American torn with conflicting emotions, the call of blood and the duty of allegiance to America. It is set in our period of neutrality, and deals with the spy intrigue up to the declaration of war between the United States and Germany. If a moral is sought in a period of our national struggle, now historical, it is to point out the importance of Americanization of foreign blood citizens, particularly of the second and third generation. "Allegiance" is the Sermon on the Mount for America of the future. It is produced by Mr. William Faversham and Miss Maxine Elliott, who have joined their talents to form a theatrical producing company.

The third drama of the war is "Three Faces East," a play of the Secret Service, by Anthony Paul Kelly, who has heretofore been known for his clever motion picture scenarios.

The play gets its title "Three Faces East" from the password of a group of German spies operating in England. The answer to this password, by the way, is "Forwards and Back." As one reviewer remarked the first night, the answer is typical of the German War Office, forward and then back, the further the better.

The prologue of the play takes place in Germany and shows the start via U-boat of one "Fraulein Helene" on her mission to London, where she is to confer with the head of the "gang." From her arrival until the last moment of the play the scenes are swiftly built and carry with them the greatest suspense, the puzzled audience vainly suspecting first one character of villainy and then another. In this, his first play, Mr. Kelly has brought several screen tricks to the stage. His swift development of scenes, characteristic of the motion picture, and his character building, more by suggestion than

by definite word or action, sometimes exasperates the audience, but never allows it to settle back and lose interest. The acting in the play is of the typical Cohan & Harris style, which is synonymous of excellence. Emmett Corrigan and Violet Heming have the two leading roles and play them with the ability which has made them popular. A Zeppelin raid, admirably produced off stage, gives a note of realism, while the last act with its infernal machine ticking out the minutes before blowing Lloyd George and the cabinet to oblivion, helps to bring to a close what is probably the most exciting war play so far offered.

Fall Laughmakers

MR AND MRS. SIDNEY DREW, most popular of the polite comedians of the screen, have in addition to their "voiceless Drew Comedies," undertaken to entertain with spoken words.

And they succeed, probably because they were skilled in stage craft before they became rich and famous in the films.

The play in which they are appearing, "Keep Her Smiling" is by John Hunter Booth, and had its inspiration in a series of stories which originally appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*. "Keep Her Smiling" is a comedy of business and home life. The hero is a typical "meek-clerk" husband. He has a beautiful wife and his ambition in life is to keep her smiling. This requires the paying of extravagant bills, for the lady in the case needs many expensive luxuries to help her climb the social ladder towards the goal she aspires. The reaction of these demands on the clerk husband is that he becomes suddenly involved in bold though accidental recklessness, thrust upon him by the heads of his concern, who seek to use him as a "dummy," and which thrust him into unexpected importance. The play as a whole is inconsequential but thoroughly amusing. It belongs to the type of drama that is possible but highly improbable. However, all that the majority of us are asking for from the theatre at this time is a good clean laugh,

a romance that banishes the grim determination which surrounds us in our every-day existence.

Mr. and Mrs. Drew bring their always interesting and amusing personalities from Filmland without suffering by way of comparison. "The road," and Boston, enjoyed "Keep Her Smiling" for a good many months last season. The rest of the country is sure to be equally pleased by Mr. and Mrs. Drew in their spoken comedy.

A second comedy, this time a rank farce with a clever idea, is "She Walked in Her Sleep." The idea of the somnambulist is not exceedingly novel, but one who walks blissfully along the coping of an apartment hotel into the rooms and lives of a young married couple, and unknowingly places a flask of melinite in her ever present knitting bag, is out of the ordinary. This tube of melinite is the hope of a war contract and much of the suspense and hilarity of the farce comes from the fact that should the missing flask be broken the result would be an explosion of the most appalling order. And, of course, the missing flask causes reputations to be involved and unhappiness to reign.

Mr. Mark Swan, the author, has attained considerable reputation for his farces and this new one will add much to his credit. It is extravagant, but plausible and delicate. The players are capable though the cast contains no star names. "She Walked in Her Sleep" has much to recommend it, clever writing, good humor and interesting characterization.

A mystery play, reminiscent in so far as its appeal is concerned of "The Thirteenth Chair" is "The Blue Pearl." This play is called by the author a comedy, though it has enough thrills to warrant a more elastic classification. It is at once a mystery play and a comedy of life's realities. It concerns the disappearance of a priceless blue pearl. Suspense hangs upon the detection of the thief. The clash of women's wits, contrasts of life and love, and intrigue hold interest with a tense grasp. Find the motive of the theft and you will find the thief, but the audience is kept guessing to the last. It is fascinating, well produced, and played by a capable cast, headed by Mr. George Nash.

The Season's Only Musical Offering

THE only new musical production of the season is the annual "Passing Show" at the Winter Garden.

Winter Garden productions of late years might be classified under two headings: those having Al. Jolson and chorus, and those which are virtually an elaborated vaudeville show—with chorus. "The Passing Show" belongs to the latter classification. The Messrs. Shubert, the producers, have gathered together a collection of the most interesting entertainers available—allowed them to do their specialties, and have filled in any pause during the evening with the collection of truly beautiful, and beautifully gowned, ladies of the chorus. There is also a spectacle, the bombing of London, which is a noisy novelty, but one that brings forth a round of enthusiastic applause because of its ingenious mechanical illusions. The construction of the new "Passing Show" is not vitally different from the construction of other "Passing Shows." It is like some well tried recipe of a favorite dish and for that reason appeals.

Apropos of the Winter Garden, the announcement that Al. Jolson and "Sinbad" are to resume the run interrupted by hot weather at the Century Theatre, makes an additional interesting chapter in the history of this notable playhouse. Built with money, supplied by American capitalists, who aimed at a national theatre, this theatre has housed almost every type of entertainment. It is so huge that the cost of upkeep is enormous and spells failure if the theatre is not filled nightly. Whether Mr. Jolson will be able to turn the tide is a question. Certainly, no American comedian has a more attractive personality than Mr. Jolson.

There are two plays in New York that have run a year, "Eyes of Youth" which has no less than three women stars (Marjorie Rambeau, Jane Grey, and now Alma Tell), to portray its leading character, and the very charming musical play, "Maytime." Billboard advertisements to the contrary, plays that run a year in one city are rare and have to be of decided quality.

FINANCIAL SITUATION

By W. S. COUSINS

WITHIN the past month another of the great National utilities—the Wire Systems of the Country, has passed under Government control. The first few weeks of operation have witnessed the continuance of some of the embarrassing clashes with union labor which were in the main responsible for the President's decision to take over the telegraph and telephone lines, and it is evident that all the problems incident to the detail of operation of these lines have not yet been fully solved.

In his proclamation the President intimates that the Government will take the responsibility for the payment of fixed charges and the continuation of regular dividends, and the latter will of course be of most interest to investing stockholders, of whom it is said there are two hundred thousand in the United States.

Operation of the wire system should be a much easier and more simple matter than that of the railroads, and the financial problem insignificant by comparison. There is no immediate necessity either for expensive additions to equipment or for radical changes in personnel.

The total capitalization of the wire communication companies in the United States is a little under one billion dollars, of which nearly ninety-five per cent is represented by the three major companies, the American Telegraph and Telephone Co., Western Union Telegraph Co., and the Postal Telegraph and affiliated Mackay companies. Over seventy per cent of the total capitalization, to be exact, \$717,486,200, is credited to the American Telegraph and Telephone Co., while the Western Union has thirteen per cent, and the Mackay companies nine per cent.

The American Telegraph and Telephone Co. has capital stock outstanding in the aggregate of \$442,186,200 in addition to \$227,554,000 in bonds; \$7,745,000 in bonds of sub-

sidiary companies and \$40,000,000 in notes of subsidiary companies indorsed by the parent company. Of these obligations \$40,000,000 notes and \$45,000,000 bonds, partly for refunding purposes, have been put out during the current year. The Western Union Telegraph Co. has outstanding just a little under \$100,000,000 of capital stock and \$31,994,000 of bonds.

The Mackay Companies, which also operate the trans-Atlantic cables, is an associated holding company owning the capital stock of more than one hundred subsidiary companies. For the present the Government will not take over the cables, and thus it is probable that the Postal Telegraph Co., operating only the land wires, will become divorced from the general group of Mackay Companies.

The net operating income for the years 1915-1916 and 1917 was as follows: American Telegraph and Telephone \$44,933,776, Western Union \$12,534,326, and the Mackay Companies, including cable service, \$4,425,324. A few months ago the directors of the Western Union Company placed the stock upon a regular basis of 7 per cent per annum. In 1917 dividends were paid at the rate of $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent regular, and 1 per cent extra, and in 1916 of 6 per cent per annum, while earlier than that the rate had been only $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company has paid 8 per cent per annum on its stock for ten years. The Mackay Companies pays 4 per cent on its \$50,000,000 of cumulative preferred stock, and 6 per cent per annum on its \$41,380,400 of common.

Indictments have just been returned against the Western Union Co. for delivery of "Night telegrams" by mail and messenger, and it will be interesting, in view of Government operation, to follow developments in this important case.

FOURTH LIBERTY LOAN

IT is now practically settled that the fourth Liberty Loan will be in the aggregate of from five to six billion dollars, and the interest rate $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. The campaign will be

short and vigorous, opening September 28th and closing October 19th.

There is a disposition in certain quarters to wonder why the Secretary of the Treasury has not made use of the sinking fund provision of the third Liberty Loan in order to purchase many of these bonds now on the market at nearly five points below par. It is argued that the best possible incentive for the purchase of a new loan at par would be a par price for existing issues in the competitive market. Secretary McAdoo is doubtless relying upon the higher incentives of patriotism and humanitarianism to insure a full and complete subscription and over-subscription to the loan, no matter how large it may be.

Prior to the issue of the third Liberty Loan there was a general impression that the interest rate would be raised to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, but happily this forecast was a mistake. It is needless to say that if the Liberty bond interest rates were continually advanced, all other securities in the market would be advanced correspondingly, and this would mean a general rise of the interest rate on all loans throughout the country. Certainly the Government should do nothing which will cause this sequel, which would produce a serious disturbance in the money market and be more upsetting than almost anything which has occurred during the last three years. It is gratifying to note that Secretary McAdoo is disposed to take a conservative policy and to avoid any procedure which may have an unsettling effect.

At this time public feeling is highly susceptible, and it is essential to refrain from taking any measures which may invite nervousness in business circles. It is quite needless to comment on the unwisdom of inviting a general advance in the rate of interest on all semi-public and private securities as well as general loans. The American investor, in loaning to his Government, must look beyond the selfish consideration of the immediate return on his investment, and enter into a co-operative pooling of his resources with all other investors in order to accomplish the object for which this country took up arms and sent her soldiers across the ocean.

INVESTMENT SITUATION

NOTWITHSTANDING the heavy drain on the money market for war and general domestic purposes, all the recent issues of corporate securities offered investors by the banking syndicates have been absorbed with apparent ease. It has been conservatively figured that since the middle of May nearly \$500,000,000 in new corporate securities have been sold to American investors made up as follows: \$287,000,000 in short term notes, \$155,000,000 in bonds and \$68,000,000 in new capital stock issues.

This heavy corporation financing, coming simultaneously with the enormous demands of the Government on American capital, is the explanation of the decline in market price of securities purchased a year or two ago, although their intrinsic value as measured by dividend capacity has increased in the same period. Up to the time the United States entered the war money was plentiful and interest rates comparatively low, and prices paid for securities were justified by general economic conditions. Today the situation is very different, and borrowers must bid high for new capital or loans.

Many investors who have not given due consideration to these facts have been unable to comprehend why their high-grade investments have declined in market value, and some may have become alarmed for the safety of their investments. It may be said that in practically every instance their investments, from the standpoint of safety, both of principal and interest or dividends, are materially safer today than they were two years ago. Earnings applicable to the payment of dividends or interest are materially larger and give evidence, with almost every industrial operation, of remaining so. Corporations have invested immense sums from earnings in their properties, thus adding to the actual values back of their securities, but economic laws must and will rule, and investors will not purchase corporation securities at low yields, no matter how good, when they may secure equally as good investments at much higher yields.

STOCK MARKET

THE brilliant military successes of the Allies have failed to stimulate the Stock Exchange to anything approaching normal activity or to start a boom in prices in any of the active stocks. While there is no doubt in the big speculative district over the outcome of the conflict now being waged on French soil, Wall Street recognizes the fact that the financial and economic problems connected with the successful operation of our Army and Navy will be tremendous and rightly gives first consideration to them.

Little recognition is given by the average investor, in normal times, to the important functions performed by the banking institutions in the financing of stock transactions now that the bank resources are diverted to other channels, it is obvious that speculative transactions must of necessity be curtailed. Wall Street, while recognizing that there is a considerable volume of stock purchasing for investment—for the “strong box,” is equally convinced that “for the duration of the war,” bull markets will be few and far between.

Another point to consider in the matter of stock speculation is the loaning rate on “call” money. Since the first of this year the rates for call loans have rarely gone below 6 per cent, compared with pre-war normal rates of from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

FINANCING THE COTTON CROP

MORE banks in this section will play a part in the handling of this season's unprecedented cotton crop than ever before, as the outcome of a series of meetings of the special committee of bankers, spinners and shippers, headed by ex-Senator Theodore E. Burton, president of the Merchants National Bank of New York, which was appointed at the joint convention here some time ago of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and the American Cotton Manufacturing Association.

This committee indorsed the employment of bank and

bankers' acceptances as far as practicable in the financing of this year's enormous cotton crop. From an authoritative source it is learned that the program calling for the organization of a Cotton Acceptance Corporation will be carried out next month when articles of incorporation will be filed in Albany for new enterprises with an authorized capital stock of \$5,000,000.

Preparations are now being made for a freer use of cotton acceptances and it will only be four or five weeks, according to bankers, when they will be offered in large volume.

OBSERVATIONS OF EPICTETUS, JR.

By LEWIS ALLEN

WHAT goes up as excess profit comes down as war tax. Now comes the struggle to determine in Who's Zoo the Russian Bear shall be trained.

Rumor has it that St. Peter has had to put a "Verboten" sign on the Pearly Gates.

A soldier wears a wrist watch to see what time it is. A woman wears one to see how late she is.

A lot of married men enlisted in order not to have to work *and* fight.

The partnership between "Me und Gott" seems to have been dissolved.

Uncle Sam wants not only water-proof but graft-proof raincoats.

It takes all kinds of people to make up the world, including patriots and those who try to picket the White House.

While our dollar-a-day men "Over there" are striking for Victory our dollar-an-hour men over here are striking for shorter hours and longer "green."

The Editor's Un-Easy Chair

(Contributions to this department must be addressed to the Editor and should not exceed 1,000 words. Manuscripts should contain addressed envelope stamped.)

Battle of American Politics

THE intense undercurrent in this year's political encounter may account in a measure for some of the "markings off" by agreement between both of the parties. In many districts where the lead of one party is overwhelming the opposition party is standing aside and making no contest. Of course, there is much sincerity in these mergings ostensibly on behalf of the conservation of patriotism, but it is a physical fact that much force and energy saved at one point may be employed at another. And without detracting from the high purpose behind the mergers aimed at eliminating objectionables of other parties, it is not amiss to surmise that the two big parties would like to free their heels of dogging by smaller political aggregations.

There is considerable uncertainty as to the result of the immediate issue, the election of the next Congress. There are more than 150 Congressional districts rated by both parties as "uncertain" and which constitute legitimate fighting ground. These are now represented about equally between Democrats and Republicans. And there is some question as to which of the parties actually lead in the House of Representatives, though the Democrats control the organization.

The Senate is probably still more problematical. During the past year the hand of death has threatened the political status quo. While ordinarily only one-third of the Senate would be chosen in November, "unexpired terms" have accumulated until nearly one-half of the Senate seats are involved in the next election. The Democratic lead has been reduced until it is now only three above a clear majority, which means that if the Republicans should hold their own and

defeat four Democratic Senators they would practically control the Upper House. The probability is that they will supplant that many Democratic Senators, for the geography of the situation is favorable to them. Most of the Democratic Senators who "slipped in" because of the split in 1912, are up for election this year, notably ones from such strong Republican States as Illinois, Kansas and New Hampshire. The Senate is really more uncertain than the House, for the situation there is such that the Democrats probably must supplant several Senators now Republican with Democrats in order to continue in control of that body.

And the Senate, with its treaty-making power and its growing dominancy in the matter of legislation, is going to be the object of a harder fight than will be the House of Representatives. Furthermore, the party which wins control of the Senate this year is apt to retain it for four years as few of the expirations in 1921 will be in "doubtful" states.

The Congressional Fight

THE Democrats have three advantages in this year's campaign. The first and foremost is possession. The second is the party's identity with carrying on the war, and the third is President Wilson, an asset to the party such as it has had certainly not since Tilden and probably not since Andrew Jackson.

While the President coined the phrase "Politics is adjourned," and sponsored the Senatorial candidacy of Henry Ford, a Republican, and has advised against contesting the seats of some Republicans who are in, it is no secret that Woodrow Wilson considers himself a partisan Democrat whose interest in the future of his party has not been lessened by the stress of war. The war has not driven from his mind the ideals he identifies with democracy or the cleavage as he sees it between the Republican and the Democratic viewpoint as to domestic issues.

The Republicans are in no mean position with reference to the Congressional campaign. They point to a record of war support which is not inferior to that of the Democrats

as a party. In fact, many of the most energetic opponents of administration war measures have been Democratic Senators, who have provided the Republicans with arguments that are difficult to answer.

Every campaign meeting no matter in which party interest it is held will partake in outward character a war rally.

The campaign should and on the whole shall serve as a great patriotic stimulant and whatever bearings the result may have on the future, the immediate effect will be to arouse interest in and enthusiasm for the war.

Restrictions of the Uniform

THE romance of the uniform is not new. It has merely been transferred from pages of fiction to daily life. The supreme ideals of manhood that it represents are indisputable. It is the symbol of chivalry, daring, adventure, honor, heroism, authority and power. It represents the heroic qualities of all romance that has ever been written. The American khaki is the least spectacular, oblivious to outward splendor. It is, for that reason, the highest representation of fighting men. Nor can we find fault with the eager admiration which it inspires. The influence of women has always been the sustaining force of virtue. Few women are without a service symbol of some sort, and every man in uniform typifies the brother, the husband, the sweetheart at the front. But, this high-spirited devotion to the uniform requires some difficult restrictions. Young women do not always stop to measure the man in the uniform. His furlough is subject, of course, to the discipline of his service, and there is no doubt that it has stabilized the gyroscopic standards of his previous ideas of life. Still, these young women, girls in their teens, pairs, should be warned that promiscuous flirtations with men in uniform is not a desirable form of service.

Where the Liberty Loans Go

WITH the Government preparing to float a Fourth Liberty Loan, the natural question arises, "Where do these huge sums go?"

Everybody knows the answer, "To pay the expenses of the war. The war is costing the United States \$18,000,000,000 a year, \$50,000,000 a day, or say \$2,000,000 an hour, say \$33,000 a minute, \$555 a second.

It is pretty hard to understand spending at this rate. We can comprehend the figures but the only way we can get any idea of what the money is spent for is to examine some few of the thousand and one huge costs.

This is probably a better way than attempting to give a more or less itemized statement of these expenditures, even if such a statement could be printed without giving the enemy information of the war plans of the Government. We would be getting into big figures again. Instead of that, let us take some of the individual costs and consider them on the basis of an army of 2,000,000 men in France.

It costs the Government \$4.93 on the average for every man inducted into the army through the operations of the Selective Service Law. Even with the first army in France, this cost goes on all the time as more men are added at the rate of at least 1,000,000 a year. Think of it, \$4,930,000 just for the clerical and other work in adding every 1,000,000 men to the army.

The sixteen cantonments in which these men are trained cost more than \$141,000,000 to build. Their maintenance charges alone cost a fair ten per cent of this amount, without taking into consideration the cost of maintaining the men and training them.

Every man had to be supplied with a full outfit of clothes. This included 1 coat, 2 pairs of breeches, 1 hat or cap, 2 pairs of shoes, 3 suits of underwear, 5 pairs of socks, 1 pair of leggins, 2 flannel shirts, 1 pair of gloves, and 1 overcoat. In addition there were all the little incidentals, such as collar badges, identification tags, etc. This original outfit costs approximately \$55, more than one small Liberty Bond. For the army of 2,000,000 men it means a first cost for clothing of \$110,000,000.

But this is only the start. Different clothes have to be provided for different seasons; worn out clothes must be re-

placed. It has been figured that the whole outfit must be renewed two or three times a year for men in active service. Shoes are even worse. Each pair costs \$5.10. Nine or ten pairs are required a year for each man whose time is spent in hard hiking or fighting on rough ground or in the water-soaked trenches that rot the shoe leather.

The other equipment of the individual soldier is even more expensive. His rifle alone costs \$19.50. The bayonet with its scabbard costs \$3.28. These two items for the army of 2,000,000 mean an expenditure of \$45,560,000. Just as with clothes it is merely a first cost. Rifles wear out, are broken, and must be replaced. The army authorities declare they must have extra rifles in a proportion that would provide five rifles for each man each year.

Every man must have blankets, a shelter tent, a mess kit, a haversack, a cartridge belt, a pack carrier, a canteen and half a dozen other incidentals that add another \$50 to the cost of his equipment. Then, more important still, every man at the front must have a steel trench helmet, which costs \$3, and a gas mask, which costs \$12.

Three Fifty-Dollar Liberty Bonds to a Man

TAKEN altogether, this means an expenditure for clothing and equipment for each individual soldier of something more than the proceeds of three fifty-dollar Liberty Bonds.

It costs forty-one cents a day to feed each man in the army. This figure fluctuates with market changes but is the present allowance for each man. That means it costs \$149.65, or approximately the price of three fifty-dollar Liberty Bonds, to feed each man for a year. To feed the army of 2,000,000 costs \$300,000,000 a year.

Perhaps the cost of equipping a single division gives the idea in a little better form. The division is the chief big army unit. It is made up of all arms of the service and includes between 20,000 and 27,000 men. With the special equipment required in these various arms of the service it has been figured out that it costs just \$4,387,880 for the initial equip-

ment for a division. This sum does not cover the upkeep nor the renewal of equipment, nor any of the expenses of training and feeding the unit.

To feed the division during a year, either in training or in service, requires \$3,577,000 or a sum equivalent to that raised for Uncle Sam by the sale of one fifty-dollar Liberty Bond to each of 71,540 citizens.

Of the equipment cost of \$4,387,880, one of the biggest items is the clothing, \$2,835,360; \$1,326,080 goes for fighting equipment, and the very respectable sum of \$216,440 goes for mess kits and kitchen equipment.

Separating these costs of a single division into items, we find that each of the more striking items is a big sum in itself. For instance:

It costs \$525,000 to provide blankets for the men.

It costs \$285,600 to provide them with the shoes they need at the outset of their military service.

It costs \$42,000 to give them the socks they must have.

It costs \$560 for the identification tags the Government provides to keep track of the men through the eventualities of battle.

It costs \$417,000 for the overcoats for a division.

It costs \$82,600 to provide the shelter tents.

For the rifles alone, \$546,000 must be spent, and at the rate of \$5 per 100 for cartridges, it takes \$140,000 to provide them with one belt full each.

Steel helmets and gas masks add another \$500,000 to the cost.

Then there is the question of pay. Each private gets \$30 a month. The non-commissioned officers, corporals sergeants, etc., get proportionately more, and the officers get from \$1,800, the pay of a second lieutenant to \$11,000, the pay of a full general. Averaging this for the whole army, statisticians have learned it costs \$480 a year for each man of the 2,000,000. This means \$960,000,000, or very nearly a full billion dollars for pay alone.

\$2,040 a Year for Each Soldier in France

ALL of which makes the American soldier a mighty expensive individual. In fact one high military authority has figured that it costs \$2,040 a year for every soldier we have in France. Multiply that by 2,000,000 and you get \$4,-080,000,000, or two-thirds of the amount asked in this Fourth Liberty Loan.

But these are only the preliminary expenses for the army. It is merely the cost of putting them in France and keeping them there without doing any fighting. The mere cost of transporting them to France, \$120 for every man, is a slight indication of the expenses of the sea service that must be maintained to carry them. It is not a very good indication, for in that figure of \$120 per man is included the cost of their railroad transportation on this side. Perhaps a few transport and navy figures will give a better idea of the cost of keeping the road to France open.

Transports cost anywhere from \$1,500,000 to \$10,000,000 and more. At the start of the war the United States had almost no ships suitable for transports. They had to be bought and built. Even the 112 vessels seized from the Germans and the Austrians had to be remodeled and repaired at great expense before they were available for service.

Today we have over 150 shipyards at work on other ships to serve as transports and supply vessels. Freighters, oil tankers and a dozen and one other kinds of ships have to be built to carry overseas the food, ammunition and supplies for the army. The United States had to start creating this fleet by building the shipyards themselves. Then it had to build the ships, equip them and man them, and now it must maintain them in service.

All of these ships would be helpless without the navy to protect them from the U-boats. Some time ago it was announced there were more than 250 United States naval vessels of all types on the other side. In addition, there are the great numbers used in convoying and patrolling back and forth across the ocean and the great net of coast patrol vessels it is necessary to maintain on this side.

For obvious reasons, no figures are being given out as to the exact number of naval vessels in commission. The same thing applies to the number being built. It is an open secret, however, that since the war began, more than 1,000 ships for war purposes have been built. In addition something over 800 ships were converted from pleasure yachts, liners, etc., into war ships.

What the Navy Costs

THE personnel of our naval forces has been increased many hundred per cent since the war began. There are now more than 400,000 men on the navy roster.

Just as an indication of some of the navy costs let us give a few ship costs:

Battleships of the latest type cost \$23,075,000 each; battle cruisers cost \$24,900,000; destroyers, the chief foe of the U-boat and the type of craft used in greatest number, cost \$1,590,000 each. Submarines cost as much.

Every torpedo fired by a destroyer or a submarine costs from \$5,000 to \$10,000, depending on the size used.

Guns cost all the way from \$15,000 for the three-inch type to \$256,000 for the great sixteen-inch guns. Remember that each battleship has ten or twelve of the largest guns, either fourteen or sixteen-inch. The six-inch guns, the type with which most vessels are armed as a defense against U-boats cost \$40,000 each. These gun costs make a pretty item when it is remembered that the Government has had to arm more than 12,000 vessels of all kinds for various purposes.

Ammunition for these guns costs all the way from \$3 each for the little three-inch shells to \$580 each for the armor-piercing guns of the great dreadnoughts.

The navy, with its 400,000 men has the same proportionate equipment and food costs to consider as the army has. It costs approximately \$100 for the full clothing outfit for each sailor. The cost of food per man ranges from forty-nine cents a day on the larger ships where it is prepared in great quan-

tities, to fifty-two cents a day on the smaller ships where they cannot be so economical.

Well, suppose after spending all this money, we have landed our army of 2,000,000 men in France. They must be supplied with artillery and ammunition, food and supplies of all sorts. These supplies must be transported from the base ports to the front. It has been necessary for the United States to build great ports with huge warehouses and to construct hundreds of miles of railroads. The rolling stock for these railroads had to be supplied from this country. More than 2,200 freight cars and nearly 1,600 locomotives have already been sent over.

In addition to this type of transport thousands of motor trucks of all sizes and capacities had to be provided. Most of these trucks are the larger sizes, from 2 to 5 tons in capacity. The average cost of these machines is \$5,000. In addition there had to be several thousand motor cycles and passenger automobiles for messengers, officers, etc.

Another item in transportation was horse and mule drawn wagons. Draught horses, horses for the artillery and cavalry and mules for the transport and the pack trains cost on the average of \$200 each. Each division requires about 4,000 horses and mules for various purposes. This number is varied to some extent by the number of motor vehicles supplied and by the proportion of artillery and cavalry units allowed the division, but it can be seen that a huge army of animals is needed. And every one of them must be fed mostly on grains and forage shipped from America.

What Ammunition Costs

THEN before the army can go into action it must be provided with artillery of all sorts, ranging from the machine guns and the light field pieces to the huge howitzers. Machine guns are of various types, but the one most in use costs approximately \$500. A light field gun of the 75 mm. type costs about \$3,000. Each one must be provided with caissons and ammunition wagons and either a team of six horses costing \$1,200 or a tractor costing \$4,000 or more.

The tractors are used for the heavier guns. These big guns cost as much as \$100,000 each for the great ten-inch and twelve-inch types that are used for long range work.

Ammunition of all kinds from rifle ammunition to heavy shell costs in proportion to its size and is one of the greatest expenses of all. Rifle cartridges, the .30 caliber Springfield used in the United States army rifles, cost five cents each in this country. By the time the freight for delivering them in France and carrying them to the front has been paid they cost fifteen cents each. Each infantry soldier must have 200 of them at all times. This means an initial cost of \$400,000,000 for the army. In battle they can be fired from the regular rifle at the rate of twenty or more a minute, so a man must have his original supply of 200 replenished many times when he is in active service.

Machine guns use the same cartridges as rifles but they shoot much faster. The newest types, such as the Browning adopted by the United States, fire 650 shots a minute. This means \$97.50 every time an ambitious gunner cuts loose for sixty seconds.

Shell is of so many different sizes, from the new 37 mm. anti-tank size ($1\frac{1}{2}$ inch), to the great sixteen-inch howitzers and of so many types, shrapnel, high explosive, gas, incendiary, etc., that it is difficult to give an idea of its cost without giving interminable lists of figures. But perhaps an idea of the cost of the shell used in a barrage may be gained from the claim made by the German High Command, that in the battle of the Somme in 1916 they used up \$1,800,000,000 worth of ammunition.

Then there are the airplanes, costing from \$7,000 to \$10,000 and more each. There must be thousands of them, fully equipped with machine guns, bombs, etc. Tanks are another costly piece of war apparatus. There are several types of them in use. One type is small, carrying only two or three men. The other type is the huge, ungainly monster that crushes its way through all opposition and smashes the obstacles it cannot surmount. Each of these big tanks cost, from \$25,000 up.

There are thousands of other things that must be provided for the winning of the war, some of them as familiar as hospital supplies, which everyone knows are expensive, and some of them for the present still military secrets. But anyone who has given thought to these costs set forth can well understand some of the things for which the Liberty Loan money is spent. It is easy to see that the Liberty Loans and all the other money go for many things but that all in all they go to purchase victory.

Secretary Daniels Talks of The Submarine Menace

WE have the sea serpent with us this summer. He is not of the circus variety, but, according to Secretary Daniels, belongs to the rattlesnake family, seeking to hit where he can strike. At present he aims, according to Secretary Daniels, in an informal talk with *THE FORUM*'s editor, to menace our coal shipments to New England, and threaten our coal supply to the great war industries. Said Mr. Daniels: "The German U-boats lay along our shipping lanes and around Hampton Roads where there are many ships entering and leaving every day. As yet they have done no military damage, but like rattlesnakes, they may make a hit at any time, despite our numerous chasers, torpedo destroyers, and air craft on the lookout."

It has repeatedly been circulated that the Huns have supply stations in our waters. Commenting upon this, Mr. Daniels says: "It is not known that the German U-boats in our waters have any coast supply stations, but it is known that they have transferred supplies to each other. We do not know the identity of these boats, nor how many there are, but Germany is using them to strike wherever she can. One Commander has said that he would stay in these waters six months. Our ports and sea lanes are guarded by destroyers and chasers and we are doing everything possible to protect all kinds of shipping. The all important thing is to protect ships carrying soldiers and war supplies. This is the most important work we have to do. They may get a big ship some time, but they haven't yet !"

That the Navy is after these artful dodgers of our sea lanes, and will probably get them, in our waters, as it has abroad, is not a boast, but a presumable probability, and at no distant date. Mr. Ford's "Eagles" will soon be heard from. Of these submarine chasers, Mr. Daniels said: "The ship is considered by competent engineers a success. They will be tried out upon the Great Lakes and promise to be so successful that another Government has already placed orders for a number of them. They will help. They are a cross between the destroyer and the small chasers and are expected to be very seaworthy crafts. When the destroyers were built it was thought that they would not stand up against heavy seas; when the chasers were built they were not intended for heavy sea work, but they have stood the test. The Eagles can be turned out in large numbers when the output gets under way, as all the plans are arranged for quantity production. Our yards are working to full capacity on destroyers, and the Eagles will be of great aid in submarine warfare, effective in harbor and river work, sea coast patrol."

We still have another type for submarine detection, and capable of doing them mortal injury, the Curtiss Flying Boat. These "sea hawks" have been heard from abroad. Of them, Secretary Daniels said: "Our sea planes, flying boats, are doing efficient work abroad. They have to their credit excellent records in aerial patrol and submarine detections."

Still, we are uneasy, but not so uneasy as to be apprehensive. The supreme confidence of the public is with our able Secretary of the Navy. He has put the American Navy on the map; he will put German frightfulness off the seas.

The FORUM'S Policy, Constructive Nationalism

TO WIN THE WAR

What is Constructive Nationalism?

Constructive business, industry, organizations—that look to a permanent betterment of our social and organic life as a democratic people.

National unity, solidarity, in common aims of the whole people, politically, socially, educationally, and fundamentally, as one people, one flag, one language, one loyalty.

It is the desire of The FORUM to open its pages to the thought of the best constructive thinkers in our country, that their thought may be the seeds or the stimulating means of a definite, substantial nationalism; aligning its aims and policies with the forces to win the war.

Recent FORUM Contributors:

VICE PRESIDENT MARSHALL
LORD NORTHCLIFFE
FORMER U. S. ATTORNEY GEN. GRIGGS
FORMER AMBASSADOR PENFIELD
U. S. SENATOR LEE S. OVERMAN
SPEAKER CHAMP CLARK
HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN
MAX NORDAU
SIR GEORGE REID
THOMAS W. LAMONT
BARONESS VON HEDDEMANN
GUSTAVE HERVE
DUKE OF ARGYLL
PRESIDENT DAVID STARR JORDAN
PRESIDENT EMERITUS CHAS. W. ELIOT
PRESIDENT G. STANLEY HALL
SAMUEL GOMPERS
MARY E. WILKINS FREEMAN
MARY HEATON VORSE
SAX ROHMER
U. S. SENATOR REED SMOOT
LEWIS ALLEN BROWNE
THEODORE N. VAIL
ISRAEL ZANGWILL
C. COURTENAY SAVAGE
DR. EUGENE LYMAN FISK
DR. JAMES J. WALSH
MARY AUSTIN

War Savings Subscription:

Special Offer

YOUR war time interests demand that you are informed of the thought of our most distinguished men and women, close in touch with the affairs and aims of the Nation and the people. Contributors to The FORUM include a wide range of public spirited Americans, in the Government, in war activities, and in great organizations that have come into life to help with the war.

In keeping with the war time spirit we have planned a War Saving Subscription offer, 75 cents for your war saving fund, \$1.75 for the FORUM for one year, or, 25 cents for your war saving fund, and \$1.00 for The FORUM for six months.

WAR SUBSCRIPTION OFFER FOR NEW SUBSCRIBERS:

In order to begin your subscription with the next number, fill out the enclosed blank and return to THE FORUM, at the earliest possible moment.

PUBLISHER: Please enter my subscription to THE FORUM for One Year (\$1.75) or six months (\$1.00) in agreement with your special offer mentioned above.

Name
Street
City State

THE FORUM PUBLISHING COMPANY, 118 East 28th Street, New York City

The FORUM

For October, 1918

A PERMANENT MILITARY MACHINE NECESSARY?

Is It Compatible With Democracy?

By HON. GEORGE EARL CHAMBERLAIN

[U. S. SENATOR FROM OREGON, CHAIRMAN U. S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON
MILITARY AFFAIRS]

An after-the-war question that concerns every American, is calmly and logically treated by the Senator from Oregon for The Forum.

SOME persons, I believe, contend that the present world war should and will mark the end of all warfare. Let us hope and pray that they are right—but meantime we shall probably find it advisable to “keep our powder dry.”

It is possible that there will be no other great struggle such as that in which we are now engaged, at least none other for a long time to come. Yet such an eventuality is only a possibility, or, at the very highest estimate, a probability. Under no circumstances that I can imagine can it be a certainty. If means for making it a certainty should be available they might be less desirable than the danger to be subverted.

At best we can only hope that the danger of warfare will be reduced to the lowest minimum compatible with human freedom, national self-respect and legitimate national interests.

No reasonable person can maintain that it is possible for the present war, or the international arrangements it may produce, to forever or so much as temporarily end the possibility of war occurring and of the United States being involved in warfare. That irremovable possibility must be taken into account when we come to reshape national policies in conformance with the new conditions that will prevail hereafter.

Therefore, our permanent policies of future peace times must comprise some measure of national defense. We must in future be prepared for not only what may likely happen but also for what can happen and our preparedness must be modified only to the extent that the danger is reduced.

It is foolish to assume that situated as we are it will be safe for us to scrap our navy, dismantle our forts and abandon our rifles, but the attention to be given those things will be marked in degree by events we cannot now anticipate or define. I think I can lay down a proposition on which all thoughtful men will agree, which is that absolute disarmament will be neither safe nor desirable no matter what the outcome of the present war or the eventualities of that outcome may be.

WHY WAR WILL BE WITH US ALWAYS

IF there were no other ground on which to predicate the foregoing assertion the very facts of human nature would render it uncontrovertible. I believe human nature has improved and is improving. In my opinion the events of the times are arousing the idealistic, altruistic and sacrificial impulses of men and women as they probably were never aroused on such a scale before. No doubt when the war is over the public mind throughout the world will be healthier, saner, more temperate and more reasonable than ever before. But I don't believe the war is going to bring on the millenium by making men wholly perfect. After it is over, greed and selfishness, jealousy and covetousness will still have to be contended with as evils of human nature, though I trust their virulence will have been greatly reduced.

Nations are only the composite reflection of human beings. They cannot be much if any superior to the individuals that animate and give them life. And nations will not approach perfection in thought or action until at least a majority of human beings in all nations are perfect. It is idle to imagine all the imperfections of human nature being uprooted or destroyed during the period of the war, no matter how long or violent it may be. In fact, if war were capable of such a phenomenal purifying process we would be compelled to exalt the science of killing above the tenets of religion and all the other moral forces that have worked peacefully for the uplift of mankind. For myself, I can pay to war no such tribute.

Until you can eradicate from the individual human heart the evils of greed and selfishness and the desire to get something that belongs to someone else, you cannot eradicate from the hearts of nations the same desire that lurks in the hearts of men in dealing with others.

So long as men are greedy nations will be greedy. So long as men are unjust nations will be unjust. So long as men seek what is not theirs nations will hunger for conquests. So long as policemen shall be needed to protect your homes, a military arm will be needed to protect your borders from the invader. When locks and vaults can be discarded throughout the earth, military arms may be safely thrown into the sea. But such a time of halcyon safety is not coming next year, or the year after, even if it ever comes at all.

Thus if I am asked if we will have to adopt measures of permanent military preparedness my answer is positively in the affirmative.

OUR AFTER THE WAR MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT

BUT if am asked whether we shall have to maintain a large standing army of professional fighters or adopt any measures partaking inherently of militarism, or measures differing essentially from the policies of the nation as fixed by its founders, my answer must be a positive negative.

That we shall have to have an army as we shall have to

have a navy there isn't the slightest doubt in my mind. But I do not believe we shall need to maintain a much if any larger standing army than we had before the war. This does not mean that we will not have to keep better prepared for war; for in reality we were scarcely prepared for war at all.

The preparedness for war we shall have to undertake in future will bear little comparison with the futile undertakings along that line in years past.

For we have learned by bitter experience that modern warfare is no simple science. Fighting of old, as everyone knows, was a holiday, May-day affair, compared with what it is now when all of Science's modern ingenuity is being employed on the battlefield.

We can reasonably assume that the acme of achievement in the science of fighting has not been reached, if even so much as approached. Many new means of fighting developed in the present conflict have been of restricted import merely because neither side had the time or means for expanding their full possibilities. There is no way we can prevent their expansion in future.

War was formerly a matter of human combat; to-day it is one of absolute destruction, not only of men but of everything within its zone of action.

It may be argued that the employment of such fearfully destructive instruments as are now being used will in future be prevented. Such can be done only by preventing war itself. We have seen what happened to prior agreements entered into with all solemnity regarding the conduct of so-called civilized warfare. Our very participation in the present struggle illustrates the flimsy texture of such arrangements. No war in all time was preceded by fuller or more humane understandings for the observance of measures of amelioration. And in none other, since savage hordes overran countries only to satisfy primordial lust for destruction, has the harshness of conflict been softened by fewer measures of amelioration. Even those gallantries and courtesies which the customs of centuries were believed to have rendered

sacred, such as are covered by the white flag of truce, like the burying of the dead and the gathering up of the wounded, have been utterly ignored.

By what reason can we assume that prior agreements and understandings as to the conduct of warfare in future can be trusted absolutely? And if not as to the conduct of warfare, how can we trust implicitly to those aiming at ending warfare itself?

We can only assume that agreements and arrangements will be trustworthy largely in degree that there exist adequate measures for enforcing them.

GREAT NUMBERS OF FUTURE POTENTIAL FIGHTERS NECESSARY

THOSE measures must consist of something more than an adequate supply of men willing, on need, to fight. Though armament figures in warfare as it never did before, the importance of the man was never before so great.

War is and will continue to be essentially a matter of men. Whatever we do to safeguard the future must be predicated on men, not on great numbers of men who are potential fighters but on great numbers of men already trained and schooled in the fighting art.

Hence our future policies of preparedness must be laid on the foundation of obligatory military service energized and applied by universal military training.

It is the only way we can avoid maintaining a large standing or professional army and perhaps the only way we can safely avoid the evils of militarism.

Universal military training does not mean or threaten the danger of militarism, which, conversely, does not mean preparedness. Some of the most militaristic of nations have proved on test illy prepared for war. It might even be argued that militarism produces cankers that rot out the heart of true preparedness. For Germany's example of efficiency in the present war, you may set Russia's humiliating defeat by Japan and recent disintegration, both of which may be traced to rottenness begotten by a militaristic autocracy.

While militarism, that is the complete subjection of civil organization to the military, may encourage war, the lesson of history is that true preparedness tends to discourage and prevent war.

Who would assert there is any touch of militarism in the ultra-democratic government of Switzerland? And that oldest of republics has maintained its neutrality in the present war, as has been clearly proven, through its splendid state of preparedness based on the principle of obligatory military service and the long practice of universal military training. The well trained citizen soldiers of Switzerland alone, in my opinion, deterred Germany from invading France through that country. And who on quick thought can recall a war in which Switzerland has been involved?

Likewise no one ever thinks of the governments of Australia or New Zealand being militaristic, though both employ universal military training, and neither so far as I can recall has ever been involved in a war caused by threatened invasion of its territory or direct affronts.

MILITARY TRAINING NOT CONTRARY TO DEMOCRACY

THE practice of the afore-mentioned almost model democracies amply shows that there is nothing contradicting democracy, or threatening its tenets, in the principle that every man, rather than a selected and preferred few, should bear equally the obligation of fighting, when necessary, for one's country, or in expecting every man to be prepared to take part in the country's defense.

Those who assert that the principle of universal service and universal military training controvert the peculiar ideals and traditions of our own nation are little informed on the advocacies of the founders of the nation or the policies actually enacted into law by them.

You can find among the state papers at Washington a copy of a report made by our first Secretary of War to our first President urging the adoption of universal military training as a national policy. That Secretary was General Henry Knox, one of Washington's generals in the Revolu-

tion, and the President was George Washington, who submitted the report with an approval of its recommendations to the Senate of the United States.

It is interesting to note that General Knox's plan for amassing and training, in peace times, the fighting forces of the country, was practically the same as the one we have followed in the present war. In some respects, the Knox plan was more radical. It called for the enrollment of all men between 18 and 60 years old. Military training was to begin at 18 years, and, in the cases of actual mariners and seamen, at 16 years. Those between 18 and 21 were to be the "advance corps" of the forces and subject to first call in case of war. Those between 21 and 45 were to be the "main corps," while those between 45 and 60 alone were to be classed as a "reserve corps." The plan called not only for enrollment and muster but also for annual periods of training, the length of which shortened as the men grew older.

But that was only a report and a recommendation by a cabinet officer, someone may say. It may astonish such persons to learn that the essential features of the plan were enacted into law by Congress in 1792 and remained the law of the country until repealed by implication in 1903.

The law was enforced for many years, but with varying vigilance because the details of its enforcement were left virtually to the judgment of the various States. It did not break down entirely until 1848, when New York State enacted laws permitting exemptions on the payment of certain taxes.

OUR STATESMEN OF THE PAST FAVORED MILITARY TRAINING

THE views of Washington, Madison, Hamilton and even Jefferson, favoring what amounted to universal military training are so well known that they need not be quoted here.

But the question as to national policy has been settled by the exigencies of the present war; yet it is pleasing to know that it has not been settled contrary to the principles

accepted and at least nominally applied during the formative period of the nation's career.

And in my opinion the nation is not going to take a step backward after the war is over.

If a military arm will still be needed—and of that I don't think any reasonable man has any doubt—we are going to provide for it as we have made up our armies now in the field by requiring every man to do his part. Universal military training will obviate the necessity for a large standing army and its consequent threat of militarism.

By giving our boys on or before their reaching 18 or 19 years old six to nine months' intensive military training, thus turning out annually, without interfering with the normal operations of peace times, a half million or more men prepared for service, it will be necessary to maintain only enough standing troops to garrison our foreign possessions, man our fortifications and preserve our arms. In my opinion a standing army of 75,000 may be sufficient.

As for the details of applying universal military training, there can be no difference of opinion and I am wedded to no particular plan or plans. The scheme can be adjusted to our educational methods, as most of the colleges already are adjusting it, so that training can be made concurrent with schooling.

However, the training must be under the sole direction of the Federal government.

STATE MILITIA NECESSARY FOR POLICE PURPOSES

THE State militia or national guard should as far as possible be separated from the national military establishment. In my opinion the national government should withdraw support given State troops, of course allowing the States the right, as they have under the Constitution, to maintain organized militia, for constabulary or supplementary police purposes.

That universal military training will be well worth while, though no other war shall ever occur, is proven by facts coming out of our recent experiences.

Only two years ago, in a letter to a member of Congress, Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, wrote:

"There are many indications that there has been a decrease in the virility of our nation during the past decade. Whatever the cause of this decrease in the physical power and resistance, it is a matter of grave concern to all.

"Agencies that will build up our citizens physically must be a part of our social organization. Nor is this of concern from the military standpoint alone or purely as a problem of national defense. The effects of better health and increased vigor among our citizens will be plainly shown in increased efficiency in all activities of life."

Similar statements have been made by many others equally as authoritative as Mr. Gompers.

That adequate military training will check the tendency toward decreased virility is now not only claimed but proven by actual experience.

A nephew of mine in the South, who a year ago was an undersized, weakly and bespectacled stripling of 16 years old, enlisted in the army, with his mother's consent. Now he is a full-sized, pink-faced, strapping young chap, several inches taller, his glasses gone, with the army in France, and able to do twice as much as, but for the training he has received, he could ever have done. No doubt his life expectancy, barring the risks of war, has been greatly increased, as has been his potential value to his community.

The case of my nephew is only one of thousands.

THE EFFECT OF TRAINING UPON OUR YOUNG MEN

IT may astonish many people to learn that 400 out of every 1,000 of the millions of men who have been examined for the army were found to be suffering from some preventable disease, which was sapping constitutions, threatening general health, and worse still, carrying a most baneful foreboding to posterity. Such as were taken into the army have largely been cured, and the outcropping of such diseases—once the scourge of armies—has been, through wise measures of education, control and attention, reduced to almost negligibility.

The value to the youth of the country and to posterity which universal military training would be in that one direction would be worth the cost, particularly so if registrants were required to assemble and be re-examined annually.

What it may accomplish in the way of generally improved health is shown by the health figures of our present camps and cantonments. Disease has been reduced far below the normal for civil life and the death rate from disease likewise has been cut into something like one-half for men of the ages of those in the service.

Not long ago General John J. Pershing said:

"It would be difficult to imagine any discipline that would be of greater value, not only to the individual but also to the industrial, political and military future of this country, than to provide for the 1,000,000 men reaching 18 years of age each year five or six months consecutive military training, under such intensive system as that followed in the conduct of our summer encampments for citizens. . . .

"Everyone should know, except those who will not see, that the surest way to avoid militarism, if such a thing were at all possible under our democratic institutions, is to give every man military training.

"With military training every young man would learn that he owes his country the duty of preparing himself to defend her rights if called on to do so. The instruction would strongly impress upon him his military obligation to the government. Service for one's country cannot be measured by the mercenary standard of wages, but it ought to be given and accepted as the antecedent price of suffrage and for the mutual benefit of both the government and the citizen."

Under the stress and impetus of war, our country has made many great forward steps. Let us take care to see that the conclusion of war be made no excuse for steps backward.

USE AND MISUSE OF THE PRESS

How the German Bamboozled the Public. The English Press and the War

By VISCOUNT NORTHCLIFFE

WHEN the War came in 1914, the Germans alone had solved the difficult problems of news and censorship. For many years they had studied profoundly the power of suggestion possessed by a constant reiteration of printed type; they had laid their plans carefully at home and abroad and had purchased neutral newspapers in the United States, South America, Spain, Sweden, the Far East, Switzerland, Greece, and elsewhere. Meanwhile the British press had been adroitly flattered and cajoled by von Kuhlmann, the story of whose London activities has yet to be told, as well as by those great agencies of German propaganda, the Hamburg-American Steamship Company and the German Banks. What the Germans call "bamboozle trips" to Germany were organized by German propagandists for the free entertainment of British editors.

In the first days of August, 1914, by an instant and audacious effort of suggestion, the German newspapers and wireless convinced Germany, Austria and a great part of the world that the Germans were fighting a battle of self-defense! Our Government so ill understood its relations to the Press, that von Kuhlmann and other Germans were still telegraphing to English newspapers at the very opening of the War. Had these duped newspapers been of any real influence, great harm might have been done. As it was, the statements circulated by German speakers and German newspapers and our pro-Germans kept many of our people in a confused state of mind as to the War until long after it had begun.

The work of German newspapers during the War has

been to stimulate their own people and to cause dissension among their opponents. "England will fight to the last Frenchman" or to the last Canadian or to the last Australian—such has been the continual theme of German propaganda; and how effective it has proved is well known to all those who have had the misfortune to travel in neutral countries during the War, countries in which the Germans publish columns upon columns of lying wireless messages, cunningly mixing therein a little truth with an intolerable amount of falsehood.

In brief, the German use of the Press during the War is of the same nature as their use of scientific products and inventions—barbarous and efficient. And today the German Press is still increasing its sphere of baleful influence. It has lately acquired further powerful newspapers in Austria, and seems to have won complete control over a portion of the Russian Press.

HOW THE BRITISH PRESS HAS SERVED THE WAR

BY contrast with the accomplishments of the German newspapers let us look at our own. The British Press has played a great and noble part in the War, in spite of many unnecessary obstacles which have been put in its way. On the one hand, it has been subject by Government to humiliating restrictions; on the other, it has been importuned day after day by Government departments to give publicity to this, that or the other desire of the Cabinet. At the same time the raw material of its production has been reduced more drastically than the raw material of almost any other industry. Let us recall a few of the services which the Press has rendered.

Though the Government does not recognize the necessity of the newspapers, the Food Controller's department, for instance, could not exist without them, since they carry into every home, at a few hours' notice, the inevitable changes in the rationing of the food of the people. The call for men would not be heard without the voice of the Press. The newspapers have encouraged flying, the employment of

women, the control of the many rich and powerful scheming Germans at work in our midst, the building of ships and the development of agriculture. One newspaper alone has devoted hundreds of columns to explaining the complicated system of food control. The funds raised by newspapers during the War for prisoners' parcels, comforts for the soldiers and sailors, Red Cross and war charities of every kind amount already to many millions. To show the power of suggestion by continuity of expression, one of the high authorities of the Red Cross says that if the appeal is omitted from the *Times* for a single day the subscriptions at once begin to fall off.

As far as they are permitted, the newspapers give an accurate and faithful account of the War. But here again they are hampered needlessly in the discharge of their duty. To give but a few of a hundred foolish restrictions. They are not allowed to publish the total of our wounded and killed, which any accountant, enemy or otherwise, can discover from the published list of casualties. They are not allowed to describe the weather, though the Germans are provided with meteorological instruments that have never failed them to define the weather either here or in France. They are subject to a censorship which has been continually used for personal and political reasons, and which has misled, and still misleads, the public as to the depredations of the submarine.

In truth, it is not too much to say that newspapers, Metropolitan, Dominion, and Provincial, Scotch and Irish, of many shades of thought and opinion, have helped to keep politicians in the straight path, and more or less alive to the very heavy responsibilities which have been cast upon them.

AN AIRCRAFT DEPARTMENT NEEDED

The Hesitating Policy That Has Held Up Our
Halting Air Warfare

By HON. HARRY S. NEW

[U. S. SENATOR FROM INDIANA, MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE ON
MILITARY AFFAIRS]

A DEPARTMENT of Aeronautics, headed and directed by a Secretary with full cabinet rank and prestige and answerable only to the President, is the safest if not the only safe way out of the aircraft muddle which has caused the only great national humiliation associated with our war activities.

This was the conclusion of the sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs which recently investigated the aircraft situation. It constitutes the chief and most positive recommendation made in the committee's report which I think all will agree was temperate in spirit and constructive in character.

I, who had the honor of being a member of the investigating sub-committee, prepared a bill embodying the recommendation. (This bill has been endorsed by the Senate Military Committee by a vote of 11 to 2.)

Such a department, at least for the period of the war, would be a natural evolution, warranted by the size and importance of the work to be done and the peculiar and detached nature of the problem to be solved.

We have been spending—and much of it wastefully—more money on aircraft than we expended on all operations of the National Government prior to the war. Our first appropriation for aircraft, at the time of the making, was the largest that had ever before been set aside for a single purpose. Expenditures at present closely approach or exceed those made by the navy, and during the war will and should increase with great rapidity; for our program should be

expanded to the fullest possible extent. Almost as many men are now engaged in the air service as were in either the army or the navy before the war; and the number engaged in that service by France and England each is greater than were in either branch of our military service two years ago.

While the volume of expenditures and the size of the force justify the creation of a Department of Aeronautics, neither, nor both together, is the chief or most compelling argument in its favor.

The very nature of aeronautics requires that its handling and pursuit be distinguished as a separate branch of warfare, and its high importance demands that it be placed on a par, in official consideration, with operations on land and sea.

In character aeronautics partakes quite as much of the sea as it does of the land. It belongs to neither and is equally a necessary adjunct to both. Its field is the third main element of earthly space—the air—which is circumscribed by none of the limitations defining land and sea, and which, until recently, was an unexplored realm. The land and sea have known fighting since the beginning of warfare; the principles of army fighting and naval fighting are the culmination of thousands of years of experience; air fighting is in its infancy, an infancy that in all probability will develop, when mature, into a dominancy over if not the virtual subjection, of the two older and general methods of fighting.

Training for the air branch of the service is of as distinct a character as that for the army or navy. It bears as much analogy to that given our midshipmen at Annapolis as it does to that given our soldiers at West Point. In reality it bears none at all except at those points where training for the seaman and the soldier meet, as in matters of discipline.

THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF AIR FIGHTING

BUT aeronautics has a claim for equal rank with army and naval science superior to any of those mentioned. It lies in the superiority of the problem it involves, the exceeding hugeness of it in an intellectual sense. Though this war has revolutionized the art of fighting in all its branches,

air-fighting is the only kind evolved that can be called absolutely new in character and concept. It brings into play principles and elements wholly foreign to those which have heretofore governed martial combat. Theoretically its expansion has no limit and its theoretical superiority over other forms of combat is universally admitted. Furthermore, the development of the aeroplane as a military arm gives convincing evidence of its future importance as a commercial and industrial necessity.

Still there are other and even more practical considerations which favor the making of aeronautics a separate branch of the service. It overlaps into both the army and navy branches and thereby of necessity is provocative of friction and resulting confusion when not coordinated as a separate entity. There is no task facing the nation now, and there was none facing it when we entered war, calling for such genius as the carrying out of an effective aircraft program demanded. Compared with it, the formation of a big army and the placing of our navy on a war basis were easy undertakings; for with each of the latter the way had been blazed with fair precision. There were good nucleus organizations to build on and around and the necessity for invention and pure origination was not great. But with aircraft there was practically nothing, except the experience of our allies, which, as I shall indicate more fully later on, was virtually ignored.

A year's experience, gained at a cost of more than a half billion dollars and invaluable time, has brought home to us the fact of our ignorance as to aircraft as well as the size of the task which faced and still faces us. Yet we still subordinate aeronautics to the traditional military distinctions despite its own clear tendency to force itself into its true and deserved status.

THE CAUSES OF OUR AIR BLUNDERS

IMAGINE if you can our entering the war without a navy, barring a few small patrol boats, and without naval engineers or more than a modicum of knowledge of navigation.

Then imagine our depending almost wholly, though not necessarily, on our inventive and organization genius to create a navy—veritably out of the air. Go a little further and imagine our leaving the construction of the navy to a board made up of railroad experts, selected because locomotives and warships both move under steam-power. Then think of the undertaking being given the status of a bureau or division in the War Department, and you get some idea of the blurred and dwarfed perspective which has guided us in our aircraft undertakings.

And when we recall that in approaching the problem that way we defied the experience of friends and foes, it is mild to say that our course was due to lack of imagination.

But that is what we have done, at least until quite recently. The aircraft undertaking has evolved into something promising a due recognition of its true import but the evolution was made by force of its own propulsion and apparently against stubborn opposition and under-appreciation, both of which are still in evidence. It has evolved as did similar undertakings in France and England where ignorance was unavoidable. Its tendency here is the same as it was in those countries, that is to say toward departmental status; yet we hesitate about anticipating that which may have to be done and giving it that status now. Ministries of the air were established in both France and England, following costly experiments very much like those we have been and are making.

If our aircraft shortcomings could be stated in a generalty they would be attributed to divided control, indefinite responsibility and confused authority. No doubt there was incompetency and very probably malfeasance, too; but there was at the same time fine individual competency and splendid personal honesty; but individual talents were restrained and personal virtues obscured by an impractical system that permitted but vague distinctions between the good and bad, the efficient and the incompetent.

ONE MAN CONTROL NEEDED

WAR is peculiarly a one-man science. "Men are nothing, one man is everything," said Napoleon, the greatest of warriors. Our own successes abroad are credited by experts as much to the lately arranged concentration of command as to the inherent merit in our forces. Congress, like all legislative bodies jealous of its prerogatives, has submitted uniformly to the principle of concentration. It has withheld no authority which the commander-in-chief thought he should possess.

The principle has been taught repeatedly by our own experiences in the present war. One of the most significant illustrations is afforded by the ship-building program which, as all know floundered in stagnation so long as there was division of authority. Yet the men to whom it was first entrusted were of high character and competency and any one of them probably would have made a success of the program had he been given full and final authority.

It has been illustrated by our adventures into aeronautics. Associated with the development of that branch of the service no doubt there has been from the beginning men who if they had been entrusted alone with the undertaking could have been made a success of it. Mr. Ryan impresses me as such a man, and so does General Kenly. Yet the Senate Committee found that those two gentlemen had, out of safety, been forced to sign a sort of treaty of peace in the form of an agreement as to what each would do under such contingencies as they could anticipate arising out of the contradictory division of authority that had been made between them.

The Ryan-Kenly arrangement was a vast improvement over the advisory board arrangement which at first prevailed and which was productive of most of the big mistakes that are proved to have been made. The new arrangement with Mr. Ryan in full charge of all branches of the army program is another big advance in the right direction but it is only an advance. He has no authority over the naval aero-

nautic program which luck alone can prevent coming in conflict and competition with that of the army.

Furthermore, Mr. Ryan's gigantic task is still rated officially beside much less important and less difficult ones, being still only a section of the unwieldy war department and obscured out of proportion to its size.

We have grown tired of hearing about the many disadvantages under which we entered the war. We are so fond of pleading unpreparedness as a set-off to our shortcomings that we ignore some very signal advantages that did attend our engaging in the conflict. One of these was the existence of trained armies which held the enemy back while we prepared. Another was the more than two years of experience gained by our allies which was a guide of incalculable advantage to us in making preparations.

Naturally our allies were glad to render us every possible assistance in the way of expert advice and developed information. We were free to copy their successes and had ready access to their mistakes so that we might avoid them. We so proceeded in the old established lines of warfare. We adopted British rifles and French cannon.

PRODUCTION OF AIRCRAFT SHOULD BE PUT ON A DEFINITE BASIS

WE followed the way that had been hewn for us in organizing our infantry and artillery, hesitating not in setting our own inclinations and even traditions aside for something else proven in practice as more efficient.

But in the one branch of preparation in which we should have looked to our allies most fully for guidance, we trusted most to our own powers of origination and sought to blaze absolutely new paths.

Let me quote from the Senate sub-committee's report:

"When Italy entered the war she made a careful study of aerial warfare upon the French front as then developed. Her engineers then selected the most efficient types of French flying planes and immediately put them into production under the supervision of skilled French artificers. Coincident with this policy she began the development of airplanes on her own account. Her armies therefore were rapidly equipped with

an excellent service, afterwards supplemented by machines equally effective, but of Italian design and driven by Italian motors. By this means she avoided delay in production. . . .

"Your committee does not understand why the Aircraft Board did not adopt this obviously essential policy."

And it is difficult to understand why we hesitate about adopting other policies found by our allies to be essential; why, in fact, we don't go ahead with one leap and put aircraft on a basis similar to what it occupies in France and England instead of approaching it gradually with resultant costly delays and inextricable confusion.

The creation of a Department of Aeronautics would in no sense be a revolutionary change or produce a dangerous experiment. It would not disturb, in the slightest, the operations now or then going on. In that it may be seen how easily it may be done I take the liberty of quoting all but the prefatory part of the bill which I have introduced:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby created for the period of the present war and for one year thereafter an executive department in the Government of the United States to be known as the Department of Aeronautics, the head of which shall be designated the Secretary of Aeronautics, who shall be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. He shall be a member of the Cabinet and shall receive a salary of \$12,000 a year. The Secretary of Aeronautics shall have direct and complete control of all matters pertaining to the designing, purchase, manufacture and operation of aircraft equipment intended for the use of the Army, the Navy and the Marine Corps of the United States.

"Sec. 2. That the department shall also have an Assistant Secretary, who shall be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, who shall receive a salary of \$5,000 a year; and such other officers and employees as may be found necessary for the proper and efficient transaction of the business of the department.

"Sec. 3. That the unexpended balance of such appropriations as may have hitherto been made for the purchase and manufacture of aircraft and aircraft equipment and all appropriations which may hereafter be made for such purpose shall be available for the purposes of the Department."

Thus, you will note, that a statute containing only about two hundred words, and not one that could cause the slightest

disturbance in the progress of aircraft operations, would place our aeronautics program on a par with that of France and England and give it the status which by every line of sound reasoning it deserves.

A POSSIBLE 10,000 AIRPLANES BY JULY, 1919

IT would remove all question as to who is responsible for the furtherance of the program and would leave no room for the slightest evasion or misunderstanding of authority.

And, further, it would give to the man who succeeded with it a guarantee of full credit for what, if fully successful, would probably be rated as the greatest achievement of the war.

I cannot refrain from uttering a word about the injurious effect of extravagant boasting, especially as to aircraft production.

"Americans talk too much," declared General Pershing to Mr. Hamilton Holt last spring, "about what they are going to do. If we hadn't bragged so much about our getting 20,000 aeroplanes at the front by Spring we would have saved ourselves a great deal of trouble. Now our allies have a right to be distrustful of our promises while Germany has simply gone ahead and redoubled her production of aeroplanes."

Competent witnesses testifying before our committee declared that under any conditions possible it would have been out of the question for us to have produced even half as many as 20,000 aeroplanes by the summer of this year.

Mr. Nash, the new director of the technical division of the aircraft operations, testified before our committee that it will be a miracle if we place over 10,000 American-made planes at the front by July 1, 1919.

I mention the above in no spirit of discouragement,—and really I think we can exceed those figures—but merely mention them to emphasize the compelling task that faces whoever is made responsible for our aircraft program. It is up to him truly to do the "impossible,"—to accomplish miracles.

WANTED: THE BIGGEST AIRCRAFT MAN IN AMERICA

THERE is no man in America too big for the job and there is no distinction out of proportion to the job.

And the job should be so rated as to make it call for the exercise of the very highest genius that can be brought to its aid.

Of course, it is understood that there is no disposition to interfere in time of battle with the Commander of the Army's direction of that branch of the fighting force any more than there is to take the direction of the artillery from him.

The Department's function would be to procure flying equipment and to train fliers for both the army and navy. When turned over to either of the fighting branches of the service, the Aeronautics Department's authority would cease. Any other arrangement would be absurd, but such an arrangement would be no more extraordinary in principle than is the separation of the army and navy departments, or the labor and commerce departments.

As for the precedent of establishing a temporary cabinet place, it need be only said that all precedents give way to exigency in time of war. Moreover, it is not certain that a permanent Department of Aeronautics will not be found advisable.

"The aeroplane is an American invention," says the report of the investigating committee, "but the credit for its development belongs largely to other nations. America should meet this challenge by bringing the aeroplane to still greater efficiency."

Thus there is a reason of pride as well as necessity for our sparing no move toward making good in the aeronautics branch of the war.

OUR DOUGHBOYS' OWN STORY

By HAMILTON M. WRIGHT

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Mr. Wright, the *Forum's* correspondent with the American forces in France, gets his material "straight from the boys" through his talents as a "good mixer" acquired in his years of around-the-world travels and his experiences in the Spanish-American war.

AMBUSHED FROM A CRUCIFIX

"I GOT mine from a crucifix," grinned a Wisconsin doughboy, tapping his bandaged shoulder.

There was no sacrilege in his voice. I rolled cigarettes for him (he couldn't work his right hand skillfully because of the shattered shoulder) and was rewarded with an explanation.

"Not much more than half a mile from the cross that marks Lieutenant Roosevelt's grave stood another cross, one of those big iron crucifixes we sometimes find in cemeteries. A bunch of us were charging up over a hill. This crucifix was at the top. We were greeted by machine gun fire and half of our little group fell. I was among 'em, but was able to sit up and take notice. Believe me, I rubbed my eyes at what I saw. Out from the square iron base the crucifix rested, on came the spurts of machine gunfire. 'Flank that cross,' I yelled. Our officer had seen just what I saw and the boys began a skirmish around the base of the cross. Just as they started to close in, out jumped half a dozen Huns under the cross and started to beat it. Our boys dropped three. The others got away.

"There wasn't any grave up there. There wasn't any reason for that crucifix except the rotten treachery of the Germans. They set the crucifix there and the base was made hollow, with holes in it, a bullet-proof machine gun nest. We got the guns all right, and three of the men."

"INJUN STYLE"

A BIG Westerner, almost too long for his hospital cot, hailed me as "Pardner" and made earnest inquiry as to my supply of smokes. After a long, deep inhale he took a little bag from under his pillow and, opening it, handed me a splinter of steel as large as a lead pencil and nearly half as long.

"Doc did some prospectin' in th' region of my knee and dug this out," he said, grinning. "Come from a trench apple—some fruit, them trench apples, when they bust right 'long side of a feller. A Prussian guard handed me this here little souvenir just before he learned all about how a bayonet feels when it's run plumb through a feller.

"We come over on that Moldavia boat, and when the U-boat got after us we lost fifty-eight from two companies, so we swore we'd make the Fritzies pay ten for every one we lost, and our dispositions weren't improved any, so you could notice it. We was right glad to get into the fight. We got into the party below Soissons and helped flatten the line out pretty considerable. Our boys had their trench knives into the Huns so continuous that they wore their shoes out chasin' 'em. Then we marched through to attack, one night. There was plenty of artillery shells from the enemy and a wicked machine gun spray, night and day. We come to a river, narrow and deep. I think it was the Vesle, but we was more interested in Germans than geography. Fritzie had that river so well covered with machine gun fire from heights across on the other side that you had no more chance to dodge bullets than you would have to dodge raindrops at th' time of old man Noah's flood.

"Them bullets kept singin' 'You can't get across—can't get across!' And this peeved us considerable so we did Injun fashion, we rolled logs into th' river and got behind 'em. They made dandy little forts. But, lordy, how th' bullets plunked into them logs and splashed all about us. Water was up to our necks, in some places we had to swim for it. The Hun was sure raisin' hell but we got over, and under

the heights he couldn't get his machine guns slanted down on us. He didn't know we was really gettin' over and kept dropping shells and bullets on the spot we had left. Come dawn we outflanked them machine gunners, rushed 'em with the bayonets, and them that didn't look first and get away, fell down and squealed like pigs and yelled that 'Kamerad' gag.

"We gathered in them machine guns and went on. It was so foggy you couldn't recognize your tailor in time to dodge him and first we knew he was up against a big bunch of Prussian guards with bombs and bayonets, just on the other side of the road from us. I was bendin' over to tie th' busted string of my leggin' when we come on 'em. A Prussian, twelve feet from me, threw a hand grenade.

" 'Look out,' yelled one of our boys. But I was a thick-head and instead of falling flat I stood up. I also sat down again, for that trench apple sure did scatter a little hell all around and I got this hunk in my leg. But our boys with the captured machine guns let drive down the road and just laid 'em out. They fell like sheep and we had to climb over stacks of 'em to get on. I couldn't go far because my leg was hurt worse. Man, I sure missed some fun, but I'll make up for it. Doc has already fixed my knee so it'll bend good as new."

HE WHISTLED TO HIS COLONEL

"**Y**OU orter heard me whistle to my Colonel and yell 'Hey, you, come here!' to him," said a Pennsylvania private, as he lay with his hip in a heavy cast. "Of course I didn't know who he was," he hastened to explain.

"Me and my pardner was with the bunch in the open, waiting for the enemy artillery to let up, so we could charge. They had our number where we were waiting in the woods and were dropping all the hardware in the world on us. Air-planes were likewise dropping bombs. Everybody dug in as best he could. Pardner and I got in a hole that kept off machine gun fire and shell splinters.

" 'They can't get us unless they drop a bomb plumb in

this hole,' said my pardner, and then I thought the whole world had bursted open and a mule kicked me in the hip. Pardner was groaning.

" 'Are you hurt, Buddy?' I yells.

" 'Do you think I'm practising my singin' lesson?' he moans. He was half buried in the dirt. That kick or whatever it was sure did hurt, but I dug Buddy out. Shell splinters had cut through both his ankles. I made one of them tourniquet things on both his legs and managed to get one 'round my thigh as I was bleeding like a punch in the nose. Along about dawn the shelling let up. We was both weak and didn't feel none like giving three cheers for th' Kaiser when along come two Germans. I made a grab for my gun. One looked in just as I lifted the gun. 'Ps—s—s—t,' he made a funny noise to the other and they beat it. Then our men charged and we were left there. Next came some stretcher bearers and I made 'em take Buddy 'cause he was hurt bad. I knew there'd be some others, or the bearers would come back. Not long after that I saw two more of our men. They were going to pass me and so I stuck my arm out and waved it and whistled like I was stopping the last street car at 3A. M., and the men stopped.

" 'Hey, you, come here!' I yelled. They come on over and, sufferin' cats, it was my Colonel. 'Gee, I thought you was a stretcher bearer, sir,' I says, giving him a foolish salute.

" 'How can I help you?' asks the Colonel.

" 'I'm doin' fine,' I says, 'but if you see a stretcher bearer you might send him on, sir.'

" The other man was a surgeon. He took a look at my leg, and said, 'That's a poor tourniquet, my boy!' Before I could answer the Colonel says, 'That's a difficult place to fasten one, could you do any better on yourself, Major?' and th' Doc grins and admits he couldn't, so he fixes me up and later they pick me up and here I am. That's all—and oh yes, don't forget them Frenchmen. Gee, they can sure fight! I was fightin' right in with 'em for a while."

THE DOUGHBOYS IN ACTION

HE was an "Officer of the Lines." Not a brushed, combed, pressed, manicured, sartorially complete sort of an officer, but a brown-faced, blue-eyed, tousle-haired, muddy, grinning, all-human sort of a chap. He was prouder of his "boys" than a mother ever was of triplets.

"I could write ten volumes, each the size of Standard dictionaries, about the bravery of our doughboys fighting in the open, about their heroism, their sacrifices, their fearlessness and their 'punch,'" he said to me. "Open fighting was their meat. They liked it. At one time when we were hunting the Germans from wood to wood we had just buried one of our Lieutenants, a most lovable and popular chap, and our boys were out for revenge. When we reached a wood on the bank of a river, with no support on our left, the enemy was sending a deadly fire into us and we had to temporarily retire. Our boys almost wept. One word of encouragement and I believe they would have disobeyed and gone on.

"Then we saw a way out of it. We withdrew a little. A Lieutenant and a Sergeant volunteered to stay with one-pounders and hold the position. Next morning we advanced, were again repulsed, but in the afternoon we rushed it, drove out the Huns and held the new line.

"I saw one of the men coming up, one eye gone and his cheek torn open. A Lieutenant detailed a man to assist him to a *poste de secours*. The poor chap had to cock his head away over to see out of his remaining eye. He looked at the man detailed to help him back to the emergency dressing station. 'Aw go to Hell,' he said; 'stay here and fight. I can make it alone,' and he did.

"One of our Captains was going over the crest of a hill. We discovered a strong enemy force hiding behind the crest and sent two runners to warn him. One runner was killed, the other, with a bullet through his neck, reached the Captain, went back alone to the dressing station and within half an hour was back with a bandaged neck, gun in hand, ready for more of it.

"A company of ours got lost from the battalion which had stopped to fix masks in a gas attack, the company going forward. Through the dim light they didn't know whether we were friends or enemies. A German-American Sergeant volunteered to find out. 'I'll only be one Dutchman killing another,' he said.

THE STUPID HUN

"**T**HERE are more stupid fools in the German army than there are in an asylum for idiots," another officer told me. "In the fighting at Vaux we rushed a railroad station and held it. Over the embankment across the track the Germans were hiding. Every time they showed a head, that head was put out of commission forever by our accurate shooting. But, like moths around a flame, they kept looking over. A few would stick a gun over and it would be shot out of their hands. Unable to stand the nervous strain they tried to escape at the lower end of the track, but never got twenty feet from their hiding place in the range of our fire, falling in heaps.

"In a great shell hole I saw about thirty Germans held at bay by one American machine gunner. Unable to stand the strain they all rushed up to the edge of the crater in a bunch and threw up their hands in sign of surrender. Our American gunner was willing to accept their surrender, but there was a flanking fire from other of our gunners, far away, and this flanking fire swept every German in the group to death. Had they waited, they would have all been taken alive, as they wished.

"Going ahead one day I saw a German laying in our path. We were going Indian file. He seemed to be dead as he lay there, face bloody. I looked back, as we are always taught to do, and saw him suddenly sit up. We can't take chances. I was expecting a hand grenade, so let him have it. The shot didn't kill him and he explained that he was trying to surrender by sneaking back to our lines. Had he sat up at our approach he would have escaped the wound."

THE "GUY" MIKE WAS AFTER

"THERE'S a big Irish corporal in my company," a Captain told me as we were sitting in his dugout with our feet ankle deep in mud, "who gave me the best laugh I've had for weeks."

The Captain tamped some cheap tobacco into a corncob pipe with a muddy forefinger. I knew him in New York when he smoked monogrammed, gold-tipped cigarettes and considered it a disgraceful *faux pas* to be seen with a speck of dust on his shoes.

"Mike, the corporal, sneaked up and looked into a shell hole, but, like a well-trained soldier, he squinted adown the barrel of his gun as he looked, to cover whoever might there.

"Come awn out av that!' he shouted. I stepped up in time to see his prisoner, a wax-pale boy who afterwards said he was sixteen and who didn't look fourteen. He was very weak, his helmet almost rested on his narrow shoulders, his tunic was so big that the sleeves were rolled back eight inches, his trousers were so long that they bagged like a Zouave's bloomers. The poor kid commenced to cry pitifully, like a girl.

"'Niver you moind, sonny,' said Mike, 'I'm no baby killer. Here, let me help you,' and big Mike dropped his gun, slid down into the hole where the boy might have turned his own gun on unarmed Mike, and brought him up.

"'Stop ye're cryin', sonny. Nobody'll hurt you. There'll be eats for ye an' a good rest back there. But——" and Mike paused and glared—"if I could git me paws on th' big dirty fat slob of a Prueshun what sent a baby the likes of youse out here I'd tie him to that post an' feed him lighted hand grenades 'till there was nawthin' left of him. That's th' guy I'm after," and Mike picked up his gun and rushed on into the thick of the advance.

"FOR PARDON APPLY IN HEAVEN"

"I AIN'T going to be as pretty as I was," a young chap said to me. He left his college in his freshman year to get into the "big show," as he called it. He was sitting

in the sunshine just back from a dressing station, with an enormous bandage around his head.

"I've lost about half of my left ear and the dimple out of my cheek. I'll never be a matinee idol or 'he' movie star, but I'll be right back in the fight in a couple weeks, as these are only flesh wounds," and he laughed because the prospect pleased him.

"You know," he continued, gravely, "if there's one thing that makes me sick it's the way those damned Huns hide and treacherously kill, up to the last minute, and then think they can get off scot free by yelling 'Kamerad.' Something like the wicked old goats, who have been bad all their lives, professing to love the Lord on their death beds and expecting to get the same ranking in Heaven as the chaps who have been decent all their lives. And that mention of Heaven reminds me of a bit of revenge I had.

"I lost a chum a while ago. He had taken a prisoner and when his back was turned the prisoner shot him with a concealed weapon. You know those things don't increase our respect for the Huns. Just before a handful of machine gun bullets spoiled my Adonis-like beauty I came on a machine gunner by flanking him. He was hidden and poured shot into our boys until I was on him, then he wheeled and threw up his hands. He had the nerve to smile as though saying, 'Well, I've killed a lot of those Americans and now I can go back as a prisoner, get out of danger and be well fed.' That is just what I imagined his thought to be, and I was so mad that I saw red. He talked some English, for when he threw up his hands and grinned, he said, 'Pardon!'

"'You'll have to apply in Heaven for a pardon,' I yelled, and dropped him.

NEW STYLE IN CHURCH CONTRIBUTION BOXES

A REFINED appearing, soft-spoken boy of no more than twenty-one, recuperating from shell shock, carefully cherished a pair of German helmets.

"Ask him," said an officer acquaintance, to me, "what he is going to do with them."

"Those helmets, suh? Sell them? Not for a million. They are going back at once to my father. He's a preacher down in No'th Car'lina and I reckoned that if he had handles put on each helmet and used them to pass up and down the aisles of his little church as contribution boxes it would sort of stimulate the collection."

The boy's eyes twinkled, yet he was serious in his plans.

"We are giving 'em Hell every day," he added, with a broad smile, "and I'll be back in a few days now, to help ladle out more Hell for 'em."

"College boy?" I asked him.

"Theological," he said, gravely, "and if I get back home I shall finish my studies and be a preacher, like father."

OBSERVATIONS OF EPIC- TETUS, JR.

By LEWIS ALLEN

GENERAL ALLENBY says he can get thousands of Turks this Thanksgiving for almost nothing.

Looks as though we were drifting back to that old way of spelling that foamy beverage, "bier."

The Kaiser expects every brave Austrian to do Germany's duty.

Thus far there has been no organization of an Association of Women to Promulgate the Wearing of Last Year's Clothes.

Every Bond you buy takes the boys a step nearer Berlin.

Bill Hohenzollern had much rather go broke than have Pay Day come to *him*.

If you don't burn your money you won't have to sift ashes.

Faith says, "He's a splendid fellow." Hope says "He will reform." Charity says, "He's as good as the average."

The Germans claim to be superior animals, and they are, *bestly* superior.

Bulgaria's bump of hope has become a dent.

CARD-INDEXING YOUR POLITICS

The Great Political Campaigns of Today Are Scientifically Planned

By AARON HARDY ULM
[POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC WRITER]

“PRACTICAL POLITICS,” meaning the direction of campaigns and the building up of parties is, like most things else, undergoing a revolution. Some of the changes or the more superficial ones are apparent, for they find expression in laws regulating political practices. During the past ten years many large volumes of corrupt practices acts, primary election laws, anti-convention statutes, anti-slush-fund and sundry other legal regulations applying to party politics have been enacted. Most of them are good laws and the moral intent behind them all is excellent. They have had bearing in some degree on the changes that have come about in political method, but it might be argued that the changes preceded and maybe precipitated the laws.

Instead of the new methods being pitched on practices partaking of immorality, they are being cast on lines of high efficiency, which in themselves are simply unmoral, just as they are unemotional.

In fact, practical politics is being reduced to business method and the change is producing, if it is not the outgrowth of, a revolution of far-reaching significance.

Old school politics was identified with back-stairs rooms, “Amen Corners,” whisperings, deceits cleverly imposed, tricks that were admirable some time for their very ingenuity and boldness, all being classed as so-called “political strategy.”

THE POSTAGE STAMP THE BEST VOTE-GETTER

THE back-stairs, smoke-heavy conference room where three or four men decided the destinies of a party or a faction is no more, even if it ever really existed on the scale that those who fought political rings pretended to believe. Such rooms are now filled with typing machines or filing cases. In place of the "Amen Corner" or the Throne Room has come open headquarters which are really what the signs on the doors (always unlocked during office hours and usually swinging open) declare them to be, which is the place of business for a certain organization or one of its units. Whispered conferences, and directions conveyed by winks, shrugs, have given way to practically open meetings of committeemen who talk in decent English and whose decisions and recommendations are written out on well-kept minute books.

The erstwhile corruptionist who specialized in colonizing voters, stuffing ballot boxes, or handling repeaters has stepped aside for the skilled white-shirted analyst whose acquaintance among barkeepers is nil. The heeler is being supplanted by the letter writer. Thousands of dollars that used to be appropriated in chunks for the buying of votes now go into newspaper or magazine advertising. Other thousands that used to go for controlling this or that element of the voters now usually go into printing or for the salaries of stenographers and typists. The thousands that used to come from selfish or sinister interests now come in the main from the public direct and are procured through open but intelligent solicitation.

If you were to ask the modern political expert to point out the best vote-getter he would indicate a postage stamp. Uncle Sam in these days is perhaps the greatest single recipient of campaign funds. In every national campaign, his postal business enjoys unusual prosperity.

In the last Presidential campaign each of the big national committees spent approximately \$2,000,000, about half of which was for paid advertising. And advertising is yet as new to politics as it was to business a hundred years ago.

Only a few years ago most parties and candidates hesitated about using money in that way. One reason for fearing it was that the public might take umbrage at the clearly evident liberal use of money.

William L. Douglas, the shoe manufacturer, broke the political advertising ice by using, in making himself Governor, a utility that had been invaluable to him in becoming one of the world's richest shoe makers. Since then millions upon millions have been deflected from other and often immoral uses for the purchase of "display advertising" for urging political wares upon the voter.

Still, parenthetically, political advertising in the modern-day sense is so new that the writer does not know of a single man in this country who could be considered an expert in handling such publicity. Up to date the theories of business advertising have usually prevailed, causing results too often much lower than the expenditures should make possible. For there is wide difference between the "psychology" of selling and that of vote-getting.

Not only in campaigning methods is revolution working, but change of method is in evidence all along the line of political organization and pursuit.

EFFICIENCY IN THE COMING CAMPAIGN METHODS

UNTIL a few years ago party organizations, excepting a few concentrated institutions like Tammany Hall, were very nebulous. During nine-tenths of the time they existed merely on paper. They would be inspired by campaigns after which they showed little life, though sometimes considerable appetite, until the next election approached. During the interval between elections the various chairmen would be the organizations and as a rule, even with the chairmen of the big national committees, the positions were more honorary than managerial except in the job-getting sense. This condition is ceasing to exist. It is being found that campaigns ignored until the day for campaigning are lost before they are begun. Perhaps the prime secret of Tammany Hall's vitality is that the organization is never allowed to

drift into lassitude. It is eternally alive, busy, actively on the job. There is no immorality in that kind of efficiency; indeed, it of itself is commendable.

The continuous campaign is now emerging on a national scale. Neither of the big national committees has closed shop for as much as a week during the past six years. However, until two years ago the continuing organizations of both were rather nominal and perfunctory. Since the last campaign, both committees have maintained live and energetic permanent headquarters, and, oddly, both establishments have been domiciled in the same Washington City office building. Each has preserved the records of the last Presidential campaign and, without a break, has been preparing for the next Presidential campaign. Meantime, they look after by-elections and State contests and the running affairs of their various parties. Incidentally, a complete and systematic record is now kept of every operation on the part of the big national committees, and it is presumably open to inspection and is preserved permanently.

The Permanent Headquarters of the Democratic National Committee, its party being in the supremacy, has been conducted on the most elaborate scale perhaps that the country has ever before known. The work is directed by salaried experts under the supervision of an executive committee and consists of the systematic extension and perfection of the party organization with regular publicity and agitation in behalf of the party's tenets.

The Republican National Committee has carried on similar work, but apparently on a smaller scale.

Other party units have adopted the Permanent Headquarters idea and in many places State committees are looking after their party's interests as systematically between as during campaigns. Governor Whitman has urged that the New York State Republican Chairman be put on a \$10,000 salary and required to give all of his time to party work.

Invariably the regular work is done in a businesslike manner and mostly by mail. Men—and women, too, for most

of them have their women's bureaus—who attend to the regular work are paid salaries just as are the officials or executives of a corporation. Funds for its support come as a rule from voluntary contributions.

Instead of the new method concentrating and heightening whatever evils there may be in party rule, it tends to decentralize and minimize the dangers existing in party government. For it seems to bring and keep into touch with party management the widely distributed and diversified units or party organization. It supplies machinery through which the humblest member of the party can urge his views or lodge his protests.

FAR REACHING CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATIONS

THERE are in each of the two big party organizations, that is to say members of regular committees which figure in party management, about one hundred thousand persons. They are perhaps the two most representative of all national organizations, for they extend to the remotest communities in the country and are evenly distributed. The method of selection naturally causes persons of energy and enterprise to be chosen on party committees. In the qualities of intelligence, public-spirit and aggressiveness those organizations are perhaps the superior of any other in the country. They are peculiarly American, for no other country has evolved such unique institutions as our national party organizations.

Yet those organizations have rarely been used—if ever at all before last year—for purposes other than partisan, and as a whole during only the brief periods of campaigns for any purposes at all. Great power for good, aside from party considerations, lies in those immense and perfectly distributed organizations. It is probable that some power for evil lies in them, too; for it can be imagined how, under unscrupulous direction, they might be misemployed. But their very immensity and diversity minimizes such danger. It is rendered further negligible just to the degree that those organizations are strengthened by improvement in personnel, which

results from their enlivenment as bodies of continuing aggressiveness.

A few weeks before the draft registrations took place in June of last year, Chairman McCormick of the Democratic, and Chairman Wilcox of the Republican National Committee, jointly signed a letter which went to all the committeemen of both parties, urging them to co-operate in making the registration work a success. And committeemen of both parties worked hand in hand in rendering help.

In several States, the two party organizations have been employed in facilitating other war work.

There is no reason why they shouldn't be available for a great deal of non-partisan patriotic endeavor, and if perfected and inspirited can be of great value as national assets in non-partisan ways.

The foregoing are a few of the evidences of and deductions from the changes that are working in American political method, changes that are being hastened to completion by the war.

Partisan politics as stated is being reduced to a basis of mixed business and science. Emotionalism, like oratory, is disappearing or rather is being held in subjection. So-called strategy, or that form partaking of trickery, never did count for much and while still in some use is being routed out by methods as coldly methodical as those by which a big manufacturing concern sells and distributes its product.

These changes are in little measure due to reformatory legislation. They are due more to an enlightened public opinion. There is not a corrupt practices act, or an act regulating campaign contributions, the purposes of which cannot be easily evaded without resort to so much as perjury. Strangely, every advance toward purity in politics has increased the running expenses of campaigns. More money than ever before is needed now in the conduct of a successful canvass.

Excepting the force of public opinion, the biggest cause of the changes in political methods are the politicians themselves. They have learned that hard plugging efficiency is

superior to spasmodic skill no matter how highly the latter may partake of genius.

NEUTRALIZING THE POLITICAL JOB

NEW types of political managers and workers are coming to the front. The old motive forces of practical politics, like jobs and favors, are disappearing or being reduced in importance. Of some 200,000 government office-holders and job-holders in Washington City right now a majority probably belong to the minority party, that is so far as they belong to any party at all. Indeed, most of them would likely disclaim any party affiliation. The tendency of modern politics is to neutralize the job holder. This tendency is provocative of some interesting speculations. One is the development of a class of professional government workers cut off entirely from the operating machinery of politics. When it is remembered that, even in normal times, more than a million persons, or about one out of each hundred of the population, are supported in some way by government the wide possible ramifications of such a tendency may be imagined.

Anyway, "patronage" is no longer the inspiring political force it once was. One reason for this is the neutralization of government employes through the extension of the civil service idea and the other is the decreasing attractiveness of government employment. The science of modern politics is calling more and more for ability superior to that which finds satisfaction in poorly paying public positions.

Special interests are ceasing also to be a source of sustenance for political activity. The old type of boss directed machine is being relegated. But the new politics is being built very largely on the scientific methods discovered by those richly denounced evils. With them corruption was only one method employed, and usually a last resort. No number of corrupt millions would have sustained Boss Cox of Cincinnati throughout his long reign had he been deprived of the card-index system by which he marshalled his voters as a general assembles an army. Tammany could not have been sustained by any amount of repeating, colonizing, and

polls-rushing without its superb organization that is formed very much like an army, with responsible representatives extending down to city blocks. And so-called big business in late years has found it more advantageous to appeal directly to the public through carefully handled publicity, usually in the form of paid advertising, than by the surreptitious use of "yellow dog" funds.

The political organizations, good and bad, are learning the lesson of efficiency. They are learning it not only from methods employed for sinister purposes, but in themselves not sinister, but also from those employed by many non-partisan organizations. From a result-getting point of view, the most efficient organization of modern times having to do with things wholly or partially political is the Anti-Saloon League. And the politicians have learned a lot from it.

They have learned that there is nothing in politics so important to success or so effective at the polls as close and intelligent attention to details. They have learned also that they can find full employment for their energies in reaching and persuading the honest voters, and that crass corruption, in the old vote-buying sense, is wasteful and in a large measure futile.

The transformation from the old to the new political methods naturally is causing confusion and producing new problems. At present it tends to heighten factionalism and accentuate the personal equation.

It may be working also toward reducing party organizations to mere instruments for the functioning rather than for the creation and propulsion of opinion.

Just what kind of practical politics it will all culminate in, no one can do more than guess—and none are more lost as to the future than the practical politicians themselves.

IS WORLD SECURITY POSSIBLE?

Opinions by Representative Americans Looking to Permanent Security After the War

The opinions of these famous Americans herewith quoted are a direct answer to this vital question. How this will be accomplished, and the manner in which the new adjustment of international affairs will come about, is stimulated by the ideas of these men whose opinions on the matter are of national importance.

We Shall Need a Moral Governor

By CARDINAL GIBBONS

AS proud as we are of the genius of our statesmen; wise as are our laws; noble as has been and is the patriotism of our people, our country rests upon a stronger basis than any or all of these. The recognition of a Moral Governor of the World, together with righteousness which exalteth a nation, have been the guiding principles from the very beginning.

It is to be hoped that the same eternal principles of truth, justice and righteousness will again hold first place in the "Win the War for Permanent Peace Convention." Only by such principles can nations live together in harmony and the world's history go on progressing. The doctrine of might and brute force must give way where the teachings of God find welcome and firm footing.

We Must Forego National Advantage

By HONORABLE OSCAR S. STRAUS

(Former United States Ambassador to Turkey)

THE real cause of this war and of past wars is that national development has been largely along the line that people owe boundless devotion to their own country and nothing whatever to any other country. The intensified national spirit, the extreme form of which is illustrated by the German militaristic Kultur, even in time of peace, causes a

suspension of the moral law. This form of nationalism must be replaced by a higher form that recognizes that above loyalty to one's country are the obligations that every people owe to mankind. For this higher or supernational form the Allies have united. But for a willingness to forego national advantage for service to mankind, neither Great Britain nor America would have entered the war. In entering it they, together with our Allies, not in word, but in act, committed themselves not only to the defeat of German imperialism, but to the creation of new world conditions in which imperialism, with all it implies, cannot live, and in which all people shall have the fullest and freest opportunity for development and progress without the menace of conquest of domination.

A League of Nations

By ALTON B. PARKER

(Democratic Candidate for Presidency in 1904)

IN every field of war endeavor where either our Allies or ourselves think we may be helpful, we have gone with all the power we can summon, establishing in some of them the world's record of achievement. We had but a handful of soldiers when we entered the war a year ago. Already over half a million of our soldiers are with the armies of our Allies. Thousands are joining them every month, and more of our young men are being called to the colors, and the calls will be repeated as fast as we can make ready for them, until millions of the sons of the United States shall march with the splendid men of our Allies to the final victory over Germany.

Then will come the establishment of a league of the nations to enforce the peace of the world.

An Educated Electorate Necessary

By ROBERT McNUTT McELROY, Ph.D.

(Head of the Department of History, Princeton University)

LET there be no mistake in the minds of American patriots. We must fight Germany in the trenches until the trenches are destroyed, and we must fight German Kultur entrenched

in our schools until those trenches too are destroyed. By hasty propaganda we must give to our people unity of language and unity of thought, for only by thinking as a nation can we act as a nation. Our people must know that slacker and pacifist alike are but bidding for fetters for themselves and their descendants.

Then, after having beaten Germany and destroyed her propaganda engines, we must face the task of proving that a free America can do, with efficiency, precision and self-sacrifice, everything which autocracy has shown itself able to do. An educated electorate is the only foundation upon which a real democracy can be built, and in America we have never given democracy a chance, for we have never had a soundly educated electorate. We must have it. History will write failure over every democracy except the one founded upon knowledge by the mass of the people.

The Perverted Pacifist Ideal

By JOHN SPARGO

(*Secretary of the National Party*)

WE must be on guard against that perverted idealism which, in a hundred subtle ways, undermines the national morale and thus becomes a valuable ally of the Kaiser, however unintended that result may be.

Internationalism, in its highest and best sense, is a beautiful ideal which has inspired the noblest of our human kind. The growing unity of peoples, the ever-increasing strength and number of the ties of common understanding and interest binding nations together, and the progressive development of international organizations are among the greatest accomplishments of modern civilization. The genius of this mighty nation, its traditions, its institutions and its culture are in full harmony with that healthy and wholesome internationalism. President Wilson has become the foremost spokesman of a sound internationalism because he voices the ideals and sympathies of America. We are a nation of internationalists. We have envied the progress of no nation, but have rejoiced in the progress of all nations. We have sought

dominion over no people, but have extended the hand of friendship and fraternity to all peoples, great and small alike. As befits a great democracy, we have taken a foremost place in the effort to prepare the way for that "Federation of the World" so long foreseen and foresung.

The New Order of International Co-operation

By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

(*Economist and Author, "Russia's Message," "Socialism of To-Day"*)

THE road to international co-operation is clear; it is—international co-operation—beginning at once with the nations already in a mood to co-operate, and then gradually including the rest—first, at any cost, the remaining neutrals—then Germany's vassal allies—and, finally, though it may take years of decades, Germany herself.

If this tendency, so rapidly developed since the war, is checked or reversed, there is no prospect either for a permanent peace league or for the elimination of the economic causes of the war. If, on the contrary, the tendency is further developed, while the democratic league becomes wholly predominant economically, attracting neutrals and detaching Germany's allies, the situation is entirely hopeful. Every step that the free peoples take in the direction of economic co-operation and interdependence, every new nation that is brought into this circle, will make its economic attractive power more irresistible and opposition more hopeless.

We Must Exploit Civilization

By JUDGE CHARLES BURKE ELLIOTT

(*Of Minneapolis, Minn., formerly member of the Supreme Court, Philippine Islands, and of the Philippine Commission*)

MANY thousand of dark-hued people from the borders and hinterland of civilization are fighting and dying under the Allied flags. They come from India, Africa, the Philippines and the islands of the eastern seas, but none of them come voluntarily to fight with the Central Powers. For what and against what are they fighting? They represent a

third of the inhabitants of the earth, the retarded races, backward people in many of whom, during the decade immediately preceding the war, the spirit of nationality was active. They realize that the future of which they were dreaming lies with the champions of freedom, with the people who recognize the right of self-determination, who have shown themselves willing to lead upward and that the triumph of absolutism means the crushing of their hopes, the denial of their ambitions, and their reduction to political, industrial and military slavery.

The nations of the world, like the people of every state and community, are never of uniform capacity or development. The people who have lived and developed under the influence of certain general principles which they accept as expressing ideals of conduct and proper objects of desire and ambition constitute a system which, in a large way, we call a Civilization. Its limits, of course, are undefined and overlapping, but whether it be Eastern, Western, Christian, or Mohammedan, it stands for something distinct and understandable although difficult of definition. Within it may be antagonistic elements which lead to conflicts, but each state and each individual, in theory at least, recognizes that conduct should conform to certain ideals. A civilization is thus characterized by its ideals of life, its conceptions of right and wrong, and of the proper relations of man to man, state to state, and the state to its citizens or subjects.

American Versus Prussian Ideals

By DR. RICHARD HEATH DABNEY

(University of Virginia)

THE two men who best embody the American and the Prussian ideals respectively are Patrick Henry and Frederick the Great. The latter, you remember, carried upon his person, during the Seven Years' War, a vial of poison—to be swallowed if ever the time should come when his and Prussia's power must fall. Dominion or death! These were the alternatives for Frederick the Prussian. Not so for Patrick Henry the American, whose immortal words might

well be adopted today as our battle-cry and that of our heroic Allies: "I know not what others may say; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!"

The Amphictyonic Council

By U. S. SENATOR JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS

LOOKING on the holocaust caused by a mad Emperor's ambition and egotistic and insane assumption that God and he are one and that "The State," which he imagines he is, is also the only permitted God of his miseducated subjects—civilization—the Amphictyonic Council of the civilized world—declares, with a certain division of British soldiers while going into action: "Never again; never again." We democracies make war not for love of war but for love of world peace and with the determination to have it—"Peace on earth to men of good will"; and as to others with a determination to whip them until they are, or at least pretend to be, of good will.

But this is really no time to talk peace. That time will come practically only when Germany and Austria vacate France and Belgium and Servia, when Germany retires behind the Rhine and when the German Reichstag—the Kaiser by himself is not sufficient because we cannot believe him and his very breath is poisoned gas, while his thoughts are insane obsessions—when the Reichstag by solemn resolution asks what terms we propose. In the very nature of the case, in this war between medieval autocracies and insane obsession of rule by divine right and the doctrine that for a state there are no morals but that might is right, on one side, and common sense democracies—knowing that a state is but a piece of human machinery erected by men to secure national independence and the rights of man to life, liberty, pursuit of happiness, justice and love and mercy and peace on earth, the present powers of Germany must be the suitors for and we the grantors of peace. No peace arrived at in any other way can be either just or enduring, much less contain the hope of world freedom, safety for democracy or the elements of permanency.

SPEEDING-UP NORTH DAKOTA

By LYNN J. FRAZIER

[GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NORTH DAKOTA]

THE pressure of war legislation which the public sentiment of the State of North Dakota compelled, because of its universal sentiment endorsing the war aims of the administration, effected certain new acts of the State Legislature.

It is perhaps well known that North Dakota, with its odd 70,000 square miles of area, is a very large grain and live stock producer. The year preceding our declaration of war, 1916, our crop was very light all over the State. The wheat crop of 1917 was almost a total failure in two-thirds of the State, but fair in many sections. Our banner year was 1915. The situation is perhaps more understandable by a brief comparative table showing the yield for three years.

Year—	1915	1916	1917
	Bushels	Bushels	Bushels
Yield, per acre....	18.2	5.5	8.0
Total yield	151,970,000	39,325,000	56,000,000

During a special session of the 15th Legislative Assembly held in Bismarck, in January, 1918, an important amendment permitting a special issue of seed and grain bonds was enacted. This amendment was partly the result of the failure of the crops, but chiefly it became necessary because of the war measures required of all states in support of the administration. In 1913 a law authorizing counties to issue bonds and warrants to procure seed, grain and feed for needy inhabitants and permitting the aid by the State for this purpose was created. The amendment to this law, made in 1918, speeded up its effect.

Briefly the amendment authorized in any county of the State where the crops for any preceding year had been a total or partial failure by reason of growth, hail, or other causes,

that the Board of County Commissioners should issue County bonds, and with the proceeds from the sale thereof purchase seed, grain and feed for those who were unable to procure the same. The amendment required that this request be made to the Board of County Commissioners by fifty freeholders in the county, in writing. Such petitions were then considered, and decided upon by a majority of the vote. These petitions, the amendment said, had to be filed with the county auditor on or before the 25th day of February. It was further understood in this amendment that the total amount of bonds issued should not exceed the limit of indebtedness of any county fixed by the State Constitution. The bonds were made in denominations of from \$100 to \$500 bearing a six per cent interest, payable semi-annually. Such bonds, under this special law, were due and payable in not less than one nor more than five years from the date of issue.

These bonds so issued were placed on sale through the Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor. Sealed proposals for the purchase of such bonds were sent to him. The bonds of each county were sold separately to the highest bidder for cash. It was within the provision of this amendment that the Commissioner of Agriculture could dispose of these bonds to the State of North Dakota without previous notice.

The fund raised from the sales of these bonds was applied exclusively for the purchase of seed, grain and feed for residents of the State who had farm lands within the county and were unable to procure the same. This amendment naturally was the result of crop deficiencies in the State, and was inspired by applications for aid from different counties. Each applicant was compelled to state the number of acres plowed or prepared for seeding; how many acres the applicant intended to have plowed; how many bushels and what kind of grain he would require to seed the ground already plowed. He had to state that the seed and feed he requested was to be used only for the purpose named, and an agreement that he would not sell on or before the 20th of March and the applicant agreed to seed the wheat and rye before

May 20th, and all other grain before June 10th, except grain, sown for fodder. The applicant also had to state and give a full description of all his real and personal property, the encumbrances thereon, and a further description of the land on which said seed was to grow. The cost of this seed was payable by the farmer on October 1st of each year, together with the interest from the date the bonds provided for. The grain was furnished at cost. The Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor was given an appropriation of three thousand dollars, and the State Seed Commissioner an appropriation of one thousand dollars to be used in organization and seed testing expenses.

COUNTY BONDS ISSUED STIMULATED WHEAT CROPS

IT seemed necessary and proper that the State of North Dakota should enact suitable legislation to aid and assist destitute and needy farmers who by reason of natural causes had become so. This law was made in the best interest of the state and it was specially provided that as an act it should be liberally construed to effect that privilege. It was an act of emergency created by a crop failure in many parts of the State. There was no adequate relief provided by law until then.

Fully half of the counties in the state availed themselves of its provisions, and bonds to the extent of \$3,000,000 were issued at a net cost to the counties concerned of about six and one-half per cent, exclusive of those counties that borrowed from the state school and institutional funds at an interest rate of four per cent. The necessity for paying the higher rate was caused by exhaustion of the school funds available for loaning purposes. Had the farmers availing themselves of the new act been compelled to borrow from ordinary banking sources, the rate charged would have been ten per cent. Undoubtedly the increase in wheat acreage for 1918 of 700,000 acres over the acreage of 1917 was due to the enactment of this law, as the credit of many farmers availing themselves of it was absolutely exhausted in other directions.

I know of no other state in which legislation of this kind was proposed, although the far Western States are often exposed to disaster or storms and drought.

The North Dakota Council of Defense was created as one of the first war measures. It consisted of the Governor and thirteen members, one of which was the Attorney General, and each one of the others was appointed by the Governor from each judicial district of the State. The first meeting of the North Dakota Council of Defense was held at the office of the Governor, and its powers effected. No member of the Council received any compensation other than traveling and necessary expenses in the course of duty. The Secretary received \$5 a day during his actual service to the Council. Our powers and duties involved chiefly cooperation with the Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor, consultation with farmers and others to relieve the labor shortage, and conferences with the North Dakota Federal Fuel and Food Administrators to stimulate and increase productional food and economy. In our state we felt that the best service we could give the administration in the war was to speed up our farmland, to conserve our food and fuel. In regard to laws governing the peace and safety of the State, the North Dakota Council of Defense prescribes rules and regulations for the citizens who were not a part of active militia. Each member of the Council has the same powers as the sheriff of the several counties. It is the duty of the Council to promote patriotism and loyalty to the Government, and to guard the interests of humanity. The Governor, under the special war powers and the laws of the constitution of the State could instruct any member of the Council to perform such duties as he thought advisable. The North Dakota Council of Defense is created for the duration of the war and for the period of six months thereafter.

From the first declaration of war, public sentiment in the State of North Dakota has been unanimous in endorsing the aims of the United States. The purposes of the administration in declaring war against Germany has met with a wholehearted approval in all sections of the State. Every Liberty

Loan has been greatly oversubscribed; in the second Liberty Loan drive the percentage of oversubscription was the greatest in the United States. The subscription raised by the Red Cross, by conservative estimate, amounts to \$1,205,000. The allotment of the Red Cross on the second drive in the State of North Dakota was \$200,000 and the contribution total \$575,000. North Dakota holds the seventh place in these records in the Red Cross campaign.

THE STATE'S RESPONSE TO WAR NEEDS

THE allotment to North Dakota of the Y. M. C. A. drive was \$100,000. Something over \$175,000 was raised.

The quota of North Dakota in the Lutheran Soldier Fund was \$25,000. This was oversubscribed by more than twice that amount. The work of other church societies has been equally gratifying.

The military activities of the State showed an enlistment in the first and second regiment of 3,887. Of men within the draft age, 2,355 enlisted and 2,625 were drafted. This does not include any record after December 15th. The cost of this draft during the first six months of the war shows that the lowest cost per capita of any state was North Dakota, which was \$1.83. Among the significant orders of the North Dakota Council of Defense was a resolution adopted whereby idle land in the State might be cultivated. As a result over 50,000 acres have been cropped that would have been idle. The protection of the property of soldiers have been especially vigorous in our State. We compelled two banks to reimburse the wives of soldiers for illegal seizure of soldiers' goods.

A military moratorium was passed during the special session for war emergency of the State Legislature to protect and regulate the civil rights of members of the military and naval establishment. All proceedings against any person in active military service from the State of North Dakota has been treated as void. This was considered necessary because large numbers of the citizens of the State were absent on military service.

An act protecting the citizens from criminal sabotage was passed as a war measure. It was calculated to protect the food products of the State, the harvest fields, and to prevent any interference in the prosecution of the war measure of the State.

Taken as a whole, the loyalty of the State of North Dakota compares favorably with any other state of the Union to the war measures of the Government. The willingness with which the citizens of the State supported every war measure of the State Defense Council has made the operations of that body easily effective. The new Feed and Seed Bondings Act, of which I have spoken, enabled the farmers to get something over three million dollars at an interest rate which does not exceed six and one-half per cent. The Board of University and School Land bought one million dollars' worth of these bonds at four per cent.

The women of North Dakota have contributed executive force in the war energies of the State that should be told.

WHAT THE WOMEN OF DAKOTA ARE DOING

THE organization of the North Dakota Division of the Women's Committee was begun at Fargo on September 29, 1917. At that time it was resolved to follow the plan suggested by the national committee, and request the women who had been selected to conduct war work by governmental departments, to act as chairman of those departments for the Woman's Division, to elect a state chairman and secretary, and to offer co-operation to the State Council of Defense.

Following this meeting the Chairmen of the Liberty Loan Department, the Child Welfare Department and the Food Department appointed chairmen in each county. No organization was undertaken in the counties at that time, each department acting independently.

On February 26, 1918, the State Committee, consisting of the department chairmen and representatives from each state-wide woman's organization in North Dakota met in Bismarck for the purpose of perfecting the organization of

the Woman's Division in accordance with the request of the national committee.

The Child Welfare Department has succeeded in having a majority of the communities conduct very thorough campaigns for education along baby welfare lines. They have recorded the weights and measurements of over seven thousand babies. Plans are now being made for a "Recreational Drive" to take place during July and August.

The Food Department has taken charge of the demonstrations in preparation of foods, baking with substitutes, canning and drying of fruits and vegetables, etc., in all the counties of the state. They have arranged to have competent women of the community in which the demonstrations provided by the State Agricultural College are given, take the course offered, and then give it to three groups of women in the surrounding country. These women have provided their own transportation and materials and given their services voluntarily. By this means it is safe to say that a large per cent of the women in the state have received instruction in this matter. The food department has distributed the recipes for using substitutes for wheat and sugar. These are provided by the Agricultural College extension bureau, but the Committee has placed them in the hands of women who will use them. The food department has also distributed recipes printed in the German language among women who cannot read the English language. These were printed and given by F. L. Brandt of Bismarck free of charge, being translations of the recipes given out by the College. Demonstrations have also been given in the German language to women who are unable to understand English. It is announced by the food department that in communities where the demonstrations are given the use of white flour decreases materially, proving that when women know the need of saving the wheat, and have knowledge of how to use the substitutes they will do so.

The County chairmen have conducted an educational campaign in their respective counties. They have caused meetings to be held in schoolhouses, town halls and little

churches where plain talks are given about the causes of the war, and the consequences if it should be lost. The need of support for all war measures as they pertain to women is urged. After these meetings a marked increase in Red Cross activity is always noted. Each county executive committee has named a few women who are prepared to go to the different communities and give these talks, all paying their own expenses. Americanization is promoted at these little meetings. Women of all nationalities are urged to take part, and though progress in this is slow, it is sure.

Mrs. A. A. Burce has been requested by the state executive committee to carry on the campaign for the use of lignite coal. It is thought that if the women of the State demand lignite coal for domestic purposes it will be possible to make North Dakota "Coal Herself" to a great extent. There is much interest in this campaign, and many counties report actual work accomplished in the way of pledges given by women to use it for all heating and cooking in their homes.

Mrs. A. A. Liederbach has made a survey of the State for the purpose of ascertaining where, if anywhere, it will be necessary for women to assist in harvesting, or to help the farmers' wives at that time. She wrote to every county chairman asking for information concerning that county. From the replies, Mrs. Liederbach has concluded that women's labor will not be needed in the fields to any great extent, at least not in excess of what can be furnished by the farmers' families. But she thinks some organized effort should be made for unemployed women to assist the farmers' wives. Letters are now being sent to each county chairman requesting her to take the matter up in her own county as seems most expedient.

The aim of the Woman's Committee is to enlist the co-operation of all women's organizations, and all government agencies, and thereby create a machine which will carry the message of the government to every woman in the State, of what it wants her to do, why it wants her to do it, and how she may do it. This machine is now ready for business, and is running smoothly in North Dakota.

BEHIND THE SERVICE FLAG

What the Home Service Is Doing for the Soldiers'
and Sailors' Families

By MRS. THOMAS R. MARSHALL

[WIFE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES]

Keeping the home fires burning literally as well as relieving cases of distress and giving comfort and advice to the loved ones at home, is the work of this great league of Home Service, so eloquently set forth by the wife of the Vice-President of the United States, for THE FORUM.

BEHIND the thousands of red-bordered Service Flags that hang in the windows of rich and poor alike, is a whole army of people fighting silent battles; an army of old men and women, of mothers and little children, struggling with poverty and disease, loneliness and anxiety. Upon the outcome of these struggles depends—in no slight measure—the success of the army at the front. When a soldier in France hears that the allotment which he made has not come in, or that his baby is sick, or that his old mother is failing daily because of her worry about him, or that his wife is nearly crazy with sheer loneliness; a heavy burden of anxiety and worry is laid upon his shoulders. The homesickness he naturally feels in a strange land is accentuated and intensified a thousand fold. The individual troubles of one soldier may seem trivial, may even be half imaginary, but homesickness and anxiety are contagious, and the multiplied depression of a whole regiment is a fearful thing. That subtle and illusive thing, the morale of an army, may break completely before such a wave of depression and anxiety. The Italian debacle of last autumn is now considered to have been due largely to worry about home conditions among the troops. Troubles at home, some false and stimulated by German agents, had simply been reflected at the front.

On the other hand, there is a spirit at home that can work just as effectively the other way,—the spirit of people who may be meeting hardships, but are meeting them bravely

and, above all, all meeting them together. The spirit of mutual help and cooperation at home, the sense of many people facing together a great and terrible crisis, may breed a new strength and a new sympathy that shall be a source of inspiration, not depression, to our soldiers.

This, it seems to me, is the important thing that the Home Service Section of the Red Cross has undertaken to do;—"to sustain the morale of the men in the Service by helping to maintain, through friendly counsel and neighborly assistance, the welfare of their families at home, assuring for them health, good spirits and, so far as possible, their normal standards of life." A pretty big problem, you may well say, but one that was inspired by a patriotic desire to do something, not only for families who had sent a man to the colors, but also for the soldiers themselves. The gunner, squatting beside his camouflaged field piece, will be a little quicker to spring up at the word of command and will handle the heavy shells more deftly because of the good news he has had from home. His wife, a newcomer in her neighborhood, had been worrying about who would look after her two-year-old son, when she had to go to the hospital to have another baby. Her difficulties were settled in the Home Service Office, where she found another woman who was only too glad to give the child a good home for the sake of the money his board would bring.

LOOKING AFTER THE SOLDIER'S HOME TIES

THE boy on outpost duty, lying along the limb of a blasted tree, can see the dim line of trenches opposite with clearer eyes, just because he too is more at ease about his home. His old invalid mother has written a more contented letter than he has had for months. A visitor from the Home Service Section is coming in every afternoon to read aloud to her and is teaching her to knit socks for him.

That is what "friendly counsel and neighborly advice" mean. They do not necessarily mean money. The Government attends to that through the War Risk Insurance Act. But if for some reason the allotment and allowance have not

come through, the Home Service Section will see to it that the family does not suffer from the delay. Sometimes a family crisis, a serious illness, or death, may make it necessary for the Home Service to give a family a sum of money or even a weekly allowance. But this is done simply as a temporary measure to help them on their feet again or to save some man at the front anxiety and suffering on their account.

As a rule, the troubles that can be solved by a sum of money are simple in comparison to those involving other subtler derangement. One young wife wrote to her husband, in a camp in this country, that if he did not come home to see her, she would commit suicide. The man deserted and was discovered at home by a Home Service worker (sent to look him up by a telegram from the Camp Service Field Director). After some persuasion the man went back to camp to take his punishment,—which would have been much greater had he postponed returning as long as he first intended. Another young woman was resentful because her neighbors told her that her husband could have gotten an exemption if he had wanted it simply by saying that he was married. The wife decided that he did not love her any longer and was glad to go. But when a Home Service worker had carefully explained the provisions of the draft law, the woman stopped fretting and sent more reasonable letters to her soldier husband.

Troubles like this do not end with the solution of the immediate difficulty, as every Home Service worker knows. Loneliness is usually the fundamental reason for unhappiness and the Home Service worker who does her work thoroughly will try to get the lonely woman interested in something outside of herself, in some kind of work or useful employment.

Often it is not work, but play, that this lonely woman needs. One family was set upon its feet again, from the point of view of morale, by the simple device of sending the mother out to a movie with her children. She was a Russian Pole with a saddened, wrinkled face and a heavy despondent air.

Since her oldest son had been drafted she had become more and more depressed. It was hard to make both ends meet, and the struggle left her neither time nor money for amusements. She found her younger children increasingly hard to manage and impatient of her complaints. Then one night a Home Service worker gave the oldest boy tickets for a nearby moving-picture theatre. That hour in the dark, hot room was the first for weeks that Mrs. S. had forgotten her troubles. Her neighbors around her were laughing; her own four small Americans-in-the-making were enthralled and happy; the picture itself amused and interested her. When she came out on the brightly lighted street into the jostling crowd, she paused to speak to a neighbor for the first time in many days. The strain of her heart had been eased for a little time, and with that easing had come a brighter point of view.

ADVICE TO THE TOO PROSPEROUS AT HOME

TOO much money is not a common complaint these days, yet you sometimes hear it said of some of the families with which the Home Service Section comes into contact. In the country districts, especially, there are people who have not been accustomed to have as large a sum as the man's allotment and the Government's allowance can amount to. A poor colored woman, for example, who has never had enough to live on comfortably, comes suddenly into possession of that is, to her, a large sum. Naturally she is not always wise in the ways in which she spends the money. She usually does spend it on clothes, on "good times," sometimes on worse things. Her children are being neglected, her home is becoming demoralized, bad influences for growing boys and girls are increasing. Then it is that some one who can understand her point of view must meet the situation. The Home Service worker who can persuade her to part with some of her wealth for liberty bonds; to let her oldest boy go to high school now instead of to work; to buy fewer gay ribbons and feathers and some furnishings for her home, has made a real contribution to the service of her country.

After all, what we need most of in the Home Service Offices are people who are real students of human nature; who have an unflagging interest in their fellow humans and an unfailing patience with human faultiness. They must be able to understand people with whom they come in contact, and still not condemn. Most of all, they must judge themselves. The Home Service worker must realize keenly that she cannot take the place of the man who has gone to the front; that her friendliest efforts cannot make up to little Maria for Tony who enlisted when we declared war against Austria, nor to Stella for Stanislaus now in France. But her advice may be of use to them; money, until the allotment comes, is of use. If she be a truly understanding person she may win confidence from Stella or a confession of loneliness from Maria—for of such things are friendly human relationships made.

Besides being a student of human nature, the Home Service worker must be a student of many other things. She must acquire a thorough knowledge of various Government laws and regulations;—the War Risk Insurance Act especially. She must know something of business; of educational institutions and opportunities in her own community; of local agencies and organizations such as churches, schools, playgrounds, day-nurseries, etc. The better she knows the chief personages in her district, the better for her work. These vary sometimes, from the saloonkeeper to the parish priest, and generally include the visiting nurse, the principal of the school, the justice of the peace, the playground director, besides policeman, postman, and car-conductor.

WHAT THE HOME SERVICE WORKER MUST DO

THE larger Home Service Sections usually have consultation committees of doctors, lawyers and others familiar with business and the professions, as well as women who understand economics and management. But these are only called on in case of real need. For most of her general knowledge, the Home Service worker must depend upon her own resourcefulness and ability. She must learn for herself

how to find the right sort of work for sixteen-year-old Mary; she should know what to do when the insurance policy has lapsed; and she certainly must know whom to call on when she finds little black Sammy "whooping" vigorously, yet playing with the rest of the children in the neighborhood.

The continuous succession of problems are not always easy to solve. The constant series of other people's troubles are sometimes wearying, but I think most of us who have tried Home Service work, find it eminently worth while.

Since war was declared, the Red Cross has organized Home Service Sections in nearly 5,000 Chapters which cover almost every square foot of our country. There are probably 10,000 Home Service committees including those in the branches of Chapters. Over 300,000 families have been helped with continuing assistance based upon a definite plan for the removal of serious difficulties and over \$2,500,000 has been spent doing it. In addition many more thousands of relatives of soldiers have been given accurate and helpful information of various kinds. It must be a relief to many a soldier to know that his family can apply to the Red Cross, not only for help in any difficulty, but also for medical, legal and social advice. He is giving a great deal to his country when he leaves to go to war and his country is trying to repay that debt through the American Red Cross Home Service. If we at home honestly fulfil our obligation to the man at the front, we shall free him, insofar as we are able, from anxiety about the family he has left behind. We will help win the battles that are fought back of the Service Flag that hangs in the window.

AMERICANIZING OUR FOREIGN-BORN

The Patriotic Work of the League of Foreign Born
Citizens

By ROYAL DIXON

AUTHOR OF "AMERICANIZATION," ETC.

Before the war clouds hovered over Europe, Mr. Phillips, founder of the League of Foreign Born Citizens, foresaw the necessity of Americanizing the immigrant. The immigrant responded and today the work of this League is one of vital service and distinctive educational value to the nation of today and of tomorrow.

UNITY is the watchword of civilization to-day, and in America we are taking practical steps to nationalize our people of numerous races and tongues. One of the most patriotic and successful endeavors in this direction is being accomplished by the League of Foreign Born Citizens.

This organization came into being in response to a natural law. It has grown spontaneously, as a result of a demand not previously filled. Its origin lay in the fundamental desire of every human being to realize himself more fully, and through recognition of the fact that this can only be accomplished by banding together for a discussion of common problems, a sharing of common joys and sorrows, and a stimulation of common ideals of social service and human brotherhood.

The League was founded in December, 1913, by Nathaniel Phillips, a lawyer, a product of the New York Public Schools, of the College of the City of New York and of the New York University. Mr. Phillips is himself foreign born, having come from Russian Poland thirty odd years ago, while less than a year old. His foreign ancestry, together with his American training and his innate appreciation of democracy's ideals, gave him that insight, sym-

pathy and understanding which eminently fit him to be the head of such an organization,—a civic leader and social interpreter.

When the idea of helping the immigrant first took definite form, neither Mr. Phillips nor the four men associated with him believed that the little organization they started would so soon win national recognition and become a force in the nation to sustain and support it in an hour of world crisis.

It was in a little room on East Third Street in New York City that the League started. Its national offices are now at 303 Fifth Avenue; its Downtown branch is at 95 Second Avenue (been designated as one of the centres for War Information). It has a Staten Island and a Yorkville branch and travelling branches at various settlement houses and community centers. During the first year its membership grew from five to five hundred and at the present time it numbers more than 3,000. Good moral character is the only requisite for admission to membership.

HELPED ALL RACES, CREEDS AND CLASSES

WHEN it started, enthusiasm and idealism were the League's sole assets. Over the door hung this sign:

Are you an American Citizen?

If Not, Why Not?

We Will Help You, Free, To Become a Citizen.

Come In. You Are Welcome.

It was displayed in three languages. Daily crowds passed the little room on East Third Street before a single inquirer dared venture in. Many interested ones had passed it by, fearful lest it was another unscrupulous enterprise in disguise, aiming at private profit by exploiting the simple confidence and civic interest of foreign-born residents. That such practices were possible reflects upon our national and municipal consideration of those who come to our shores seeking to become an integral part of our civic

and social structure. It emphasizes a neglect in a matter of the utmost national importance. In the past we have left the newly arrived immigrant unattended and unaided. We had left him at the mercy of an industrial system which dealt with the foreigner perfunctorily, utilizing his man power but giving him little opportunity for the cultivation of his human aspirations.

Ours is a nation of many races, creeds, classes and contacts. It has been formed of the free born spirits of the world, come here seeking opportunity. We are dedicated to the ideal of equality of opportunity for all. We are a commonwealth in which the greatest good can be realized only when every individual member of the body politic is exercising, to his best and fullest capacities, the faculties of head and hands and heart.

Knowing this we have, nevertheless, in the past, done practically nothing to properly nationalize our newly arrived immigrants.

The object of the League of the Foreign Born Citizens helps carry out this great opportunity in our national life. Its object is directly and indirectly to do effective service in a field both officially and unofficially long neglected.

THE NEED OF A BETTER UNDERSTANDING RECOGNIZED

THERE had existed many organizations formed for the purpose of aiding those newly arrived at our shores; but their efforts were centered upon facilitating the immigrant's entrance into America and rendering easier his first days in the new country. There their function ceased; and at that point the League takes up the problem of interpreting America to the newcomer and assisting him in his social and civic assimilation.

The League recognized that there is great need of a better understanding not only between the citizens and the newcomers but also between the younger and the older generations of the immigrants themselves. The younger element becomes Americanized more quickly. This often leads to impatience and intolerance on the part of the younger citizens;

they lose sight of their parents' viewpoint and get out of sympathy with their general attitude toward the questions of the day. They find it difficult to readily conform their parents to new moulds.

To breach this gulf and to foster a better understanding, the League is organizing social groups, giving lectures, and educating the foreign-born through the columns of the press. The work is divided into a number of bureaus, and these are conducted by volunteer workers who give their services without any remuneration whatever.

The Bureau of Naturalization attends to applicants for citizenship, informing them concerning questions of eligibility, and all other details pertaining to taking out first papers and becoming an American citizen. The Naturalization work is divided into three grades. Applicants are assisted in the preparation of their citizenship papers; taught to read and write English and by arrangement with the County Clerk's office, their blanks are stamped with the signature of the League, and the naturalization clerks readily issue the official first papers to applicants presenting the stamped blanks. Applicants have, by this means, saved hours and often days when they come to the County Clerk's office with their blanks fully prepared for them at the League.

Applicants for second papers are aided in the preparation of the blanks for their second papers and are assisted in obtaining their Certificate of Arrival.

Classes in the history and principles of our government are held. Applicants are instructed in the meaning of our Constitution and are taught to answer questions necessary for a proper appreciation of American institutions.

HOW TO HELP THE FOREIGN BORN

THE League found an appalling inertness on the part of a vast number of immigrants toward taking the steps necessary for becoming citizens. The reasons were of course largely the inaccessibility of the naturalization courthouses and the time consumed in the making of the preliminary blanks at the Court. But more than these actual obstacles

was the vague belief that the process itself was so difficult to understand and to overcome.

The foreign born are getting to know of the existence of the League and to understand that it welcomes prospective citizens; that it solves doubtful problems with regard to eligibility; that it saves them time and needless worry. In short, the very existence of the League has aroused citizenship activity amongst the people. The records contain the names of a number of applicants who have been in this country fifteen years, and some of them as long as twenty years, without having taken steps toward naturalization. They are now on their way toward citizenship.

The League hopes to bring about in New York City a method which is proving successful in Los Angeles, Cal., whereby great saving in time for prospective citizens and for the courts can be accomplished. The plans are as follows:

The members of the Naturalization Classes are to receive a diploma from the League at the close of their course of instruction. This diploma will be accepted by the Courts as evidence of satisfactory knowledge of the Constitution and the history of our government, and will be accepted by the Judge in lieu of the examinations to which applicants are now subjected.

SECURING IMPORTANT LEGISLATION

THE Public Welfare work of the League is in charge of the Committee on Laws and Legislation. This Committee assisted in defeating objectionable features in the Federal Immigration bill. It has been instrumental in changing the New York State Law which prohibited non-citizens from laboring on public work, so they may be enabled to secure positions in grades of work for which citizens are generally unsuited; it has helped to fight the movement to curtail the free public library system; it has obtained from the City Government the adoption of a policy whereby peddlers were permitted, for a two-week period prior to the Passover and Tabernacle Holy Days, wider privileges for vending their wares throughout the city; it has been in the

forefront in the fight to continue the Free Floating Baths in New York City; it has been aiding in the efforts to extend the Widows' Pension Law to the widows of those who have not yet attained full citizenship; it was amongst the most active of the organizations that helped defeat legislation aimed at weakening the New York State Tenement House Law.

Some time ago at Cooper Union, the League conducted a public "Experience Meeting," at which the heads of the New York City Government told what they had already accomplished and what they plan to do. A leading New York paper commenting editorially, said, "This meeting under the auspices of the League of Foreign Born Citizens, is said to be the first of its kind ever arranged in New York City. It is an interesting attempt to bring an administration face to face with the public it serves."

HELPING THE FOREIGNER TO AMERICANIZATION

IN the great Loyalty Parade of July Fourth the only marching group that was not distinctly racial was that of the League. Theirs was the only organization that paraded as such and the only one that typified the unification of our country. There were twenty-two different nationalities in the unit, men and women who had become citizens since America entered the war.

Further practical efforts toward creating a national and international unity of ideals of political freedom is exemplified in the fact that the original call for the celebration of Bastille Day in New York was planned and issued by ten organizations of which the League was one.

Open-air meetings are held once a week. At important street corners throughout New York large crowds are addressed by members of the League and by others interested in the work. The people are informed concerning the objects of the League, and are encouraged to come to the headquarters and to send their friends who are desirous of becoming citizens. Public questions in which the League is interested are discussed in open forum, and the speaker en-

deavors to answer questions put to him by his hearers. Members of the campaign committee circulate amongst the crowd, taking down the name and addresses of those who desire additional information concerning the League. Those who signify their interest receive a letter within a day or two thereafter, inviting them to call at the headquarters.

Toward the close of each month the League tenders a reception to those who have become citizens within the current month. The New Citizens each receive cards of invitation for themselves and their friends. They are addressed by the Justices of the Supreme Court who presided in the Court when they were inducted into Citizenship. In addition to these Justices, other men and women, eminent in the life of the community, are speakers. A musical entertainment is also provided. The League publishes, in foreign languages, for distribution amongst prospective citizens, leaflets and manuals to help interpret to them the spirit of American institutions.

The League has come to be recognized as an active factor in civic and communal affairs. Its work is gradually telling and government officials frequently call upon this organization to aid them in public causes. The League is arousing, in thousands of people, hitherto indifferent to public questions, a civic consciousness.

THE IGNORANT AND INDIFFERENT MUST BE ENLIGHTENED

IN this great critical hour of our history there is need for every available ounce of energy, material and spiritual. Every individual must be an intelligent and constructive worker. We cannot afford to have among us the ignorant or the indifferent. Where such should help they hinder. It is not enough to get a man's labor. We must have his whole loyalty. We need his mental, moral and spiritual backing, for these are the impregnable bulwarks of a nation.

It is in the fullest recognition of all this that the League is expanding. Mr. Phillips proposes to carry the activities of the organization into all the large cities and especially into the industrial centers where the foreign born population is

always numerous, by establishing branch offices adequately maintained to carry on the work of civic enlightenment and Americanization.

While the branch offices in other cities have not yet been established, the League has been instrumental in organizing in other cities various meetings and providing speakers who might help our "citizens in the making" to a clearer conception of just what American citizenship implies not only as it affects his daily life but the general conditions of his well-being.

It was to such an audience that President Wilson voiced the spirit of the newcomers to our shores and interpreted to them our national ideals in the same clear and certain language that characterizes all his noble and statesmanlike utterances, when he said:

"I have always pleased myself with the idea that America in some degree exists in spirit all over the world and that there are men coming to these shores who have displayed their force in our affairs, who bring to America a more vivid conception of what it means than those who were born and bred here themselves entertain."

In addition to President Phillips, the other officers of the League are: Honorary Vice-Presidents, George Gordon Battle, Charles L. Bernheimer, George E. Blackwell, Louis W. Fehr, George McAneny, Marcus M. Marks, William Fellowes Morgan, George W. Wickersham; Vice-Presidents, Arnold Binger, Royal Dixon, Demosthenes Liakos, George C. Lotz, Jacob Weiss; Secretary, Samuel W. Levine; Administrative Secretary, Charles Henry Lee; Treasurer, Raphael Perlman. Others who have assisted the League as members of its finance committee are Mrs. Vincent Astor, Lewis L. Clarke, Abram I. Elkus, Dr. George F. Kunz, Sam A. Lewisohn, Anne Rhodes and Willard Straight. The Executive Director of the League is Boris Fingerhood.

These are epoch making days. Never did we so feel our need for each other as we do today. Our nation must be a unit and all its members live in the closest fraternity of sympathy and understanding. We can have no barriers of igno-

rance or prejudice, or religion or nationality. To establish a human brotherhood that can live in peace and harmony is the great aim of our Democracy. Every fact and force that works toward this end is significant. They are many and widespread. And to this aim is consecrated the League of Foreign Born Citizens. The new-found brotherhood has spread knowledge, fostered understanding, stimulated co-operation, projected the vision, and interpreted the ideal.

WHEN YOU COME BACK

By RALPH M. THOMSON

WHEN you come back from far across the sea,
Where you have looked on thousands as they died;
Back from that front your blood has sanctified—
From that vile hell where Mars holds revelry;
When you come home, to be once more with me,
To still my anxious heart, so long denied
The restfulness of peace, and be the guide
Of my worn soul throughout eternity;

It will not matter if your face is scarred,
If your strong frame is maimed in any way;
But born anew to brave the world of men,
My aching arms shall crush you doubly hard;
And, safe from harm, I shall thank God and say:
“Come, let us live; old times are here again.”

MUST HAVE AEROPLANES TO WIN QUICKLY

Germany's Morale Weakened—The End Not Yet—A Standing
American Army in Europe After the War!

By FREDERIC VILLIERS

[THE WORLD'S FAMOUS WAR CORRESPONDENT

An Interview with the Forum

Just before returning to the Western front, Mr. Villiers gave to the Forum an interview, the time being too short to prepare a lengthy article, on various phases of the Great War. A veteran war correspondent of every great modern war, Mr. Villiers' conclusion is that the aeroplane is the greatest military arm that has yet been devised in warfare.

“I MAINTAIN now as I have, almost from the beginning, that the war will be won by the side having the largest number of powerful aeroplanes—which of course means the Allies. If one side, or the other, could only have realized this before the beginning of the fight, that side would have won long before now. But neither one could. Germany was still experimenting with the Zeppelin, a cumbrous, impossible monster, utterly defenseless against anti-aircraft guns; France, while alert had yet made comparatively little headway; England and America were practically nowhere at all.

“The fighting airplane has been developed since this war began. Had it reached its present stage before that period, the side possessing the largest number would simply have won the war.

“That is my belief as firmly as it is that the quickest and most economical way to end the war is by aircraft.

“While I *do* expect that next year when we have a great American army in the field we shall be able to push home sufficiently to win this war by infantry, yet it will necessarily be at such a great sacrifice, as compared with what might be done by a great fleet of aeroplanes, that I do not like to contemplate the issue.

“With such a great fleet we could really get into the heart of Germany, as the Germans have got into the hearts of the French, although not by aircraft,—and bring the war to a conclusion at a much less cost.

“I believe we have got to do this thoroughly before we conclude the peace of Berlin: that is to bring the war so home to the very heart of the whole German nation, not as sufferers, not as endurers, but as a beaten people by force of superior arms. I believe that the two great new arms, the aeroplane and the tank, both of which were made possible by the petrol-driven motor, a factor which has revolutionized modern warfare, will be the two big factors in our final success.”

THERE IS STILL A HARD FIGHT AHEAD

“**I** SINCERELY hope Prussianism will crumble from within, at the will of an awakened people. I believe it is beginning to now, but there is still a hard fight ahead to win, either way. I want to impress on the American people what we thoroughly well know in England, that Germany is not yet beaten by us—not by any means. That this big move of the American army in the field, the breaking up of the St. Mihiel salient and the advance toward Metz—which has met with so much success up to the present; though I feel assured it will ultimately overcome all obstacles, must expect to lose a tremendous number of men before that is achieved.

“Metz is one of the great German strongholds—perhaps their strongest, and they are making it stronger every moment.

“Russia seems to be almost subjugated by Prussia. There is no coherent military spirit left in the country, no ruling force of any kind, that is safe and sane. Yet while she seems to be under the heel of Germany, Germany I think has bitten off more than she can chew. She will never be able to hold Russia in any way after the war is over. Nor will Russia during the war be particularly helpful to her in

fighting—man power. Germany will draw a lot of supplies from Russia, nor will she care if she starves Russia, to do it. But the books will be balanced when peace is concluded, finally. May this day come soon for Russia's sake.

"I have no faith whatever in Russia as even a moral support to the Allies. While successes by the allied troops may waken the allegiance of the Turks and the Bulgars to that point where Germany can no longer hold them,—which I think is quite possible indeed,—this will not be the case with Russia. Russia has become a negative quantity so far as our side is concerned, absolutely.

GERMANY MUST SEE OUR SOLDIERS IN THE STREETS OF BERLIN

"**W**HAT great blow will the Americans strike is only known to God and the headquarters staff. I do not for myself think we are aiming at any definite objective point. Our business is to push the enemy hard at all points, smash him wherever we meet him. To do that so thoroughly and so quickly that we shall suddenly change the whole attitude of the German nation and be able to conclude a lasting peace. And that peace must be made in Berlin. There must be contingents of the forces of every ally in Berlin then. Germany must know that she is absolutely beaten—and she will know it when the allied forces are in Berlin. I do not say that a whole army will have to reach there. I doubt if that will be needful. I think the Germans will come to their knees before then, or they have been more pig-headed than they have always had the credit of being.

"But the German nation must see our soldiers in Berlin streets, and know that we have finally reached the very throne of the Kaiser. Any other kind of a peace is absolutely unthinkable. The terms must be dictated in the heart of the German empire. Whether we are obliged to fight to the gates of Berlin or not we must march through Berlin as conquerors.

"America has been a tremendous asset to the Allies both in prowess and numbers, and has already greatly

strengthened the moral effect of the shadow of defeat, which hangs over Germany, which is not yet willing to admit what the Americans are really doing. The American soldiers have already proven themselves equal to the veterans who have been fighting from the start, which after all is a tremendous thing. And the men who have come back home have greatly stimulated the fighting spirit here. Nothing like the sight of a real soldier to make a recruit.

"As a general contribution to a survey of the whole situation I should say that the German morale at home, as well as in the field, but particularly the latter, must be very much shaken. For let it be recalled that Germany all through this business has been fighting rear-guard actions. Their self-styled victories have been local successes on rear-guards trying to stem the tide so that the main body should get back to a stand. Having reached that stand they have tried again to hit us as hard as possible,—the only thing they could do. Their object now is to secure a more favorable peace by trying to tire us out in turn,—inflicting such losses as they can. But their campaigning is futile. We know that we are going to fight to the end.

THE UNITED STATES MAY HAVE A STANDING ARMY IN EUROPE AFTER THE WAR

"THE end of the war? It is certainly not coming this year. The German people are very aggressive and very stubborn. These are their two leading characteristics. They have not as yet felt the full sense of panic, which must come to them before they 'lay down their arms.'

"This war will change the face of civilization. The United States is preparing to take its place as the great guardian of the peace of the world. The enormous contracts that have been placed in every department of supplies and arms abundantly proves this fact. I am especially glad to see that the aeroplane production is so large. America with her marvelous resources is preparing not only for the conclusion of the present struggle but for ante-bellum issues.

It is quite possible she may have to maintain a standing army in Europe after peace is concluded,—perhaps for 15 or 20 years. She kept her army five years in the Philippines. There will also be an army at home. Then there is Russia to consider. You are sending troops over there now. The war and its consequences will be costly for some years to come.

“The problems that the men at Washington are meeting so squarely are infinitely greater than any that have ever beset mankind before. The easy years of the modern world are over. We stand in the presence of a sterner order of things.”

IN MY SOUL'S HOUSE

By LEONIE DAVIS COLLISTER

IN my soul's house, I stored for you
Each treasure that the gods
Had given me.
And many dreams I stored
Against your coming.
Your hand on mine was fire on fire,
But in my soul's house that I
Had made so beautiful,
You did not enter.

And now . . . the gods
Have seized my treasures,
As is their way
With things unused.

HUMAN DISCARDS RESTORED

How France and the Red Cross Are Rehabilitating
the Repatries

By MARY ROSS

[SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE IN FRANCE TO THE FORUM

WHEN the invading Huns swept across Belgium and into France they drove before them only a small portion of the civilians, as compared with the number that remained on what they were pleased to call "home soil," yet under enemy rule. While these hundreds of thousands taxed accommodations in France, they were welcomed, as they came when labor was needed and mobilization had bereft the country of much of its man and woman power.

They who remained behind soon wished that they had fled, even though they had come away empty handed, for with the merciless rule of the enemy they were stripped of possessions and set to work like veritable slaves.

Among those remaining in enemy-conquered territory were thousands who were unfit for work or soon became unfit. They included children under fifteen, mothers with two or more children to care for, the very aged, the sick, crippled and young men unfit, through drink. All of these people had to be fed. German officials drove them out because they were non-productive, and food was becoming scarce.

Under the pleasant-sounding word "Repatriation," these people were driven through Evian, into France, and since that time the French have been hard put to it to find shelter, food and other necessities for them.

These unfortunates had tried to cling to their looms and their dairies, their fields and their homes, but the Germans despoiled their looms and factories, killed their cows for food, plowed with the devastating hob-nail boots of the soldiers

and took what little of food and personal goods they had, then began to weed out those unable to work, and drive them out of the country.

On December 4, 1917, three hundred thousand such repatries passed through Evian into France and they are coming in at the rate of nearly 2,000 a day. Staggering under her own burdens, the care of these was a task almost too great for France to handle alone, but the Red Cross is helping. Repatries are still pouring in, a sad and a sorry lot. They can bring with them only what money eludes the vigilant inspection of German officials at the border—usually very little. They come after a wrench from their homes, work and often families, which is far more demoralizing to them than it would be to a more shifting population, and after three uncertain irresponsible years of physical and nervous strain which have made them penniless, and helpless.

About half of the repatriates find letters at Evian from relatives and friends who are waiting to receive them. The rest become the special wards of the Ministry of the Interior, and are distributed in train loads of about 600 to the various departments of France, according to a schedule determined two months in advance. In the departments they fall under the care of the prefect, the controller of refugees—a special representative of the Ministry of the Interior who works with the prefect and volunteer committees. They have the regular refugee allocation, frs. 1.50 for each adult and fr. 1 a day for each child under sixteen, and frequently the state pays the rent of such lodgings as can be found for them. Urgent needs of clothing and furniture are met by special state or private charity.

Seven million refugees already have poured into free France since the beginning of the war—and the building at a standstill, the lodging question has long been acute; little furniture has been made in France since 1914, and it is scarce and expensive; and industrial placement, except in the overcrowded cities of war industries where living is demoralizing and expensive, is increasingly difficult. Faced with these obstacles the people of the northern departments are likely to

succumb to their physical and mental lassitude and rest on their allocations, free rent, and free clothing to wait the end of war. In the difficult and varied task of fitting them again into French national life—to become again useful themselves as well as to the state—the Red Cross, at the invitation of the Ministry of the Interior, is playing its part.

ONE FAMILY TO A ROOM

VANNES is a little picture book town in Brittany, with pointed Gothic houses overhanging the cobbled streets that slope down to the Gulf of Morbihan and overlook the islands from which red sailed fishing smacks put out to sea. Its women wear wide white caps, close-fitting velvet bodices and commodious skirts; on Sundays and fete days their embroidered black silk shawls and colored silk brocade aprons are wonderful to see; the old men who drive the ox-carts into market wear blue smocks and wide rolling beaver hats, with low round crowns and two velvet ribbons hanging down behind. From cock-crow until the street lamps are darkened at ten o'clock there is always the clatter of wooden sabots.

On the fourteenth of July, 1917, that anniversary of the Fall of the Bastille, which is France's Fourth of July, Vannes had a great fete. Its first convoy of repatriates arrived; they were met with flags, speeches and music; the commissioner who accompanied the train, the Commissioner of the Government at Evian and the Lyons Committee for the aid of repatriates all wrote their appreciation of the magnificent reception which Vannes had given its arriving guests.

The controller of refugees had rented what vacant houses could be found. Each room of each house had been made ready for a family. On the door was pasted a list of the articles it contained; beds, when they could be obtained (if not ticks filled with straw), a table, a couple of chairs, a little wood stove, a washbowl and pitcher, and a meager supply of china and cutlery. There also was a list of the prevailing prices of food in Vannes; butter, eggs, vegetables, meat, so that no unscrupulous dealer could take advantage of

their ignorance of the neighborhood. A volunteer committee collected clothing for the refugees in Vannes, those who lived outside applied to the controller of refugees at the Prefecture, who has an unofficial looking wardrobe stacked with small corduroy trousers, with petticoats, apron material, rolls of serge and other materials. If they lived too far they applied to the mayor of the village and when he endorsed their appeal the controller sent a bond or check to him to buy the necessary articles.

After six months the repatriates are still living a family of four or five, occasionally six to a room, cooking, eating, sleeping in the same place. A few have accumulated possessions in addition to what the committee had ready; a Singer sewing machine (known in France as the Sang-ay) partly paid for on the installment plan has a corner in one family dwelling. More are merely waiting for the war to end, resting on their free lodging and clothing, their allocations, and their memories of the glory that was theirs before the war.

These exiles guard fiercely their love of their own country. A Belgian woman came into the Auray station to take a train to the little Belgian settlement a few kilometers away. It was January, but in that mild Breton climate roses were in bloom in some of the gardens, palms were green in formal little plots and a kind of a yellow furze starred the briar covered banks that edge the fields.

The country is mildly rolling. At Auray it slopes down to an arm of the sea where shabby fishing vessels with red sails rest beside a cluster of pointed white houses which overhung their winding terraced streets before Columbus sailed off to discover America.

"No, I do not like this country," she said. "It is not pretty like Belgium. We shall go home the minute war is over."

She shook the dejected feather in her limp hat in the direction of four Breton girls, white-coiffed, rosy-cheeked, and gaily aproned, who were making a Saturday afternoon excursion up to Vannes.

"See how funny they are," she said; "I do not like them."

She was one of two Belgian women who could speak French in a little group of six families who were shipped from Paris into Brittany three years ago. None of the others know any French now, except the children who learn it in school but speak Flemish at home. They are exiles, waiting.

LITTLE TO DO BUT WAIT

AT Vannes there is little for them to do but wait. There are few industries except the fishing off the gulf, in boats, too heavy to be handled by women, and the "petite culture" of the Breton farms, where knotted mossy little apple trees try to extract a living from the granite soil. The farms are seldom of more than fifteen acres and the owner and his family can what is needed—care for their animals, gather the apples, and make Breton cider. They cannot afford to pay for labor—and there is no room in their low stone farmhouses for more people—often the farmer and his family occupy one end of the single room, the cattle and horses the other. Back from the towns it is not rare to find a Breton farmhouse where no French is spoken—only the Celtic language of Brittany from ancient times.

The repatriates who come to Brittany also are farmers—but farmers who raised sugar beets, who had neat, and miraculously productive garden patches, which provided labor for the whole family. In Vannes the children go to school but the women do little except care for the one-room dwelling. In January, six months after they arrived, a workroom was opened in a centuries old building used once as a mairie where some of them found their first employment, in making straw mats which serve as mattresses for soldiers. So long as the supply of straw can be obtained this will give work at frs. 3-4 a day.

The second convoy to Morbihan, in January, was not brought to Vannes but distributed to Elvan, a town of 3,000 persons about two miles and a half from the railroad, to

Auray, of 7,000, and Lorient, a thriving commercial city of 50,000.

In Elvan the committee fitted up the empty house of the former mayor, who had died, and of the doctor who had been mobilized and gone to war, and of a merchant who had been about to move into his new house when war called him away and left the white plaster walls of the house unpapered and the rooms empty. When stoves can be obtained for each room each family does its own cooking—but in the doctor's house there were not enough stoves and one white coiffed *bonne* from the home of the chairman of the committee presided over a huge iron pot of ragout in the red-tiled kitchen, while another stirred the soup in a pot hung from a crane over a wood fire on the front lawn.

Elvan has streets which radiate about an old stone church; at the inn is a fireplace said to date from the fifteenth century, when it was built for a friar by a feudal lord whose ruined castle lies some kilometers away, but aside from the stores that sell to the farmers and workroom similar to that at Vannes, where straw mattresses are made for the armies, there is no industry. The repatriates can be kept for several weeks in the vacant houses—and in that time many of them find relatives and friends to whom they can go—but then the houses must be made ready for the next convoy. A villa on the seashore was requisitioned to house some, others will be scattered through the villages. When summer comes and the villages again are occupied there will be work for some in the gardens—and for others in the kitchens.

In one room at Elvan there was a great excitement, and a young woman, with hair marvelously curled, ran out laughing half hysterically and hurried down the street.

"She is going to meet her husband," the old mother explained. "In August he was mobilized and marched away. When the Germans came, we could not write to him or hear from him. We did not know whether he was living or dead, and he was afraid always something had happened to us. And the little girls were babies then," indicating two shinningly scrubbed children.

When a repatriate family with a husband, son, or father, passes through Evian, the regiment of the soldier is notified at once and he receives a special ten days' leave to visit them.

At Auray, where the good sisters of a convent made room for the repatriates until villas along the seacoast can be requisitioned and equipped for them, a returning soldier found not only his own dark-eyed little boy, a baby in arms when he left, but a little yellow-haired, blue-eyed son. He stood astonished for a moment, then as his wife began to cry, swore and went away. Each convoy brings a number of babies of two and less—and it is tacitly assumed that they are the children of enemy fathers, but they are received with the others and taken in to be brought up as Frenchmen.

MAKING REPATRIES USEFUL

AURAY is nearer the railroad than Elvan, and in peace time had factories where replicas of antique Breton furniture were made. Some woodworkings still is done, and occasionally in the homes of the more prosperous there is work to be had as domestic service. Yet the lodging question is acute and those who arrived six months ago are still living a family to a room in the villas near the seashore. Some kind of work has been found for most of the 500 refugees in and about Auray who were able to accept it.

Lorient is a thriving seaport town—and to it 400 of the 650 in the convoy were assigned. A former hotel had been used for troops—by a lucky chance they were ordered away. In six days the convoy was to arrive and what could be gotten together in the way of furniture and clothing was collected and made ready. Here the repatriates eat at long tables in what was formerly the coffee-room of the hotel; the food is prepared by professional cooks in the kitchens, and served by the members of the ladies' committee who act as volunteer waitresses.

Lorient is fortunate in placing its repatriates, for work in the trades—carpentry, masonry, the making of carts, metal work—is abundant and there is a demand for women for

domestic service; while in Vannes and Elvan and Auray few servants were employed even before the war. A municipal employment bureau provides free placement and allocations are withheld from repatriates who refuse to accept work; for the old people, there is a refuge where allocations buy food and shelter.

France is not oblivious to the misery which results from this repatriation system, and last December saw two long debates in the Chamber of Deputies, when members of the chamber from the invaded districts, some of them repatriates themselves, criticised the haphazardness with which weavers frequently are sent to agricultural districts, farmers in industrial centers.

Much of this is unavoidable. The French authorities cannot know in advance from what cities or villages the convoys are to come. The arrivals are so many that it is impossible to house them for any length of time at Evian, in order to sift them industrially. And the local authorities, already overburdened with the extra administrative work which the war has brought upon them, must know several weeks in advance when they are to expect the trains bringing six hundred or more persons practically destitute.

What the A. R. C. can do to help win back to productive labor and some degree of happiness this continuing procession of the old and the young whom war has tossed aside, must differ as widely as the cities, villages and countrysides to which the stream is diverted. In a few villages little has been made ready for the train which carries the convoy, and the refugees sit about the station for hours, waiting to be loaded haphazardly into carts, and dumped into outlying villages to shift for themselves—but that is the exceptional case. More often they are met with the devotion which the women of Elvan showed, when they left their homes before three o'clock on a cold, black January morning, and made kettles of hot soup ready in the station for the train arriving at four. Frequently the Red Cross delegates—now nearly 40 in number—have as excellent an organization as that at Angers on which to build.

The first convoy of refugees that reached Angers in the fall of 1914 took the city by surprise, but some one thought of the Opera House, and that was thrown open to give temporary shelter. Barracks in the vicinity were fitted as a reception station for later arrivals—there are now about 15,000 refugees in the department of Maine and Loire, and about 5,000 in Angers itself. This winter a former young ladies' seminary was available and in it were placed the 500 who arrived on January 24th. In advance, lodgings had been found for many of them in the villages about Angers, and opportunities for work noted. Doctors and nurses from neighboring French and American hospitals gave their services for a temporary dispensary to take care of the illness which resulted inevitably from seven days or so of travel following months of privations; and when the families left the "maison des refugies" they went with some capital in health and opportunity for a start.

VICTIMS OF GERMAN CRUELTY

AT Angers the Red Cross delegates have aided in this industrial classification; they have obtained from Paris the bedding which cannot be bought locally, and have placed orders for the manufacture of furniture in a factory nearby. The repatriates will be asked to buy the furniture—paying two-thirds or three-quarters cost price in installments of a dollar or so a month.

At Vannes it was shoes which were needed; 400 pairs are en route from the Paris warehouse. There also furniture was hardly to be bought at any price—but at Auray there was a factory where replicas of the antique Breton black carved beds and wardrobes and tables were made before the war, to be sent to America. There is no reason why the woodworking machinery cannot be started again to make ordinary furniture—for wood is plenty and work is needed, and soon the Red Cross money probably will have furnished the motive power for turning out needed articles to be bought by refugees in a manner similar to that at Angers.

St. Etienne is one of the French cities where industry has expanded with the war—attracting large numbers of refugees because of high wages, in munitions factories, and creating a kind of life in squalid, undrained tenements, condemned and unoccupied before the war rush, which is peculiarly unsavory. To better housing conditions is next to impossible—because there are no houses which are not already filled to the gutters. A local committee had started milk stations for the tenement babies—for with light and air at a premium St. Etienne's infant mortality rate has risen seriously. But French doctors are mobilized and there was no one to follow up the needs for medical work. Now there is a Red Cross clinic with a doctor and a visiting nurse, and a club of Frenchwomen who were studying English together came en masse to ask that a course be given to train them as home visitors to assist in the work of the clinic. A similar clinic is at work in Dijon, and at Paris, an existing clinic was taken over and now has special days for Serbian refugees, for children, for dental work, for nose and throat operations, and for general medicine.

Many of the troubles which these people are meeting have causes too deep to be remedied until after the war; but American goods, money and hope have strengthened the work of those whose resources often came near exhaustion after three years and more of constant demand for aid, and can supplement the aid which none but the French can give their own people.

One must not confuse the repatriates with a certain class of refugees who came at the beginning of the war, and whose conduct was sufficient to discourage the most warmly intentioned.

These repatriates from the invaded country have had to endure German tyranny for more than three years. They came profoundly depressed, for, treated as beasts, deprived of all independence and liberty, they had lost all spirit. By gentleness and care they are regaining confidence in themselves, and in time they will be rehabilitated in so far as it is humanly to work the change.

GOD, IN THIS WAR

"God's is the Quarrel"—*King Richard II.*

By REV. WILLIAM W. DAVIS

[ASSISTANT PASTOR, "LITTLE CHURCH AROUND THE CORNER"]

GOD is in the war just so far as He is in men's hearts. God is Man's Partner, and not a silent Partner. To a man stone deaf all his neighbours are dumb, so God is silent to those who are deaf. He does not limit Himself to the modes of speech to which men are confined. There would never have been in the world a trace of Music, Art or Poetry if men had stupidly insisted that they could not or would not hear anything from Nature and from the heart of man except what is conveyed in the sordid vernacular of daily business. This is the trouble with hosts of people who never hear any message or voice from God. God *must* speak to them only in the vocables of their own self-centred interests. He can, if He likes, speak in this way, and sometimes he does, to the blasting confusion of the hearer. But He is not bound to do so. Since He is the Maker and Master of the Universe He can speak in any of the million ways which that Universe affords. One who cannot hear God except by the limited lexicon of selfishness is like a man in a thunderstorm who can hear nothing but the beating of his own heart.

To one who has no belief in God all this is of no interest, but there are, after all, millions of believers, and they are profoundly interested in this question. This is the point. To a believer, what part has God in this Great War? To such a person it is a matter of more consequence than life or death. If God has no part in so great an affair, then, instantly, his conception of God is destroyed—in effect, he *has* no God; he has been cheated.

Now this is no small matter. It is immense in its

significance. It is impossible to imagine the magnitude of the spiritual catastrophe if all the millions of believers in all the warring nations should suddenly be paralyzed with the conviction that "God does not care!" All the dreadful forms of suffering, disease, mutilation, torture, and death, effected by the war, brought together and heaped mountain-high, would be as nothing to the cumulative despair of numberless generations who now and hereafter should be condemned to live on without any belief in God. When a man has the leprosy he is not particularly concerned if he also has an occasional attack of influenza. If God is to go from the heavens and the earth, the believer does not much care about the small vicissitudes of life and death. With a void heaven and godless earth what conceivable interest can life have for him?

And so smaller questions concerning God's interest in this war fall into their relative place. If God is "in the quarrel," on whose side is He? What is He doing for that side? How can we know which side He is on? On our side? On the other side? On the strongest side? On the weakest side? On the side of the most skillful? On the side of the most hopeless? The more we ring the changes upon this kind of question the more we see the littleness of our view of God. God is a Partner with men in this war, as in all man's activities, just in the measure that He is in the hearts of men. He is the Partner, but He is not necessarily a Partisan. He is not exclusively on the side which is to gain the heaviest temporal advantage. He is on the side which is to gain the greatest spiritual advantage. He is on the side of high principles and noble ideals, His own principles and ideals, His own Will, His own Law. In a sense He is on each side up to the measure that the human governments on that side are fighting for His Will to be done on earth. In another smaller sense He is on all sides to the extent that He is in the hearts of individuals who have truth, justice, love and kindness—that is His Will in their hearts. So, again, in the abstract, He is on His own side, because He alone can will perfect Justice and Mercy.

WHAT THE WAR REVEALS

IN a huge *mélange* of nations such as this war includes, with varying bad motives of selfishness, aggrandizement, pride, ambition, cruelty, and with varying good motives of honor, chivalry, kindness, benevolence, self-sacrifice—there must be, of necessity, on one side or the other, a preponderance of good intentions. If one cancels the factor of “human nature” one can prove anything. But human nature will not be cancelled, and war, horrible as it is, will forever have a good and beautiful side. The glories of the battlefield are great, unique, and imperishable. Like other earthly experiences, it has its own virtues—the stern and terrific virtues of the chivalrous warrior. Like other fields of life, it opens up vast revelations of mercy, tenderness, patience. War gives one thing which other tragic struggles produce in their measure: it shows the unconquerable meriment of the human heart in the face of unspeakable horror. It is something to know that the heart of man cannot be crushed by any kind of force and cruelty. The wounded soldier who is carried back of the line and waves his dying cheer to his comrades going to the front, is a type of the invincible strength of soul which keeps the world going. For, after all, this is the only way the generations of men keep the courage to live. The young, the vigorous, the hopeful push their way to the “front” of life and face its burden and agony, because the old, the worn, the dying, as they are coming from the battle can still smile and bless. This is godlike and shows God’s Presence in men’s hearts. God, therefore, is in the war to this extent, at all events: that He makes men greater than suffering and death.

There never was a war in which the contrasted ideas were more plainly defined than they are in this war. Putting aside, for the moment, the minor forms of national and racial selfishness on both sides, and, also, the minor forces of goodness on both sides, there remains the clear-cut, determined purpose of each side. In most matters, especially in great matters, we have to take things as the sailors say “by and large.” We live, intellectually, by generalization. And thinking thus about the war we are forced to see that, speaking

broadly, on one side is an idea of human domination by force, with all its accompaniment of heartlessness and cruelty; on the other side is the idea of right, with the corollary of chivalry and fairness. It is well-nigh impossible to find in anything written or said by Germany a word of kindly consideration or generous estimate of any people on earth except those who are allied with her. On the other hand, with all the bitter denunciation of Germany and her associates, the peoples of the Allies have kept up a continual protestation of high appreciation of many things in the German race. The Allies have undoubtedly lost hundreds of thousands of men and countless treasures because of this ineradicable magnanimity. And to this day this is the striking note of difference in the actual thought of the two groups of nations—on the one hand unyielding, undiminished hate and diabolical selfishness; and on the other a dazed and battered but unconquerable reluctance to believe that the Germans are really what they show themselves to be, and have been trained to be—hard, merciless, selfish, greedy and jealous.

GOD IS WITH THE ALLIES

AND so we must say, emphatically, that broadly speaking, God is, must be, as a Righteous God, on the side of the Allies.

Wars are not hid away in the corners of the earth. There has never yet been a war, certainly not a great war, during which and after which the world has not known and declared the righteousness of one side and the evil of the other side. God has given over that much of His judicial function to the conscience of the race. "*Securus judicat orbit terrarum.*" What used to be called the "common consciousness" of mankind is right in the long run and the common consciousness of the world has convicted the Teutonic powers of bad ideals, bad purposes, bad methods: in fact, a bad heart in which God cannot be. This judgment which God has in a certain measure delegated to mankind is the foundation of the thing we call Civilization. It is not the "*vox populi*" but the "*vox orbis terrarum*"—the voice of man. That voice has spoken once and for all. The

Teutonic idea is condemned. Even the Germans themselves know it. They do, at last, in their dull and grudging fashion begin to deplore the fact that the whole world is against them.

Right and Justice are with the Allies. God is on the side of Right and Justice. God is on the side of the Allies.

What difference does it make?

Well, it makes an eternal difference. God is helping the Allies to win. How? First, by what has just been said—by having planted in the mind and heart of the world a determined detestation of the German idea. “Deutschland” is at last really “ueber alles,” as the most monstrous creation of merciless force the world has seen—the most perfect piece of heartless machinery, made out of human material, for the crushing of all that is tender, lofty, kindly, beautiful, free and spiritual in civilization. This is what keeps the Allies fighting. They simply cannot stop. Loathsome, ghastly, horrible as the job is, the inexorable conviction of the world drives them on to smash the venomous, remorseless beast which is let loose upon the world’s peace. This is what God has done and is doing for the Allies. He has made them win already the moral victory.

When, how far, and in what way He will help us to win in a military sense, remains unknown. Already, however, things have been done in three years by the comparatively unmilitary nations against the perfect military organization and efficiency of the German machine which are truly supernatural. What Germany with an evil purpose has taken forty years to do, the unprepared, unwarlike Allies have done in three years. Even a “white peace” could not take that fact from the German consciousness. If the fumbling, uncertain, half-hearted spirit of democracy can do that, what may be expected when Germany retires at last behind the Rhine, groaning, cursing, hating and hated?

Like the dragon “Fafner” of her own legend, her lair will be ceaselessly watched, and upon her first threat of military movement, the young, bright, clear-eyed Siegfried of democratic freedom, armed now with the “holy sword,” the sharp-shearing sword of knowledge and experience, will slay that dragon of tyranny, bitterness and hate.

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS OVER THERE

By JAMES A. FLAHERTY

[SUPREME KNIGHT, KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS]

This great Roman Catholic organization is pledged to spend \$50,000,000 for the benefit of the American fighting forces in war camps in this country and in France, England and Italy.

ON the 30th of May this year, our American Memorial Day was solemnly observed in Paris for the first time in history by a service in the great Madelaine Church, Cardinal Amette, the Archbishop of Paris and the primate of France, presiding. American officers, soldiers and sailors filled the body of the Church and assembled with them were the diplomatic corps of the Allied nations, members of the French cabinet, Senate and Chamber of Deputies, together with representatives of the municipality of Paris and of other French cities.

It was a testimony to the wonderful spirit of human brotherhood that this war has called forth, this gathering of men of all climes, bloods and religions to do honor with their American brethren in the great battle for liberty to our forebears who fought and died to bring forth, sustain and maintain the ideal of human liberty. And no less was it a tribute from the Roman Catholic Church of France to their brethren from across the sea who had come to the succor of the land whose national heroine is Jeanne d'Arc. The Maid of Orleans had led Frenchmen against the British troops of their day: the American republic was established with the aid of the French troops and ships that had crossed the seas to fight a common British enemy: and on this day, Americans, British and French, former enemies, but now comrades in arms, united at last in the greatest cause in history, knelt side by side in memory of men who on another soil, in another continent, thousands of miles away, had lain down their lives for liberty.

Nothing in this war so stirs the mind and heart as the spectacle of men laying aside those differences that have in former years seemed of such paramount importance, national prejudices, racial prejudices, religious prejudices, in the common cause of human rights and human brotherhoods. Blood mingles with blood on the battlefield in a stupendous human sacrifice to an ideal, and soul with soul in reverence to the common deity. The enemy has set himself apart from the common stream of humanity no more terribly than in his blasphemous phrase of "unser Gott!" That service in the Madelaine where men who had crossed the Seven Seas, where men whose native tongues barred free communion in word, where French, British, American, Italian, Sab, Christian, Jew and Mohammedan, knelt in tribute to men who had died before them for man's freedom, symbolized in one instance humanity's response to that blasphemy.

This service was, in a manner, the dedication of the over-seas war work of the great Roman Catholic American organization, the Knights of Columbus, who have undertaken to cooperate with the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Salvation Army, and the Jewish Welfare Board, in the moral and morale care of our men in training in the United States and in the battle line in France and Italy. The membership of the Knights of Columbus is composed of Americans who are descendants of fathers of all races, Irish, French, British and Italian, and the organization was early in the field in the United States, authorized by the War Department, to provide not only for the special religious requirements of Roman Catholic soldiers, but to be of service to all the men in uniform; it received authorization for over-seas work on Dec. 1, 1917. From the beginning its work was planned on broad lines and in full cooperation with the other agencies in the field.

" HOMES " FOR THE BOYS OVER THERE

IN the first place, in every hut is a sign conspicuously posted which says, "Treat this place as you would your own home." And the sign means what it says and the men know

it. The buildings are simply furnished with benches and writing tables which can be easily moved to one side to give space for basket ball, boxing contests or other indoor sports. There is an elevated platform at one end equipped for lectures, moving picture entertainments or soldiers' "shows." There is a collapsible field altar on this platform, set up in place for two hours every Sunday for Mass: the rest of the time that altar is folded up and the hut is simply a hut. There is a tiny side chapel for men who wish to pray, to consult with the Chaplain, to confess, but it is essentially a private room, aside from and apart from the hut. There is another private room for the Chaplain—the Knights of Columbus provide for a resident Roman Catholic priest in all of the large cantonments and naval training stations and with the troops in the field—and private rooms where the men can receive relatives and friends who visit them. On Friday nights, when there is a demand, the huts are set aside for Jewish soldiers for their religious observances. There is a billiard table, a library of the books the men want ranging from fiction to technical works, lockers and a safe, games of all sorts, and plenty of stationery. At one Station, for instance, about 2,200 envelopes and 3,700 sheets of paper are distributed every day. There is no canteen and nothing for sale on the premises. Generous citizens send gifts of cigarettes, chocolates, candy, gum and, in season, ice-cream cones and cake, but all of these are donations and distributed free. It has seemed best not to enter the canteen field since other cooperating agencies adequately meet this need. If the necessity arises in France or Italy, where the Knights' huts are the only welfare stations at special points, this rule may be amended, but at present nothing is sold. The secretaries are glad to be able to distribute gifts. Finally, and not the least important, the secretary is enabled to cash men's checks.

A word about the chaplains. In addition to the secretaries, who are all laymen, the Knights of Columbus provide for priests and the French government has recently assigned fifty English-speaking soldier-priests—the fighting curés of the French army—for the work in France and will furnish

one hundred more in the near future. Knights of Columbus Chaplains, as well as Y. M. C. A. secretaries, have already won distinction in battle and have been honorably mentioned in dispatches. Father De Valles, with a New England detachment, has been officially and unofficially reported as being in the thick of recent fighting and as being as ready and generous with cigarettes and chocolate as devoted to men requiring the ministrations of religion under fire. Rev. Osias Boucher and Father Farrell have also been mentioned in dispatches.

In this country there are 150 huts at camps and training stations with 350 secretaries and 100 chaplains. In France forty-five huts have been constructed, with 175 secretaries and 40 chaplains attached to them. Three K. of C. buildings are located at the headquarters of the A. E. F. K. of C. headquarters in France is maintained at 16 Rue de Madelaine in Paris. All K. of C. buildings abroad, like those at home, are at the service of the soldiers and sailors of America and the Allies at all hours.

To this work, the Knights of Columbus are pledged to devote at least \$50,000,000, of which more than \$7,000,000 has already been spent in America and abroad. The money comes from all sources, and Jew and Gentile, individually and by organization, have contributed generously, not only in the various drives, but on other occasions.

THE DESIRE TO WRITE HOME PROVIDED FOR

IT is the purpose to make the huts actual home centers. They are free to all men and all men use them. Many men come into the training camps absolute strangers, knowing no one and feeling very much alone in the world and sometimes homesick. The hut is a meeting place and a very large proportion are seized with a letter writing mania. Men will write letters every minute of their spare time, letters to parents, sweethearts, and even acquaintances. Many men, out of their thirty dollars a month, spend as much as six or seven on postage, and ten dollars' worth of stamps a month is not unusual in the early days. Free sta-

tionery, provided by the organizations, is a boon. The "K. C." hut on any afternoon looks like a correspondence school of journalism. A young soldier or sailor will fill sheets of writing paper and then, having exhausted his vocabulary, may stretch himself out on the foot and a half wide bench and sleep comfortably, despite a rheumatic phonograph, a robustious piano, many voices lifted mightily in more or less close harmony, and the "gallery" at the pool table. Everything "goes" in the K. C. hut that is countenanced by public opinion—and public opinion is rather rigid in our citizen Army and Navy. Lack of self respect is vigorously reproofed.

Basket ball and boxing matches are much in demand, and of course the great American game in season. A good bout will draw a crowd that will make the walls of the building bulge, and the boxing fraternity, amateur and professional, have helped out the K. C. work enthusiastically. The men demand for their reading rather serious books, especially those dealing with subjects connected with the demands of the service to which they are attached. Boys who scorned mathematics as an abstract science find it irresistible when applied to trajectories of shells. Text books on armaments, the theory of rifle and gun construction, engine construction, the theory of navigation, personal hygiene, and so on, are in constant demand. If a man wants a book, and the K. C. library does not contain it, the secretaries are instructed to obtain that book for that man at once.

The theory of the K. C. work is service for the men in the service, and that theory is adhered to in practise.

William J. Mulligan, of Connecticut, is chairman of the Knights of Columbus Committee on War Activities. Lawrence O. Murray, former Controller of the Currency and Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Labor, has been appointed Deputy Overseas Commissioner, resigning his position in the executive section of the United States Signal Service to undertake this work. The Knights expect to put 500 men in the field as secretaries overseas as soon as they are equipped and trained.

WHO'S SHE IN WAR WORK?

By ANNE EMERSON

*Helping the fighting man a thousand ways,
With prayers, assistance, work and comfort kind;
Lords of this Devil's work must say at last,
"They are too strong, the women are behind."*

The Ears of the Army

SHE—indeed stands back of her men. Her labors may be in some safe guarded American city, or on the firing line a few miles from the front, where the barrage fire is heavy. There are no union hours to her work.

In a dugout twenty feet below ground an officer attached to the Signal Corps is phoning a message to Paris, through headquarters. And the telephone central at Headquarters is an American girl, one of the Woman's Telephone Unit. She is versed in the French language and her work is so important that out of twenty-four hundred women who applied for this service less than twenty-five were accepted. Their hours are long—her work needs constant alertness. She is the confidential ear of the army—and hears the most trusted secrets. Her trim blue uniform is becoming more and more common throughout France, and every branch of the military has praised her work.

In the Canteens

Nor do the proverbial Banker's hours exist for the other workers serving the boys in khaki. Mrs. Belmont Tiffany and her co-workers at a Red Cross canteen in France estimate their day is never shorter than twelve hours, and more frequently runs to fifteen.

"War is such an ugly, sordid thing," Mrs. Tiffany says of her work, "that one forgets to be tired when there are boys who need to be cheered and treated to the little luxuries they need. The first night our canteen opened exactly six hundred and eighty men visited the place. They ate everything in the larder and carried off every magazine and paper

we could find to give them. People who have given money for canteen work in France would feel happy if they could see what their dollars are doing."

Miss Cora L. Van Norden, daughter of the late banker, Warner Van Norden, has also been serving in a canteen, with the Salvation Army. Miss Van Norden particularly praises the honesty of the American soldiers. Several times numbers of men have come to her canteen and not had the money to pay for what they ordered. They never consider taking the rations as a gift, however, but insist on being given a bill which they pay immediately their money arrives.

Teaching the Boy to Cook

Mrs. Mary A. Wilson of Philadelphia has founded in that city the first Naval Cooking School in the country, sacrificing a ten thousand dollar a year business to serve her country without pay.

Mrs. Wilson was born in New Orleans, and at eighteen went to Europe to study cooking. For five years she was the personal chef of Queen Victoria of England, residing at Buckingham Palace and accompanying the Queen on all her journeys. Later, she returned to Philadelphia to head a private Normal School. At the outbreak of the war she offered her services to the Government and was at once accepted. Her classes average about 100 men and need seven or eight weeks to be drilled in the theories and practice of preparing food. Mrs. Wilson says that Rear Admiral Albert Ross' tribute, that the best bread he ever ate was cooked by her students, is all the recompense she needs for her services.

A Labor Problem Solved

One of the difficult problems of the huge growth that has taken place in all munition cities is how to properly house the workers and their families. Bridgeport, Conn., which is essentially a war boom city, solved the problem of labor with the aid of the Bridgeport Housing Company, a group of individuals, some manufacturers, some public spirited men who believed in Bridgeport, all of them anxious to provide community housing for workers. The architect called upon

to plan these houses was a woman, Miss Marcia Mead. Miss Mead made a careful personal study of the needs of the war workers, and then drew her plans, her main idea being to provide such comfortable homes that the women of the family would want to stay indefinitely, and to assure steady workers for the manufacturers of the city.

Women in the Shipyards

Mrs. Marguerite B. Harrison, widow of Thomas B. Harrison of Baltimore' and daughter of the founder of the Atlantic Transport Company, is helping to make the bridge of ships needed to win the war.

Working in the shipyards for a stated number of hours a day is not as hard as standing over a washtub, an ironing board, a cook stove, or caring for a number of small children, is her opinion, based on her actual experience in overalls at the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation at Sparrows Point, Maryland.

Mrs. Harrison has worked in practically every department of the shipbuilding plant, and the National Service Section of the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation proposes to publish in booklet form her experiences, which will be used in obtaining other workers for the shipyard.

"Doing Her Bit"

Mrs. Justine J. Hall, who designs dresses for the smart women of Indianapolis, Indiana, advanced the belief in a recent interview that the women of the West were beginning to show great patriotism by foregoing extravagant dressing.

"I believe it is going to be unpopular to be stylish until after the war, and I am glad of it, even though my business must suffer. The old-fashioned Mother Hubbard, cut along very severe lines, will be adopted and I would not be surprised to see women wear plain sailor hats and in the summer, sun-bonnets."

When Morris C. Gordon resigned as the State Supervisor of Buildings and Loan to enlist in the Marine Corps, Gov. E. D. Gardener of Missouri, under whom Mr. Gordon

has worked, decided that Mrs. Gordon was the person best fitted to fill her husband's place. Mrs. Gordon made a careful study of the work she was to do and has been very successful in the handling of her department.

One of the most successful recruiting aides with the United States Marines Corps is Captain Russell—or as she is better known internationally, Miss Lillian Russell. The famous Russell beauty enhanced by a uniform is sure to attract a crowd, and once Captain Russell starts talking about duty her male listeners press forward to enlist.

Mrs. Russell Sage, who has long been famous for her charities, has made an important war time donation in giving to the New York University a site for an engineering building. This new engineering building is to be rushed, for, as Secretary Baker points out, not only today does the United States Army need engineers, but once the great task of reconstruction is started there will be still more need for their services.

Captain Helen Bastedo, who is commander of the Women's Motor Corps of America, recently received word from Washington that her organization has been given official recognition by the Medical Department of the Army, and that it will be under the jurisdiction of the Surgeon General. The workers that Captain Bastedo commands are volunteer uniformed women in all parts of the country. They are expert drivers and skilled mechanics. In addition to their ambulance service in the transportation of sick and wounded from vessels and trains to hospitals, these women search all women passengers on incoming vessels from foreign ports.

"When I make a young man realize that it is duty to join the United States Navy, I feel that I have done the boy a service," said Mrs. George A. Wheelock, who is a chief yeoman in the Navy, assigned to the recruiting division. She has persuaded over 16,000 young men to go with the colors. After she had spoken for twenty minutes before a body of students, and professors, at the Duquesne University thirty-four of the students and four professors enlisted. She believes the reason for her success is because she has made a

careful study of the Blue Jacket's Manual—and knows what she is talking about.

When Mrs. Alice French went to the training camp nearest her home she was surprised to find that most of the men had been well provided by their mothers and sisters with the small luxuries that make a soldier's life less burdensome to boys, who but yesterday were used to every comfort. The thought came to her at once that she would find a motherless boy and provide him with knitted and eatable luxuries. She found not one boy, but many, and when the number became too large for her to care for, she asked her friends to help. In this way the Indiana "war mother" movement started, with Mrs. French at its head. The idea has grown until it has become national, and every motherless boy in the Army has some woman who befriends him.

"It is just as necessary to keep up the morale among the women over here as it is among the soldiers over there" is the reason Mrs. Joseph R. Lamar, wife of the Solicitor General, gives for her work. "We do not want the women to expend their energies on useless war work, minor affairs that are not of vital interest, when there is so much that they can do that will be of real benefit." Mrs. Lamar believes that the women are best reached through groups, and that the true value of their war work is reached by concentrating their efforts to such successful campaigns as food and fuel saving.

The Librarians

One pictures a library as a massive, handsome place of soft rugs, easy chairs, and lights that are just right for the eyes, but Miss Mary Lonyo, the hospital librarian at Camp Wheeler, Georgia, has no such headquarters. In a recent report she told that she was delighted to have been able to arrange for the use of a ward in a row of old convalescent shacks, and that her books were being installed. A small collection of books is placed in each hospital ward, and in addition to these, a patient may, on request, have any book in the camp library brought to him.

The library war service has become one of the most

important features of the welfare work connected with every camp. There are camp libraries, and hospital libraries, the majority of the librarians being women. They wear a uniform of natural color pongee, a white roll collar with a brown tie, brown shoes and stockings, and a white hat. A brassard is worn on the left arm, and an American Library Association pin on the wide brown ribbon on the hat.

Native American Women Do Their Bit

The Indian Woman—the original American woman, is busy at her war work buying and selling bonds, working with her hands—cheering the braves as today they go out to war minus feathers and paint.

“The Indian never forgets that he is the real American,” said Mrs. Gertrude Bonnin, an Indian woman, who is the secretary of the Society of American Indians, and is known to her own people, the Sioux, as “The Great Red Bird.” “They have not hesitated to sell their most precious bead ornaments in order to give to war funds—especially the Red Cross, which particularly interests them. The Indian women have always been skilled for their handiwork, and are rapid knitters.”

The Indian women have also become interested in war gardens, possibly because all of the tilling of the land was their duty by hereditary custom. Canning, however, did not exist in the days of the buffalo herds and the quickly slung tepees which marked the Indian home. This new innovation in Indian life has become an obsession, and they are canning well. Mrs. Harriet Bone Necklace, of the Pine Ridge Indian Agency, in South Dakota, recently won a money prize and a National Certificate of Merit for a can of vegetables grown in her own garden. Mrs. Bone Necklace is the daughter of “Deerfoot,” the swiftest Indian runner that ever lived. She was so pleased at her prize that she used the money to drive twenty-five miles across the prairie and have her photograph taken with the can of beans that had won her government recognition.

NEW BOOKS

By CHARLES FRANCIS REED

STORIES of Western life are always frankly familiar in their appeal,—telling of men who live on action and thrive in the out-of-doors. One of them, “Bruce of the Circle A,”⁴ by Harold A. Titus, starts as though it might be very conventional, with a “tall, handsome hero,” and a beautiful Eastern girl for the other half of the love story. However, this Eastern girl was not in Arizona to teach school; she had come in search of her drunken husband. The plot is cleverly worked out, the love story is refreshing and clean. Of course, there is a fight, a runaway, and a very intelligent horse. However, Mr. Titus has given a freshness to even the familiar point of his narrative, and the story is a romance that holds the reader’s attention and respect. The other story, “The Fighting Fool,”⁵ is by Dane Coolidge, who has gained an enviable reputation for his stories of the Western borders of our country. His characterizations are more perfect than those obtained by most writers, probably he knows better than the majority of modern writers the life of the picturesque characters who abound along our frontiers. There is a love story and plenty of atmosphere.

“Oh, Money! Money!”⁶ by Eleanor H. Porter, is somewhat disappointing. It is a nice clean story, filled with clever sayings, but not as convincing as was “Pollyanna” or “David.” It tells of a rich man who decides to give a large sum of money to each of his relatives, who do not know him, and see which one is best suited to have the larger inheritance. He sends the checks to these cousins, and then under an assumed name goes to live among them. Maggie Duff, the step-sister of the cousins he tests, is the heroine of the

⁴ “Bruce of the Circle A,” by Harold A. Titus. Small, Maynard & Co. \$1.35 net.

⁵ “The Fighting Fool,” by Dane Coolidge. E. P. Dutton Company. \$1.50 net.

⁶ “Oh, Money! Money!” by Eleanor H. Porter. The Houghton Mifflin Co. \$1.50 net.

story, and is a likable character. On the whole, "Oh, Money! Money!" is too sweet. It is sure to be highly popular among Mrs. Porter's admirers, but this gifted writer is capable of something more virile.

First novels are always interesting, especially when they come from the pen of a writer who has made himself popular as the author of a magazine. They are not always a great success, however, and in this case Bruce Barton, best known for his writing and editing of "Everyweek," has not yet reached the high fictional note which should be possible from his pen. His novel, "The Making of George Groton,"⁷ is a story of Wall Street, a conventional story of a boy who comes to New York, has the most astounding good luck, and then when he has reached the pinnacle of his desire, decides that money making is not the best game in the world. The book is well written, though several of the characters are not entirely convincing. Mr. Barton will probably continue to write novels, and his second will be worth watching for.

Of two English books, one, "Before the Wind,"⁸ is a war story, while "A Girl Alone,"⁹ by Howel Evans, is a story of a girl who finds herself alone in London, and faces the struggle for existence in a great heartless city. Of the two, "Before the Winds" has the most merit. It is a story remotely connected with the war, for there are no scenes at the front, no tales of carnage. The scene is Scotland, and there is a romance, a detective story, and plenty of excitement that has a humorous touch. The mystery that holds the reader's attention is solved during a Zeppelin raid,—and the romance ended. "A Girl Alone" is rather a sordid narrative, yet the author has been successful in his effort to show that humanity, even in the most miserable circumstances, is ever present. The girl, like a thousand of her fictional sisters, finds herself suddenly penniless and has to wade through misery to reach the last chapter. This is the type of book popular with the penny thrillers of England.

⁷ "The Making of George Groton," by Bruce Barton. Doubleday, Page & Co. \$1.40 net.

⁸ "Before the Wind," by Janet Loring. E. P. Dutton & Co. \$1.50 net.

⁹ "A Girl Alone," by Howell Evans. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50 net.

"Salt," or "The Education of Griffith Adams"* is a second book by Charles G. Norris. It is a searching analysis of the education of one young man, taking the hero from boyhood through various private schools and a middle western university—continuing his education when, after graduation, Griffith Adams goes to work in a New York office, marries—and gradually over a course of years shapes his professional life.

The new novel is a decidedly interesting piece of work, showing great depiction of character. A number of men may resent the author's comments on college fraternities—and college morals—but as a story of one young man—not typical of college men as a whole, this narrative shows a series of forceful pictures.

Charles G. Norris, if he is able to continue his literary work, should reach the enviable place held by his older brother, the late Frank Norris, whose novels were so strikingly realistic. Mr. Norris is at present serving as a Captain in the U. S. Army, and is incidentally the husband of Kathleen Norris, of popular novel fame.

Algernon Blackwood's books are worth reading for their author's charming use of words—his ability to make a single word or phrase bring so much into life and color before the mental eye of the reader. Not that he depends for his appeal on fine writing alone, for his novels have definite plots—but the sense and value of the parts of the English language are never lacking.

His latest work to be published is called "The Promise of Air"*. It is the story of a commonplace man who has dreams—who finds time to lift himself above the ordinary, and see the beauty about him. Gradually his whole family finds a healing love come over them—a mystic, indefinable state of mind that gives them "the promise of air"—a glimpse into how men will live and love in the future. It is not a heavy book—not an essay with some fictional touches, but rather a romance, a love story, that breathes of the mystic.

* "Salt, or the Education of Griffith Adams," by Charles G. Norris. E. P. Dutton & Co. \$1.50 net.

* "The Promise of Air," by Algernon Blackwood. E. P. Dutton & Co. \$1.50 net.

OF MISCELLANEOUS INTEREST

THREE new volumes of the Modern Library have been recently issued, and their titles are quite in keeping with the excellent selection previously offered in this most interesting collection. Perhaps the most striking is a sheaf of Aubrey Beardsley's drawings* with a preface, and critical sketch, by Arthur Symons. The other two are "Henry Ryecroft"* by George Gissing, and "Bertha Garlan"* by Arthur Schnitzler. If the Modern Library can continue to occasionally offer such material in the neat leather bindings—then it must soon become one of the most popular collections printed in the United States.

Katherine Lee Bates has contributed poems to the FORUM, and some of them will be found in the collection just published under the title "The Retinue."* The majority of the verses included in the new volume are war poems, and are arranged by the author as a record of her thought, starting in 1914 and continuing to the present time. There are also miscellaneous verses. Miss Bates is one of America's clever singers, and this new volume will do much towards her already established reputation.

The verses included in "Hours of France,"* by Paul Scott Mowrer, who is the special war correspondent of the Chicago Daily News, are written with a simple direct note so much cultivated by newspapermen—and so frequently (as in this case) the most successful method of striking the personal intimate note. The poems are of two classes, those which picture France as the author knew it before 1914 and as he has seen it since that fateful August. One bit of prophetic verse, that is not lacking in humor is, "The Folly of Age."

* "The Hours of France," by Paul Scott Mowrer. E. P. Dutton & Co. \$1.00 net.

* "The Art of Aubrey Beardsley," by Arthur Symons. Boni & Liverwright. \$0.60 net.

* "The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft," by George Gissing. Boni & Liverwright. \$0.60 net.

* "Bertha Garlan," by Arthur Schnitzler. Boni & Liverwright. \$0.60 net.

* "The Retinue," by Katherine Lee Bates. E. P. Dutton & Co. \$1.50 net.

Old men with wooden leg or empty sleeve
Will sit at last, and scold and sigh and fret,
Talking of trench and shell at Auberive,
Or mud and rain in Flanders, with regret.

And basking through the peaceful afternoons,
"The times have sadly dwindled," they will say.
"The lads who fought at Dixmude and the dunes
Were not, thank God, like these young men to-day."

The Honorable Socrates Potter, who told the world at large about "Keeping Up with Lizzie," through the medium of Irving Bacheller's pen, is airing his views again, this time on the much more serious subject of "Keeping Up with William,"* and "William" is the German Kaiser.

The book is a humor coated essay on the propaganda that Germany has at work in the United States, and much of its humor, while laughable, is pointed—so sharply pointed that each reader will be convinced that it is his, or her, duty to aid in the stamping out of the German line of thought that has so degraded the people of the Fatherland. The book is illustrated with cartoons, and the proceeds of its sale will be given to the children of France and Belgium made fatherless by "Williamism."

Mr. Bacheller's new book will probably be much quoted by anti-German talkers, and it deserves the praise it will undoubtedly bring.

"Russia's Agony,"¹⁹ by Robert Wilton, who was correspondent of the London Times at Petrograd, is a carefully detailed account of the revolutionary conditions that he saw while reporting the ever changing political and social status of that country. The book is interesting and enlightening.

* "Keeping Up with William," by Irving Bacheller. Bobbs-Merrill Co. \$1.00 net.

¹⁹ "Russia's Agony," by Robert Wilton. Longmans Green & Co. \$4.80.

IN NANCY

By ELEANOR PRESTON WATKINS

THERE'S a little cleared space in a ruined street
In Nancy, in Nancy,
Where the dust shows the print of small flying feet
In Nancy.

They spin their tops with a fearless hand,
They stand foursquare as their fathers stand;—
For the bravest city in that brave land
Is Nancy.

For a man shall work and a child shall play,
However the cannon thunder;
And a woman shall smile at the end of the day;—
This is the wide world's wonder!

The streets are cleared lest the lines be lost
In Nancy, in Nancy,
And they cherish the art of each wrought-iron post
In Nancy.
They will not hasten, they may not shirk,
For any terror of Hun or Turk.
In the sight of God they do their work
In Nancy.

For a man shall work and a child shall play,
However the cannon thunder;
And a woman shall smile at the end of the day;—
This is the wide world's wonder!

They gather their wounded, they bury their dead,
In Nancy, in Nancy,
But ever they walk with a victor's tread
In Nancy.
No cannon shall blast them from their own sod,
Nor turn them from ways that their fathers' trod.
They know they are held in the hand of God
In Nancy.

For a man shall work and a child shall play,
However the cannon thunder;
And a woman shall smile at the end of the day;—
This is the wide world's wonder!

THE THEATRE IN REVIEW

By C. COURTENAY SAVAGE

The War Patriotism of the Stage

THE theatre, last winter trembling upon the verge of uncertainty, is this season coming into full bloom. It is "essential," and the edict of the war time government finds approval in the hearts of the public. Unless there is an empty coal bin this winter we may feel sure of an evening's entertainment at the playhouse. Too, the theatre, is the rostrum—the forum—of war patriotism. Between the acts as well as during the raised curtain, the war and its needs and its atmosphere will be with us. The theatre is doing its bit, it will continue in the great war drama, to contribute its share, its patriotism and thanks be, its divertissements.

War plays come under critical observation. It is a difficult task to stage current history, the author is hampered by fact, and the accurate knowledge of his audience. In "Watch Your Neighbors," a "spy" play with a Swiss setting, there is some "strong-arm" work, some clever situations and surprise, to reveal the mechanisms of Hun trickery shorn of all its kultur. The ever favorite "silly ass" Englishman who has taut muscles and an alert mind beneath his simpering mask, as a British intelligence officer, extricates himself from thrilling situations by dexterity of action that endears to the audience the ever fascinating spy in action. Well played, well staged, sound in principle, "Watch Your Neighbor" is an entertaining evening in war efforts. Leon Gordon, a co-author of the play, makes the "silly ass" role fresh and inspiring, while Le Roy Clemens, his collaborator, gives us a glimpse of an English Tommy at his best. We are treated to a conspiracy scene, laid in Switzerland. Nothing better in war atmosphere has been staged this season.

In Stuart Walker's latest production, "Jonathan Makes a Wish," the dreams and aspirations of a fourteen-year-old

boy are vividly visualized, with a thoughtful "lesson" to the adult. Fathers and mothers who have been deaf to the manifestations of heredity will find in Jonathan's distressful experiences a study of adolescence worth taking home to themselves. The fantasy of delirium in the second act, more real than actual, becomes a glimpse into the sub-conscious, heightening the tragedy of youthful injustice, and bringing out strongly the danger of misunderstanding and ignoring youth's "silliness." The very exaggeration of the human environment sets in contrast a boy's imagination. The half-forgotten youth of ourselves is the dreamland of our age. Mr. Walker is an artist of our childhood, whose indelible experiences shape, perhaps unconsciously, our whole life's tenure. This play is a little masterpiece in chrome.

There isn't any particular reason why "Lightnin'" should run four hundred nights, but it probably will. Its appeal to laughter and tears is irresistible. Neither farce nor comedy, it falls into the category of melodrama, and hits the heart thrills in quick contrast. It is a play of the old Bowery type brought uptown, and kindness and justice triumphs over "cussedness" to the amusement and satisfaction of a story loving public. As Lightnin' Mr. Frank Bacon does so excellent a bit of pathos that his weakness for the bottle becomes almost virtue. It takes a little weakness in humans to bring out the bigness of some small and self-seeking people, and at least, on the stage, it happies us up to see the "victim" become the hero—when his heart is all right.

Some Plays That Amuse and Thrill

ROMANCE, come up from the cabaret to the palace, is the theme of "One of Us," incidentally illustrating the old saw that a woman, like a dog, needs the strong arm to inspire love. The underworld, now an up-town Chicago sidelight, is resurrected for a setting. It does not matter that dryness has swept Chicago midnight gayety, "One of Us" has a deeper motive. It reveals that flowers flourish in the muck, and youth sees its affinity with sure conviction and stoops to conquer, and conquering glorifies true love. A pretty

romance, filled with laughs softly and appealingly wrapped around the Girl and the Boy.

Make 'em laugh, make 'em weep, make 'em wait, was Thackeray's recipe for a good story. "Another Man's Shoes," with Lionel Atwill, fills Thackeray's prescription. It is annoying to have anyone tell the plot of a play in advance; it is like having another fellow eat one's dinner to prove it good. Mr. Atwill's characterization of the man who thinks he is another fellow, is convincing and amusing. Miss Mackay's *Dora* is so particularly exquisite that one wishes such adorable creatures as she portrays existed in real life. The play is gripping and diverting from curtain to curtain.

"The Unknown Purple" is not a war play, though it must have been hard for the authors to resist the temptation and leave out a German spy when one would have fitted so admirably into the novel theme that makes the drama. The play is written with a familiar "switchback" prologue borrowed from the movies, and has a last act occurring simultaneously with the previous scene. It is a drama of revenge, of the awakening of a simple-hearted inventor to the fact that he has been tricked and robbed by his faithless wife. He even suffers imprisonment through her actions. When he is free he plays his game with the aid of the purple ray, an invention which makes him invisible. It is all impossible melodrama, but fascinating and thrilling. Furniture moves in such a manner as to make sophisticated audiences jump, and under the cloak of the purple light, hearts, as well as more material objects, are stolen. Richard Bennett plays the leading role with a support up to the high standard of his performance.

A War Drama and Others

ANOTHER novelty of the season, "Under Orders," is a drama whose action is portrayed by only two characters. It is a war play, showing the reaction of the world conflict on two homes, and families of close kinship and physical resemblance. Twin sisters have married, one, a

German, the other, an American living in England. The sons of the two women are physically alike, and both serving their respective countries. With this similarity as a background a drama has been built that contrasts the Teutonic war mind with that of an Anglo-Saxon. The result is a play carrying suspense and emotion. Shelley Hull and Effie Shannon play the dual roles with the authority that has made them notable in other work on the stage.

Alice Brady's return from the motion picture world shows her to be an actress of more than ordinary ability. The play, "Forever After," is written as a "cut back," that new method of dramatic handling which enables playwrights to show the actor's thought. It is a war play with an act of real comedy, contrasted with the tragedy of the battlefield and base hospital. Sentiments abound, and tears are prevalent. Many people care for these attributes of the drama, and Miss Brady has a large following. So it is not improbable that the play, "Forever After," will have a run that in a small measure approaches its title.

Oscar Wilde was not at his best when he wrote "An Ideal Husband." It is a so-called brilliant comedy, but it lacks a dramatic suspense and scintillating lines of many of his more popular works. As presented by a newly formed repertoire company it is interestingly played. This company, by the way, included a group of English players who have made themselves popular with American audiences during the last few years. Constance Collier, Norman Trevor, Cyril Harcourt, more famed as an author than actor, and Julian L'Estrange constitute the leaders of the personnel. The play itself preaches the gospel that a woman should not make her husband an ideal, for all men are human and family skeletons must rattle on occasions.

Lively comedy in a melodramatic setting makes "Someone in the House," a new "crook" play, interesting and holds the excited curiosity of the audience until the final curtain. The play starts as frank melodrama of a not unfamiliar type. The second act, however, introduces comedy, and comedy reigns to the end. Lynn Fontanne as a follower of

her own idea of culture, giggling, wordy in her sentiments and platitudes gives a characterization of a "society woman" that is inimitable.

New and Old Favorites

"THE MAID OF THE MOUNTAINS" has been popular in London for more than a year. London's taste has not reached the Broadway standard, for if this operetta becomes popular in the United States there will be another mystery in the realm of the theatre. The play is handsomely mounted, and, at times, well sung, but it lacks virility, pep. There is insufficient comedy. The dancing one expects in a musical play is lacking. Incidentally, jokes about the American registration of September 12 were introduced by Spanish brigands. "The Maid of the Mountains" lives somewhere in Spain. It is to be hoped that she was prudent and bought a return ticket.

Mr. John Cort, who brings tuneful musical comedies to the American stage, produced "Fiddlers Three." It is an operetta of romantic Italy, laid in the story of a violin contest, with the familiar passions of the stage: love rejected, jealousy, hatred, and love triumphant. Into the picturesque atmosphere wanders an English nobleman, an American widow who, for novelty's sake, is under her daughter's guardianship, and a truly humorous American drummer. The play wins the audience by its charming music, its comedy and its vaudeville "stunts" in the second act. Tavie Belge, who is a real Belgian refugee, sings the prima donna role in a charming voice. Louise Groody can dance and "flirt" and gives the play most of its vivacity. "Fiddlers Three" should wield their bows to a prosperous tune.

They have called the season's production at the Hippodrome "Everything." The name is well chosen, for the evening's entertainment includes a country circus, a prima donna from the concert stage (Miss Belle Story), De Wolf Hopper as master of ceremonies, Houdini, who escapes from a straight jacket, a battle scene with tanks going over the

top, clowns, trick skaters,—and the rest. The formula for a successful Hippodrome season has been carefully compounded. Everyone will want to see “Everything” at least once in the season.

“Sinbad” is an institution. Al Jolson is, or should be, always among those present in New York’s theatrical menage. At present, besides giving us an evening of total absence from worry, he is putting a spoke in patriotism that gives that rapidly revolving wheel additional impulse. His new patriotic contribution to song, “written by a young man who needs the money”—is the touching melody that will add to the war’s contributions—financially and emotionally.

Just exactly what Roi Cooper Megrue has sought to prove in “Tea for Three” is not evident, unless it is that husbands should not object to friend wife having a male friend for tea, once or so a week, or that friend husband should keep up a flirtation with his wife and keep up with his aspirations to be amused after marriage. At any rate “Tea for Three” full of “cleverities,” if I may coin a word, is very diverting and an evening’s peep into other people’s troubles and problems, quite as entertaining, as such experiences are likely to be in real life.

THE FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

By W. S. COUSINS

THE heavy hand of the law has fallen hard upon the non-essential in industry, and whereas a few months ago he was frowned upon in an impatient manner by those who are responsible for the details of the war program, he is now being deprived of his sources of fuel and raw materials, and in many instances his labor supply has been diverted to war activities.

Plants are now working on war contracts to an unprecedented extent, in which respect we are duplicating the experiences of Great Britain in the second year of the war. It is estimated that in some lines from 50 to 75 or even 80 per cent of the production is for Government account. There are some classes of establishments formerly working exclusively for the supply of civilian needs that are now working wholly for the Government. This is most conspicuously true in clothing and leather manufactures, particularly shoes. Civilian needs in woolens, and probably some others, are being supplied from previously accumulated stocks, while from current production little or nothing is set aside to fill future requirements. This seems to foreshadow a time of lessened ability to supply the requirements of the civilian population in the near future.

For the first time since we entered the struggle, the non-essential industries are now beginning to feel the real stress of the war, and are either going out of business, as is true in certain instances, or else converting themselves into war plants. The curtailment of non-essentials is partly the result of realization on the part of producers that their efforts are not required in the former lines of business and partly to the shortening of their supplies of credit or fuel or transportation. It is a striking feature of the whole condition of affairs that such shortening should be in progress, notwithstanding the high prices and large margins of profit which

in some cases are reported at record figures. The restrictions upon building and new construction except for war work have been a special obstacle to the further development of business in directions that are not classed as distinctly necessary.

WAR REVENUE BILL

IN record time, considering the magnitude of the task assigned to it, the House of Representatives in September passed on the new war revenue bill and sent it for consideration to the Finance Committee of the Senate. It was hoped that the bill would have reached final passage before the November elections, but such a result is not now looked for in view of the determination of leading Senators to sift through the details of the measure quite thoroughly. As now constituted, the war revenue bill will provide for the raising of slightly over eight billion dollars, of which \$2,375,000,000 will come from corporation and individual income tax, and \$3,200,000,000 from war profits and excess profits.

From the investors' standpoint, an important point was won in striking from the original draft of the measure, the stipulation that in calculating taxable incomes, corporations and individuals may be permitted to exempt only such amount of interest paid out during the year as would be "in excess of interest received free from taxation under this title." The effect of this provision was indirectly to make such tax-exempt securities as Liberty 3½s or municipal bonds issued with every tax-exempt provision, taxable at the current rate.

Strenuous efforts have also been made to have stricken out of the bill that section levying a tax upon municipal and state securities, but thus far without result. By a vote of 132 to 61 the House rejected an amendment exempting future issues of State and Municipal bonds. This is, of course, but a step in the process, and, failing to gain their point in the Senate, Municipal officials say that they will carry their case to the Court of Last Resort. This is what the Comptroller of the City of New York said in a telegram of protest to

Congress prior to the adoption of that taxation clause: "Such a tax would impose the burden not upon the holders of these securities but upon the States and other political subdivisions, such as cities, villages and towns, which are already in serious difficulties that promise to become more acute because of added war costs and assistance to the Federal Government in the prosecution of the war. In the case of the City of New York, for example, it is estimated that the loss of revenue and added costs due to the war conditions will run into the millions. The proposed tax would require that the cities and States pay an increased rate of interest on their bonds for many years after the tax on the income of such bonds had been repealed."

The controversy over the constitutional right of Congress to tax the income from the State and municipal bonds seems to be due principally to the doubt cast by Governor Hughes, in 1910, on the meaning of the Sixteenth Amendment, which reads: "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States and without regard to any census or enumeration." When he submitted the amendment to the New York Legislature he expressed the fear that it would give Congress power to tax New York State and municipal bonds and thus "place such limitations upon the borrowing power of the State as to make the performance of the functions of local government a matter of Federal grace." Mr. Hughes was answered by Senator Root of New York, who in a letter to the New York Legislature held that the Sixteenth Amendment would not constitute any new grant of power to Congress, but would merely relieve the exercise of the existing taxing power of the National Government "from the requirement that the tax shall be apportioned among the several States." Thereupon New York ratified that Amendment, as did other States, and it became effective. Our income tax laws since 1913 have been based upon the authority of that Amendment and it is significant that State and municipal bonds have been carefully exempt from such measures.

FOURTH LIBERTY LOAN CAMPAIGN

PERHAPS never in the history of our country has such careful and thorough preparation been made for an important forthcoming event as that which preceded the fourth Liberty Loan campaign. Contrary to the general view that the shortening of the campaign period might be prejudicial to the highest measure of success of the campaign, it was quite commonly accepted as a wise provision, and some communities announced their intention to conduct their canvass on the one-day registration plan. By this method every man, woman and child able to subscribe for Liberty Bonds in amounts from \$50.00 upward is conducted on a given day to the registration booth, where the amount of his or her subscription is duly recorded.

Addressing himself to the problem early in September, Secretary McAdoo drew up a bill embodying his conception of new legislation imperatively needed in order to insure the success of the next campaign and this legislation was speedily approved by Congress. In general, the new regulations thus provided were as follows:

The interest on fourth Liberty bonds, not more than \$30,000 of which are owned by any person or firm, be exempt from the graduated additional income taxes and excess profits and war profits taxes. That interest on first, second and third Liberty bonds, not more than \$45,000 of which are owned by any person or firm, be exempt from the same taxes. That the War Savings Stamps may be issued to an aggregate of \$4,000,000, raising the limit \$2,000,000,000, so as to float the 1919 series. That authority be granted to the Secretary of the Treasury to make arrangements in or with, foreign countries, to stabilize foreign exchange, thereby giving greater flexibility in Treasury operations. That President Wilson be empowered to investigate, regulate, and prohibit, by means of license or otherwise, transactions in foreign exchange and the export, hoarding, melting, or earmarking of gold or silver coin or bullion or currency. That the law limiting the amount of loans which National banks may make to any one borrower to one-tenth of the capital stock be modified.

PREPARATION IN STOCK MARKET

SIMILAR preparation was made by bankers and Government officials in the big monetary centers, and in New York this took the form of repeated warnings to stock brokerage houses to curtail whatever of their speculative dealings require the employment of call loan money on a large scale. That these warnings have borne good fruit is evidenced by the fact that the aggregate of call loans has been reduced, it is estimated, from 250 million dollars daily to between 35 and 50 millions.

Brokers were compelled to notify their customers to discontinue, for the time being, the purchasing of large blocks of stock on margin, unless of course they are in a position to advance a big proportion of the purchase price of the stocks. On the other hand, an investor who has the greater part of his purchase money on hand is not likely to meet with much difficulty in obtaining whatever funds are necessary to protect what securities he has or to make desirable purchases. The stock market has for these reasons been under rather severe selling pressure, and anything approaching professional operation for the purpose of manipulating prices has been frowned upon, not only by the banks, but also by speculative leaders as well.

REASONABLE ECONOMY

ONE of the most effective means of eliminating waste and diverting the country's resources into essential channels has been the policy adopted by Government leaders in withholding permission for the issuance of securities which could not qualify as promoting activities vitally necessary to the country at this particular period. Congress, early in the war, created the Capital Issues Committee, to which must be submitted all applications for stock and bond issues intended for public sale, whether made by State, municipality, corporation or individual; and thus each issue must run the gauntlet and receive its classification in relation to its compatibility to the national interest. The purpose of the Government is

thus to eliminate capital expenditure of every character that can be postponed until after the war is over.

To win the war it is imperative that capital, labor and materials be placed at the service of the Government in the largest possible measure, because all unnecessary use of these resources weakens the fighting strength of the nation. There is no doubt about the willingness of the people of the United States to meet the Government requirements; nevertheless, they are clearly entitled to guidance as to those projects which are necessary for the best interests of the country and therefore to be stimulated, and those which are, on the other hand, to be regarded as unnecessary and therefore to be discouraged.

The Capital Issues Committee has adopted as its policy that favorable action should be taken only on projects which would aid in the prosecution of the war, or which for other public reasons are determined to be absolutely necessary. The activities of the committee extend to all issues of stocks and bonds, large or small, and in every case the committee is most anxious to reach a fair and just conclusion, and it confidently expects the co-operation of all interests to bring about these results. It is the belief of the committee that only by subordinating local and personal interest to Government needs, and encouraging the most rigid economy in general expenditures, can the nation hope to bear its great share in the financial burden of the struggle, and mobilize sufficient capital, labor and material to win success. No one should compete with the Government for any of these necessities, nor hinder it from getting what it requires. The paramount demand, therefore, is immediate and universal economy. This is the least we can do for the brave men at the front who are fighting for the cause of universal freedom.

RAILROAD EARNINGS

RECENT publication of the last of the railroad reports for July has made it possible to measure the effect of the radical rate increases put into effect by the Director-General to offset higher operating costs and relieve the Government

of the huge deficits being rolled up under the rates obtaining under private management. It was not until July that the full force of the advances was in effect for a month, and the marked change in the companies' returns is easily explained. A compilation by the *Financial Chronicle* shows that 190 roads reporting aggregate gross revenues of \$463,684,000 showed a gain over July, 1917, of \$117,661,000, an increase of 34 per cent. In the meantime wages have been pushed up with great rapidity, so that operating costs were likewise swollen, but net earnings of the 190 roads amounting to \$114,348,000, showed a gain of \$34,466,000, or more than 31 per cent. The year-old figures with which comparison is made were themselves very large, the gross revenues making a gain of \$46,328,000 over those for the corresponding month in 1917. To what extent the economies possible under unification have served to offset wage increases cannot yet be determined, but it is not likely that much of the gain in net was due to this course. The necessity for much higher rates both for passenger and freight service was emphasized by the course of net earnings in the first six months of this year. In ten years the aggregate revenues of the railroads in this country have more than doubled.

PRICE ADVANCES

The Federal Food Administration has issued a bulletin in which it is attempted to show that the increase in the National expenditure for food for the second period of 1918 was only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent above that of the same period in 1917. This must not be taken to mean that prices of individual foodstuffs have increased only 3.5 per cent. It is shown, for example that due to the increase in local gardening the expenditure for vegetables was 63.1 per cent less than last year. This fact gives less consolation to the city "cliff-dweller" than to his more fortunate rural neighbor.

The National City Bank of New York has recently presented the results of an extended investigation into the matter of commodity prices and draws the conclusion that the average import prices of articles representing production

in every part of the world have been steadily climbing since 1914. A few prominent cases will illustrate.

Article	Import price in 1918	1917	1916	1915
Clothing wool..... (per pound)	54	36	28	23
Copper (per pound)	26.2	25	19.4	.....
Sugar (per pound)	4.8	4.3	3.7	3.2
Tin (per pound)	54.6	40.	35.3	32.4
Cotton (per yard)	25.7	21.	9.5	.....
Pig Iron (per ton)	119.42	.....	.....	35.8
(Decreases)				
Coffee	9.	9.5	.....	11.1
Tobacco	1.21	.....	.....	1.28
White potatoes..... (bu.)	1.02	2.27	.....	.....

The cost of rent, clothing, transportation and other items of living has advanced several times as much as the aggregate increase in the cost of foodstuffs. There has been more than a 35 per cent increase in prices paid to the farmer, but also a reduction of speculation and profiteering and narrowed margins between farmers and wholesale prices under food regulations.

The Editor's Un-Easy Chair

(Contributions to this department must be addressed to the Editor and should not exceed 1,000 words. Manuscripts should contain addressed envelope stamped.)

"We're With You, Charlie"

"WE'RE with you, Charlie," is a phrase that has become a win-the-war slogan. It was born in the resonant throats of labor and echoed from coast to coast. It was during Schwab's tour of the ship yards in August that the slogan was voiced. Later, at Hog Island the word that had come out of the West was echoed by the shirt-sleeved ship workers of the Atlantic Coast. Up in New England in August, when the Director General of the Emergency Fleet visited the "boys" of yards, he was greeted by an army of men displaying banners, which read:

"We are with you, Charlie,

"Every Minute,

"Every Hour,

"Every Day."

When Charles M. Schwab took over the building of the Emergency Fleet he undertook one of the biggest tasks of the war—a task that is vital to the transport and supply of our troops and the feeding of the nation at home. Upon his success and the efficiency and labor loyalty of the men in the yards hangs this great achievement. Mr. Schwab's instantaneous success was as a leader of men who work. He is an apostle of the new doctrine of labor. He proclaims himself a laboring man and as such is received and carried on the shoulders of the men in the ship yards.

Prominence has been thrust upon Charlie Schwab. He has not sought it. He has always been the busiest of busy men. He has had friends thrust upon him from the man in shirt sleeves to the Wall Street potentate of wealth; from the humblest artist to the greatest voice in opera. From the

cornet player to the master of the organ. He is magnetic, simple, and winning in personality.

"Never in my life has a man worked for me; they all work with me."

That is part of Schwab's creed. It is not a "policy"; it's Schwab. He goes after the soul of the workingman; he gets into the spirit of work with him—he is of them, "for the workers will rule this country," he startled the nation by saying.

Out of the ruck and muck of war comes Men of the Hour. Opportunity makes men; opportunity has given us Schwab to build our ships; to work shoulder to shoulder with labor to win this war. It is Mr. Schwab's great task to do a lasting work for the nation. To this he has consecrated his ability, his time, and his whole ambition.

The nation in shirt sleeves, and the nation in khaki, takes off its hat to Schwab.

"We're with you, Charlie!"

After Twenty Years—At Guam

LIFE is very complex at Guam.

"Most blest of Pacific daughters
Washed by the ocean's foam,
Where the soul is not dead that slumbers,
And one need not ask for alms,"

as a Guamite puts it.

A recent issue of the *Guam News Letter*, (April, 1918), has reached us and we peruse it apprehensively, but are speedily assured that we still have Guam. The war has not created any seismic thrills, yet its Fifteenth Congress has taken cognizance of the International Catastrophe by assembling and passing resolutions to contribute its bit to the War Relief Fund, the same being \$15.00, presumably, "Mexican."

Lest perforce this may not seem largest in comparison with the appropriation of the 65th U. S. Congress for war purposes, it must be said, by comparison, to Guam's credit,

that the session of its Fifteenth Congress only lasted from 10 A.M. to 11.30 A.M., a record that balances scores with the 65th Congress at the National Capitol. In Guam, too, gold does not run up hill; in fact when the U. S. S. *Charleston* sailed into Guam some twenty years ago and the Captain of the Port (and Fort?) was awakened from his slumbers, to use the Guam's poet's metaphor, and had to borrow powder from the *Charleston* to return the salute, Guamites were using tin tags from whalers' plug tobacco, for currency.

Since our occupation naval officers, Chinamen, Japs, and an occasional tourist have contributed to Guam's circulating medium. Still, money had not been inflated and a dollar goes a long way as is evidenced by some court records, printed in the recent, April, issue of the *News Letter*. Jesus Santos having committed himself to one Felix Pangelinan, was levied by judgment \$3.00 and costs, fifty cents; this being about the maximum of the Court's findings from March 11th up to and including April 10th, with the one exception of Angel Cabo who was seized of some \$9.00 by the same plaintiff. The court proceedings are not largely contributory, from a monetary point of view, to the overheadcharges of the island's legal machinery. The Fixem Repair Shop occupied, upon the dates inclusive referred to above, considerable attention of the Court, and while the legal motor ran on the same speed, the cases were less successful and the ranges of cost netted but from twenty-five to fifty cents. Out of the 77 cases tried, the Court netted \$24.20. Justice is on the bargain counter at Guam.

But before leaving Guam to its "slumbering," its Congressional enactments are worthy of note and reveal an awakened if not alarming agitation in our minds. Is Guam in revolt? Does Guam chafe under our benevolent assimilation? Whatever can be the matter there,

"Isle of a thousand wonders,
Land of the cocoanut palms,
A place we all do love
When our hearts with her are in tune,"

to revert to the poet laureate of Guam.

For, in the Proceedings of the Guam Congress, Fifteenth Session, we find (c) "That the Honorable President and Congress of the United States be recommended through the Governor of Guam, to define and resolve *definitely*, the civil status of the inhabitants of Guam."

Whist! and begorry, the Clan-na-Gael of Guam is abroad! And after nineteen years Juan Torres Diaz, Carlos Tydingco, Antonio Carbudido, *et al*, are still asking Our Congress such questions! Nay, nay, replies Governor Smith, it is a question of need and Federal authorities have been invoked from time to time, but at the present, "Spot that my heart calls home," as the laureate sayeth, it is inopportune; "the treaty of Paris sets no time limit for the accomplishment of the object herein discussed."

However, time goes on at Guam, and life is not so devoid of worth whileness. On March 26th, Mrs. Smith entertained her friends with a tea at Government House. An unlooked for rain changed her plans but her guests were able to take short strolls through the gardens and a very pleasant time was spent by all.

Want a Job at Washington?

OUR old friend the Government Clerk has taken on a new dignity in Washington town. He is omnipresent in the Capital's broad thoroughfares and hangs onto the street cars like bees on a hive. He pours out of the great and small government buildings like human tape, ribbons mostly, for the lady clerk is in the ascendant, numerically and potentially. She is an essential, for typewriters are firing messages as rapidly as machine guns Over There. Peep into a government building and see for yourself.

As we move from door to door and room to room we hear the thousands of typewriters and telegraph instruments clicking out orders, information, direction, and a thousand details every minute. See the hurry and scurry of messenger girls and boys, many mounted on roller skates. See the busy and feverish clerks and executives chasing papers about the corridors and dashing into and out of offices. See the

desks loaded down with paperwork disposed of and awaiting disposition.

Mr. Civil Service has loosened up considerably, as compared with the olden days. He is giving examinations weekly, yes daily, if the material is available. They qualify on good old Form 1312, the standardized form for office help, big and small. Of course there are also other stereotyped forms such as 304, 1800, 1371 and the like. But 1312 is the favorite. The variety of positions for which it qualifies are:

Index and Catalog Clerk, File Clerk, Editorial Clerk, Schedule Clerk, Research Clerk, Clerk qualified in Statistics, Accounting, etc., Assistant to Business Manager, Expert in Business Administration, Clerk qualified in Business Administration, Finger Print Classifier, Draftsman, Expert in Textile Products, Production Clerk and Expert, Senior and Junior Cost Accountant, Statistician, Statistical Expert, etc.

Salaries too have increased along the line. Clerks get an initial entrance salary now of \$1100, \$1200 and \$1400 and over, instead of the standard old entrance salaries before the war of \$720, \$840, \$900 and \$1000. An automatic increase is provided for \$1100 clerks at the end of their temporary appointment of three months, of \$100. Promotions are rapid. Everything depends upon the individual and how he measures up to his job.

And then dear old Congress allowed itself to be cajoled and persuaded into providing a "bonus" of \$120 a year to all regular employees and to all temporary employees who have displayed the requisite interest, zeal, enthusiasm and cooperation in their work during their temporary three months' appointment. Yes, it took an awful lot of persuading power to squeeze that extra money from his pocket. The other day he even wanted to tack on an additional hour to the regular office hours and not give a cent more pay for the extra time, but the President vetoed his bill.

The salaries of the specialists qualifying on Form 1312 and occasionally by written examination, vary from \$1400 to \$5000 per annum—"per diem" and "per annum" is the

standard government way of referring to "wages." The average pay is between \$1800 up to \$3000.

War Marriages Drafting the Girls

EVERY available means is exhausted to supply the demand and still demand increases and supply decreases. The draft has made fearful inroads on clerical organization, which is largely offset in the War and Navy departments by induction or enlistment or commissioning high class men and placing them on the same desk jobs. Of course occasionally there is a rub here and the tendency now is to keep only "limited field service" men on the job.

Another reason for the shortage is the fact that before the war government positions were open only largely to men—women were abhorred in government offices. Now they are at a premium. And you know girls don't like to leave home. Hence the shortage all around, not counting war marriages.

The percentage of civil service employees in older offices who enter the service through written tests or examinations is about 40 per cent., 20 per cent. represent old time employees, and 40 per cent. are FORM employees. The percentage in new offices is about 40 per cent. through examinations, 5 per cent. old timers, and 55 per cent. FORM 1312s. A few officers are excepted altogether from the provisions of Civil Service. They use the hire and fire methods of the business world.

The hours in government service are normally seven hours of work a day, from 9 to 4.30, but many offices work from 8.30 to 5 or from 9 to 5.30. The lunch hour is universally a half hour period taken at 12, 12.30 or 1.

On to Washington is the cry now as in the days of '61-'65. But it is either for a patriotic motive or a selfish gain. The Dollar a Year Man is no more. His services have been dispensed with. He is now paid a regular salary, made a real employee. The volunteer system didn't work.

Where to house them, at any price, is Washington's problem. Everywoman's home is a boarding house, in the Capital. The town is a city of magnificent distances—and

walking is the order of the day. Taxis are prohibitive—and the street cars are wholly inadequate—but the movies are reaping a fortune and the proverbial “mortgage on the farm” at home is shrinking.

Our South American Trade in the Balance

WE are getting the preponderance of trade with South America since 1914-15. Will we keep it? The American business man is not worrying a great deal about it, but the Latin-American hopes that we will seek his trade, at his own terms. His terms are primarily based upon elasticity of credits, and a conformity to his needs—two premises not heretofore considered of utmost importance to the American manufacturer. A correspondent from a South American country writes us:

“The merchants of the United States, influenced undoubtedly by the refinement of their surroundings live for themselves, they manufacture their goods and export their products subject to the criterium, usages, customs and needs of their own countrymen, and they ignore the criterium, they underrate the habits and customs, and are ignorant of the needs and tastes of the peoples of the other twenty Republics of this Continent.”

This is a rather sweeping charge and worthy of attention, if we are to hold our after-the-war Latin-American trade. We know that England, now largely cut out of Latin-America, will renew her trade interests in the Southern Republics, and England pursued a successful catering policy, before 1914. Germany, however, was so well established below the equator, that we could hardly regard ourselves a competitor. Of German methods our correspondent says:

“Germany without priding herself of the practical spirit of the United States nor of its republican form of government, nor of the homogeneity of the habits and aspirations with the Latin-American countries, left aside her imperialism, forgot her medieval customs and came down from the summit of her political preponderance and haughtiness, to intermingle with the Spanish-American democracies of Latin America, and to make a deep study of their idiosyncrasies, their tastes and characteristics of the primitive races which are shown at times in their exigencies for good form, and at

other times, in their fondness for loud colors or of excessive adornments, and lastly, to their extreme confidence in the honesty of the big or small merchants, granting to them credits up to six months for the payment of the goods which meet their peremptory needs."

If we fail to hold our advantage in Latin-American trade, after the war, it will be due to our lack of vision, thinks our South American correspondent. He recommends an extension of credit, a higher regard for South American business houses, a more intense study of the psychology of the people, their needs, trade practices and a greater participation in the development of their industries, coupled with closer diplomatic ties and a recognition of the fact that internal revolutions do not affect economic movement in Latin American countries. "The commercial or economic transactions entered into between the citizens of our countries and those of other nations are fully guaranteed by the probity of our Courts, placed always afloat (safe) in the transitory shipwreck of the institutions and laws of political order."

In view of the great mercantile marine that will be ours after the war, our exporters and banking institutions should not lose the opportunity to conform to the requirements of holding the trade—and good will—of our Latin-American friends.

The FORUM'S Policy, Constructive Nationalism

TO WIN THE WAR

What is Constructive Nationalism?

Constructive business, industry, organizations—that look to a permanent betterment of our social and organic life as a democratic people.

National unity, solidarity, in common aims of the whole people, politically, socially, educationally, and fundamentally, as one people, one flag, one language, one loyalty.

It is the desire of The FORUM to open its pages to the thought of the best constructive thinkers in our country, that their thought may be the seeds or the stimulating means of a definite, substantial nationalism; aligning its aims and policies with the forces to win the war.

Recent FORUM Contributors:

VICE PRESIDENT MARSHALL
LORD NORTHCLIFFE
FORMER U. S. ATTORNEY GEN. GRIGGS
FORMER AMBASSADOR PENFIELD
U. S. SENATOR LEE S. OVERMAN
SPEAKER CHAMP CLARK
HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN
MAX NORDAU
SIR GEORGE REID
THOMAS W. LAMONT
BARONESS VON HEDDEMANN
GUSTAVE HERVE
DUKE OF ARGYLL
PRESIDENT DAVID STARR JORDAN
PRESIDENT EMERITUS CHAS. W. ELIOT
PRESIDENT G. STANLEY HALL
SAMUEL GOMPERS
MARY E. WILKINS FREEMAN
MARY HEATON VORSE
SAX ROHMER
U. S. SENATOR REED SMOOT
LEWIS ALLEN BROWN
THEODORE N. VAIL
ISRAEL ZANGWILL
C. COURTENAY SAVAGE
DR. EUGENE LYMAN FISK
DR. JAMES J. WALSH
MARY AUSTIN

War Savings Subscription:

Special Offer

YOUR war time interests demand that you are informed of the thought of our most distinguished men and women, close in touch with the affairs and aims of the Nation and the people. Contributors to The FORUM include a wide range of public spirited Americans, in the Government, in war activities, and in great organizations that have come into life to help with the war.

In keeping with the war time spirit we have planned a War Saving Subscription offer, 75 cents for your war saving fund, \$1.75 for the FORUM for one year, or, 25 cents for your war saving fund, and \$1.00 for The FORUM for six months.

WAR SUBSCRIPTION OFFER FOR NEW SUBSCRIBERS:

In order to begin your subscription with the next number, fill out the enclosed blank and return to THE FORUM, at the earliest possible moment.

PUBLISHER: Please enter my subscription to THE FORUM for One Year (\$1.75) or six months (\$1.00) in agreement with your special offer mentioned above.

Name

Street

City State

THE FORUM PUBLISHING COMPANY, 118 East 28th Street, New York City

The FORUM

For November, 1918

USURY AND THE BANKS

Fleeing the Small Borrower Being Stopped by the
Government

By HON. JOHN SKELTON WILLIAMS

[COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY, AND DIRECTOR OF THE DIVISION OF
FINANCE, U. S. RAILROAD ADMINISTRATION]

THOUGHTFUL and conservative bankers—the men who really lead the banking sentiment of the country—in numbers steadily and rapidly increasing, are now setting their faces and giving their influence against an evil that for years had not only impeded the growth but was threatening the commercial life of important sections of our country, because oppressive and continuing usury inevitably means poverty and failure; and poverty and failure breed discontent which strikes blindly to destroy and tear down. Despair hates the conditions which have produced it and is ready to go to war against society and governments, regardless of means and reckless of consequences.

The business man, the laborer, the farmer driven to ruin by what he believes to be unjust exactions, sanctioned or permitted by law, becomes an anarchist at heart, carries within himself a sullen resentment ready to be touched to volcanic outburst by the first approach of opportunity. He

has no hope but vengeance. His fury when he may give it vent is directed against the conditions under which he has been oppressed.

The vice, or evil, or peril of usury—it is all three—is no new thing under the sun and was not peculiar to this country. It was spreading among us, however, with rapidity no casual observer would suppose, and in different communities was silently and secretly sapping the life and eating away the foundations of commercial and social life to an unsuspected extent. I do not wish to talk politics or to discuss socialism. I have had opportunity, however, to notice that States and communities in which literature presenting the most violent, dangerous and incendiary forms of perverted socialism was most eagerly read and accepted were precisely those in which my reports showed the interest changes to small borrowers were most extortionate.

The sin is one of the oldest known to humanity, and is believed to have been indirectly aimed at in the Tenth Commandment. The Hebrew word for usury signifies “cruel biting.” Probably it began to bite along with the saber tooth tiger. Its derivation may have suggested to a great English judge of five centuries ago his attempt to distinguish between what he called “biting usury,” meaning exorbitant rates, and “toothless usury,” or reasonable interest charges.

By Divine ordinance the Israelites of old were forbidden to demand usury of the poor and needy, and in Deuteronomy, we are told, “Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother, usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury.” But by another law they are permitted to lend to strangers—which banks, these days, are not accustomed to do. Loans to the Canaanites and other heathen on usury were, in fact, rather encouraged, the implication being that they might be conquered and overcome more readily this way than by the sword.

In ancient days, when men lived to be three hundred to four hundred to nearly a thousand years old, he who began to lend money at the age of twenty-five or thirty must have accumulated quite a comfortable estate when gathered to his

fathers, especially if the interest was compounded. Think of what Methuselah would have done! In this connection the thought occurs that if Noah had out any considerable amount of paper on terms similar to those which are being charged in some of our States, he may not have regarded the Flood as an unmitigated disaster.

THE USURER UNPOPULAR IN KING SOLOMON'S DAYS

THE Israelites during the early years of their race maintained consistently their opposition to usury, although the Jews have figured so conspicuously since the Christian Era as such prominent exponents. Five hundred years after Moses, King David and King Solomon had things to say against usury, and the usurer seems to have been a most unpopular character in those days. King David describes the holy and just man, he who was entitled to enter into the courts of the Lord, as one "who hath not given his money upon usury." The Jewish Talmud speaks of usury as a practice expressly forbidden.

The subject of usury was specifically dealt with in the ancient codes of most nations. Under the Code of Manu, in India, interest was regarded as of doubtful propriety, and money lending was prohibited altogether to the superior castes, the Brahmins and Kshattriyas, and even for the other two grades, a sum lent to a person in distress may not give rise to any interest, because then the interest would be extortionate. The limits fixed by the Code were one and one-quarter per cent per month with security, and one and a half per cent per month without.

Among the Mohammedans the charging of usury was expressly prohibited. Money lending in Turkey until recent years was almost exclusively in the hands of Greeks and other foreigners.

The Law of the Twelve Tables among the ancient Romans authorized interest at the equivalent of ten per cent per annum, subsequently increased, toward the close of the Republic, to twelve per cent. It was then called "usuria

centissima " because in one hundred months it doubled the capital, but this law was subsequently abolished and interest laid under a total interdict.

Julius Caesar enacted severe laws against usurers, and Cato is said to have banished the usurers from Sicily.

Later on, Tacitus tells us that the evil of usury greatly increased in Rome and the laws forbidding it were continually eluded. Some historians tell us that from this period, when usury so flourished, Rome dates the beginning of her decay. Trade languished and became disreputable and fell under the control of the worst elements in the community, preparing the way for the calamitous events which preceded Rome's final downfall.

Later, in the time of Justinian, the government undertook to control interest rates, which were fixed at one-third of one per cent a month, or four per cent per annum, though higher rates were allowed to be taken by merchants, where a greater risk was involved. During most of the periods of Roman history and before its decline and fall, usury was treated as an aggravated species of theft and punished with great severity. Whereas the punishment for theft was only a forfeiture of double the value of the thing stolen, in usury the criminal was punished by condemnation and forfeiture of four times the value of the usury taken. This severe penalty, it is said, was grounded on sound governmental reasons, for it was seen in those days that usury was one of the most frequent causes of sedition and discord among the people.

MCADOO EMULATED TIBERIUS CAESAR

SECRETARY MCADOO, in depositing, as he did on several occasions, many millions of dollars in the banks to alleviate the strain and bring down heavy interest rates which were being demanded in certain parts of the country, found a precedent for so doing in the acts of Tiberius Caesar, who, the ancient historian tells us, deposited a " marvelous sum of money in the banks of Rome," the amount being estimated at 500,000 pounds Sterling, or about two and a

half million dollars, for the purpose of breaking rates charged by usurers in those days, and this money was offered freely to those debtors who were able to give bond and security to double the value of the money borrowed. Secretary McAdoo's terms were more liberal.

"The canker of usury," says Tacitus, "is an old venomous foe and is the chief head of rebellion and variance in countries, and it was therefore banished in the old times."

In England, as early as the reign of Alfred the Great, laws were enacted against usury, usurers forfeited to the King their chattels, while their land escheated to the Lords of the Fee, and it was further provided that usurers should not be buried in the sanctuary. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, one hundred and fifty years later, the laws provided that the usurer should forfeit all his substance, be outlawed, and his heir disinherited. Other punishments were added by William the Conqueror, such as whipping, exposure on the pillory, and perpetual banishment.

In the Magna Charta, in 1215, attempts were made to regulate or restrain usury, the provision inserted showing clearly how general the evil was and how oppressive.

These laws were modified and changed from time to time, in the 12th century. According to Glanville, the usurer was not liable to be convicted during his lifetime, but forfeited his goods and chattels after death.

In 1487 two acts were passed in England to restrain usury and to meet the various devices which had become common. This law provided that offenders should be placed in the pillory, put to open shame, be imprisoned half a year and pay twenty pounds Sterling.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the legal rate was fixed at ten per cent. This rate was reduced to eight per cent under the reign of James I. All contracts for more than eight per cent were void, but the act contained a clause that "no words in this law shall be construed or expounded to allow the practice of usury in point of religion or conscience," inserted in the law to satisfy the Bishops, who would not pass the bill without it.

USURY CONTRIBUTED TO THE DECLINE OF ROME

IN the reign of Charles II the legal interest was further reduced to six per cent, which had then become customary, and it is interesting to compare the conditions set forth in the preamble of this act, which shows the beneficent influences of favorable money rates, with the corruption and declining conditions in Rome, when usury flourished most in the Eternal City. The preamble to this act says:

“Forasmuch as the abatement of interest from ten per cent in former times has been found by notable experience beneficial to the advancement of trade and the improvement of lands by good husbandry, with many other considerable advantages to this nation, especially the reducing of it to a nearer proportion with foreign states with whom we transact, and whereas in the fresh memory the like fall from eight to six per cent by late constant practice hath then the like success to the general contentment of this nation as is visible by several improvements, and whereas it is the endeavor of some at present to reduce it back again in practice to the allowance of the statute still in force, to eight per cent, to the great discouragement of ingenuity and industry in the husbandry, trade and commerce of this nation.”

The rate of interest in England was reduced to five per cent in the reign of Queen Anne, the preamble of the law stating that—

“It has become absolutely necessary to reduce the high rate of interest of six per cent to a nearer proportion with interest allowed in foreign states.”

The various acts passed in the reign of Charles II, William III, and George II, George III and George IV provided that all securities given on a usurious consideration or upon a gaming transaction were absolutely void.

In this country the colonies first and the States later undertook to fix and regulate the rates of interest and to define and prohibit usury. Massachusetts fixed the legal rate at eight per cent in 1641, and reduced it to six per cent three years later. Some of the older States, however, refused to adopt usury laws until within recent years. In many of our States, usury statutes have been and are ignored, and where

the transgressions against the usury law have been most marked and where usury has flourished most, unmolested, we find enterprise hampered and many unhealthy conditions engendered; which reminds one of a saying credited to Diogenes, that "where neither laws have force nor water hath course, there no wise man seeks to dwell."

To the substantial business man, accustomed to reasonable accommodations from banks, there is a kind of ghastly humor in some of the revelations resulting from an investigation into the subject of usury conducted some months ago by the Comptroller's office.

USURY AIMS AT AMERICAN BANKS

IT was ascertained at that time that 1,247 national banks, out of a total of 7,600, were openly charging rates of interest forbidden by the laws of their respective States and by the National Bank Act, and that despite the easy money conditions, 2,743 banks were charging on some of their loans interest of ten per cent or more per annum.

One bank admitted under oath that it was charging an average of twenty-five per cent per annum on all of its loans; another, an average of thirty-six per cent; and a third, an average of forty per cent per annum on *all* loans.

The alarming part of all this is that wherever such a case of oppression occurred the agitators, the chronic trouble makers and the demagogues of the neighborhood or the county made it the text for incitement of rage against the capital and the commercial methods of the entire country.

I will not tire you with figures, but will mention just a few actual loans made by national banks and reported under oath to the Comptroller's office, which may serve as illustration.

Here is a loan of \$1,000 for a month and a half at seventy-seven per cent; a loan of \$2,067 for a month at sixty-five per cent; \$553 for two months at eighty-five per cent; \$491 for eighty days at fifty per cent; \$200 for three months at fifty per cent.

A visitor to my office from a certain State not long ago, who held a high public office in that State, told me of a loan for \$90 made to a farmer to help him to raise his crops, the loan being for less than a year. He said that the bank had charged this farmer, in addition to a large rate of interest, an extra sum of \$50 for the trouble of going out to look at the land and for a few preliminaries to the loan.

The practice of making a deduction for expense, in addition to the rate of interest, seems also to have been an ancient one and to have been resorted to hundreds of years ago. It has prevailed to an inexcusable extent up to a very recent date in certain of our States.

I am sincerely gratified to be able to report, after all this looking at the dark side of the picture, that in the past year or so, there has been a vast improvement in the matter of interest rates throughout the country. The evil has been greatly mitigated, but it is not yet entirely eliminated. Hundreds of banks have made perpendicular drops from the excessive rates which they formerly charged. Many that had been charging on some of their loans as much as fifty per cent or twenty per cent, and in hundreds of cases they have come within the legal rates of their respective States.

NOW, THE BANKS ARE REDUCING RATES

IN other instances, where only twelve per cent to fifteen per cent rates had prevailed, borrowers are now accommodated at six per cent and eight per cent. Some banks have adopted a conservative course and apparently have been afraid to reduce their rates too suddenly, but they are moving in the right direction. One bank testifies under oath that it has succeeded in reducing its maximum rate from 360 per cent to 109 per cent. Another in the same State reports that it has already brought its maximum rate down from 300 to 30 per cent; others report that they have brought their average rates of eighteen per cent and twenty-two per cent down to the legal rate of ten per cent.

I am very glad to be able to say that these sensational

and inexcusable rates are steadily disappearing from the sections where they have formerly prevailed, and people of every part of this country are at this moment securing money for all purposes, whether it be for commercial business, farming, or industrial purposes, on more favorable terms than ever before in the history of our country.

In divers instances national banks which have been called on to reduce their rates of interest to those permitted by law, have not only complied but have advised my office that they were conducting their business on a plane which is proving not only more satisfactory to their customers, but, all things considered, more satisfactory to the banks themselves, as their business is showing a healthy expansion in response to more liberal treatment.

For example, the cashier of a national bank in the interior of Texas, which had in the past been charging excessive interest rates, in a letter to the Comptroller of the Currency, said:

“While it has been rather hard for us to get down to the legal rate, I realize that you are absolutely correct, and I am sure that the cheaper rate of interest will bring, and is already bringing, this bank a large increase of business. Your stand in this matter is entirely commendable, and we will do our best to uphold you in it.”

Many farmers who had never known what it was to borrow money below twelve per cent, even on cotton, through the operations of the Federal Reserve System are now enabled to borrow from their local banks at six per cent, and the small local banks are able to borrow in their turn from the Federal Reserve Banks at three to four and one-half per cent, and you business men of Kansas City, I am sure, are prepared to testify that in the past twelve months, despite the very active condition of business, which usually brings tight money, you, as have other business men in all our important cities, have been able to place your commercial paper at lower rates than you have ever known before.

To overcome the whole trouble and rid the farmer and the small merchants in the rural districts of the exactions

which have often crippled and sometimes destroyed them, a bill has been introduced in Congress, requiring all national banks to keep a record showing the rate of interest charged on each and every loan, and authorizing and directing the Department of Justice to bring suit against usurers, upon information secured by the Department from the Comptroller of the Currency, or from other sources. If this becomes a law, it will be possible to eradicate entirely usury from national banks. It would be difficult to overestimate the blessings which will come to many thousands of borrowers in all parts of the country if the maximum rate of interest throughout the States should be reduced from one hundred per cent and more, which has been charged in the recent past in many banks, to a maximum of six or eight or even ten per cent, according to the legal rate in the respective States.

The subject of usury has been discussed, as I have shown you, through thousands of years and by countless learned men. After the Hebrew prophets and law givers, Cæsar and Cato and later Justinian in Rome, and the Greek philosophers, debated on it; prelates, kings and great judges of great courts have studied and expounded it; parliaments, congresses, legislatures have turned it inside up and outside down; discourses on it in such bodies, in the pulpit, from the bench, have been innumerable in numbers, infinite in extent.

Yet in some parts of this country we found we were in worse condition in this respect than were the people of fifty centuries ago, and men and women in the United States, in the twentieth century were bitten more deeply than were the ancient Hebrews; were destroyed and enslaved more grievously than were the Canaanites, declared enemies of God's chosen people. There is no organized ecclesiastical protest against it, and the executive officers of the law stood inert and apparently powerless. In some of the newest and freshest parts of our land, American citizens were practically in the position of the poor of Rome under the oppressions of usurers of distinguished families,—

“ No fire when Tiber freezes,
No air in Summer's heat;
But stores of rods for freeborn backs,
And stocks for freedom feet.”

Let us earnestly hope that the conscience of the country and the protest of the self-respecting and forward-looking bankers may be truly aroused to renew the old, old fight against the old, old instinct of tyranny and oppression, so cruelly contrary to all the teachings of Christianity, the lessons and purposes of civilization, and all the trend of modern thought —

“ The good old rule, the simple plan,
That he shall take who has the power
And he shall keep who can.”

No country can live, much less prosper; no people can keep their strength and maintain that unity of thought and purpose that makes nations conquerors, where wealth accumulates and men decay.

OUR OPERATIC OPPORTUNITY

A Serious Ideal in Our National Musical Life

By GERALDINE FARRAR

*THE BRILLIANT CONCEPTION OF AN AMERICAN GIRL WHO HAS ATTAINED
THE HIGHEST OPERATIC HONORS AT HOME AND ABROAD*

OUT of the ravages of the present war has grown an influence, which ought to be directed for great good in the musical life of America. The great upheaval abroad has been responsible for an influx of musicians—mainly Americans whose studies and engagements have been interrupted abroad, but also a great many artists of all nationalities—refugees who have come to our shores in the hopes of being able to find channels here for their artistic sustenance and, incidentally, for their financial maintenance.

But what do they find when they get here? That the available talent is already far in excess of the mediums through which they can be expressed. There are not one tenth sufficient organizations to house the really good singers who are ready and eager to give expression to their art.

Not counting the Metropolitan Opera Company (which is, of course, the Mecca of all singers), and the Chicago and Boston Opera companies, which come next in rank, and one or two road opera companies whose "season" rarely exceeds a dozen weeks, there are practically no accommodations to meet this condition, brought about by the war.

On the other hand, there exists also this condition: There are thousands of communities throughout the United States that are virtually hungry for operatic music. That they are willing to pay the price is manifested by the fact that tens of thousands of dollars are collected at the box office for single performances of visiting grand opera companies (notably when the Metropolitan comes to town, which is in very few of the larger cities, and at great intervals)

and individual members of the Metropolitan giving concerts in secondary towns have sometimes been known to put \$8,000 in the box office for a single performance.

INTERMEDIATE OPERA COMPANIES NEEDED

WITH the material at hand, the signs of the times seem to point the way to the organization of municipal or subsidized opera companies. The Society of American Singers and like organizations should become excellent intermediate institutions for the employment of American talent in the English vernacular or original tongue, according to the desires of the community who support the institution. Whether this small venture, in the very heart of New York shall have a greater bearing on the musical life in the country in general remains to be seen.

Opera in Europe represents growth of many centuries; the organization of the many municipal opera companies throughout France, Italy and Germany have reached a certain perfection which we in this country cannot hope to attain for years to come. Yet there are many things we can learn from them.

The minimum of expense at which the European opera companies are run, is something we in the United States cannot expect to accomplish. The great difference in the cost of living here and abroad, and the instinctive economy of the Europeans in direct contrast to the lavish way of doing business in America, make it impossible for us to try to emulate their example in this respect.

For instance, a financial report of the municipal opera house in Marseilles, operated by the officials of the city, who take full responsibility for the management, shows that the monthly budget, including the salaries of the director, the business administration, the singers, the chorus, the orchestra, the ballet, the music, the publishers, the authors and a percentage for the poor, did not exceed \$20,813. The receipts for the same month were \$11,484, leaving a total expense to the city of \$9,329.

When comparing the above figures with the weekly budget of the Metropolitan, which is very seldom less than \$25,000, and has been known to rise as high as \$40,000, the discrepancy in the figures seems too staggering to be realized, and might, at first glance, have a tendency to discourage the advocates of established opera companies in the cities throughout the United States.

The intermediate opera companies, however, could economize in the matter of stars. "Guest" visits of these stars from the large cities should be welcomed at intervals, and at such times the price of the seats should be raised to meet the additional expenditure. Also, the audiences who attend the presentations of these intermediate companies must be content with simple settings and small choruses. We sometimes forget when speaking of European opera houses how modest are the demands of the audiences. These audiences love and appreciate great singing and interpretation, but they love opera for itself—love it even when presented with technical faults. I am sure there are enough music lovers in this country to make this statement equally true of America.

CIVIC PRIDE AND PUBLIC SPIRIT MUST BE ENLISTED

IN fact, we already have proofs of this. In the days of the Savage Opera Company, which a score or so years ago rendered into English many of the classics, the more popular of the grand operas were played to packed houses in every city. The popular prices of the Castle Square Opera Company in Boston (the original Savage organization) made it possible for music students to have a working knowledge of classic opera in general, and did much to enrich the musical life of the layman, and to develop his musical taste. These presentations were given by really excellent artists, and the repertoire ran the gamut of the light operas, such as the Gilbert and Sullivan productions, as well as operas comique, operas bouffe and the more popular grand operas. These organizations were, of course, private and money-making ventures. That they were successful as bus-

ness ventures is a tangible tribute to our native love of opera in its highest forms.

Whether subsidized opera houses in America could be organized entirely by municipal support, or perhaps be partly underwritten by the municipal and partly by the federal government would, of course, come within the domain of the bankers and congressmen who would promote and maintain through such a measure. From personal experience and observation of many countries, I find that all peoples respond to some kind of music and it is reasonable to suppose that granted adequate means and the civic pride of a given community, the public spirit would accept the municipal theatre as important and as worthy of endowment as any Carnegie Library.

On the continent the problem has been worked out in each country in harmony with the varying temperaments of the different nations and the liberality of each government in this respect.

In France most of the opera companies are under municipal control, and the deficits are paid out of the public exchequer.

In Germany, the opera is under both Imperial and municipal patronage according to the location. Hamburg, and other towns, are free cities and have no deficits to be made up by the Imperial patronage, but come under city organization. This is, or was, also true of Russia.

In Italy, where every hamlet boasts of at least two or three musical academies, La Scala in Milan, which is the center of Italy's musical activity, is given an annual allotment by the government and city of about 100,000 francs, yet always terminates its season with balance on the debit side. In recent years this deficit has been paid by a single, public spirited citizen, the Duca Albert Visconti de Modrone.

In our own country, the Metropolitan exists mainly because its deficits are paid for by a number of wealthy and public spirited private individuals who have ideals and visions concerning the artistic life of our country. Whether the same plan might work out in practice for the smaller towns would

depend upon the generosity of local wealthy citizens, in conjunction with those who have plans for the municipal or government support of these institutions.

So far we have only dwelt upon the intermediate opera house in relation to the audience. Yet one of its most direct and vital bearings will be upon the young American students of grand opera. The services of foreign artists whom the war has brought to our shores, and who have had invaluable opera experience in the various opera houses in Europe, would, of course, be sought by the various new grand opera organizations.

DOING AWAY WITH THE DISCOURAGING YEARS OF WAITING

BUT what is even more important, is that by establishing a working relation between these opera organizations and musical conservatories and private music teachers of unrefutable standing throughout the country, some system will be developed whereby the graduates could be assured operatic appearances. This would do away with the discouraging years of waiting which often break the spirit of hundreds of young, ambitious and talented girls, who after spending the very best years of their lives preparing for a career, find that they cannot even get a start. I am not one of those people who believe one should wait for EVERY perfection before appearing in public. As a matter of fact, no one ever reaches the goal of vocal technique; and if we were to wait for this achievement before venturing to sing in public, we would all be mummies.

It should be required of these students that they graduate with a repertoire of from six to ten operas, according to their rating; that they have a practical knowledge of Italian and French for the so-called popular repertoire and German for the classics; that they should have perused what is known as our best books; that they should have studied paintings and sculpture, the meaning of posture and *natural* expression, not the so-called traditional gesticulations that confine and oftentime spoil an otherwise easy gift of plastic.

The question of singing in the English vernacular I

will leave to a larger discrimination. I personally do not care for and do not favor presentation of an opera except in its native languages, unless most adequately translated by poets, so that the disturbances between the score and the libretto are smaller than I have ever yet to hear it.

I think that the broadening influence of an education in other languages is as important as learning actually to sing, and certainly the melodious accents of Italian and the declamatory powers of the French language cannot be transcribed in modern lyric English.

With standardized conservatories in this country and the establishment of the operatic organizations for which I am making a plea in this article, it should become possible for a student to complete a musical education and compete for the highest honors in grand opera right at home, instead of encountering the difficulties of a musical education abroad. Every aspirant for grand opera laurels, however, should consider foreign travel and study as a great enriching influence in her education.

While it is not probable that we will see the prevalence of established opera companies in the secondary cities in this generation, the time seems ripe for a strong impetus in that direction. In fact, for the last three or four years, there has been an inspiration and an urge for musical expression, manifested by the organization of community choruses in the school houses and out in the open, the many public concerts in the parks, participated in by well-known singers, and given under the auspices of the municipality not only in New York, but in scores of cities from coast to coast, which cannot but be the forerunner of what we are hoping for in our national music. We also know that there are many fine-spirited souls possessed of the necessary ambition and talent who are even now laying a foundation and stimulating others in an endeavor to make municipal opera a positive result. Every effort, no matter how small, brings us nearer to the vision of the idealists, among whom I count myself, of making America as rich in music as she has proven herself in many sterling qualities.

UNDER THE HUN'S BOMB- ING PLANES

Nightly Raids from the Air Over an American Hos-
pital and Canteen near Rheims

*THE THRILLING EXPERIENCE OF A RED CROSS
WORKER CLOSE TO THE FIRING LINE IN FRANCE*

By MARY HELEN FEE

WHEN the first offensive began to the north of us, we, who were stationed in the American Canteen at E——, not more than fifteen miles from Rheims, were thrilled by the sight of the thousands of automobile trucks, which like a mighty river flowed ceaselessly by our canteen carrying French troops up to the English front; and we grew sad when we beheld ambulance convoys hurrying in the same direction.

We could not be oblivious to certain signs which pointed to renewed activity in our sector. The American ambulance boys predicted with the emphasis and at the same time with the vagueness born of surmise instead of exact knowledge, that we should "see something doing" in a few weeks.

What chiefly excited our curiosity, however, was the scarcity of German airplanes. Although the days were clear and fine for observing, only occasionally did the barking of guns call us outside to behold a little white, shimmering object skipping defiantly through extremest blue while tufts of woolly cloud broke far below it, serving only to aid us in detecting the almost invisible plane. One came over one night just about sunset, and called us and our dinner guests from the beginning of a meal. Another paid us an early morning call. Then for nearly three weeks we enjoyed undisturbed rest at night. Not once did the "alerte" send us shivering to damp cellars; not once did we hear the deep "boom" followed by a savage jar and rattle which differentiates the

falling bomb or torpedo from the cannon. We said, fatuously, that we believed all the airplanes were engaged up on the English front, and that at last our mastery of the air must be firmly established.

It was on a Monday that the news of the second offensive reached us. Trains from Paris were delayed and the Paris papers did not arrive, but the ambulance men told us there was a German offensive from Rheims to Soissons. Next day the canteen was crowded with permissionaires hastily recalled from leave and hurrying to join their regiments at the front. Most of them had passed through, ten to two days before, in the subdued good humor with which the *poilu* hails his bath, disinfecting, clean clothes, and relative security of body while on a ten days' leave. They were going back to face death, mutilation, and an experience which drives many men mad. There was no undue hilarity about them, but a quiet determination which has been reflected in the stand made by the armies. Here and there a weakling had tried to escape thought in drink, but the percentage of that sort was very small.

On Tuesday more news drifted in, and that night I did not fully undress on going to bed. So strongly can the sense of optimism be grown from little habit that a respite of three weeks from bombing attacks had almost (though not quite) convinced me there would never be any more. I may explain that I was serving as canteen accountant, and occupied a tiny three-room apartment across the street from the canteen, between it and the railway station, and I took my meals at one of the two Red Cross houses maintained in E——.

WHAT THE HUN SEEKS TO BOMB

WHEN a town is bombed, the Germans have various objectives, principally the railway stations, troop barracks, canteens, munition dumps, food stores, and hospitals. As a rule, when private homes are destroyed, it is because they happen to be close to these points of attack. Torpedoes are too expensive to be wasted in chance destruction.

In towns in the war zone, great precaution is taken to prevent even a thin line or dot of light from showing at night. Only the railroad shows its signal lights, and these are put out at the first alarm, while all moving trains come to a standstill and extinguish what lights they carry. The lamps in passenger coaches are always put out when the train enters the war zone. So the bombing aviator has a rather difficult task in getting his bombs exactly where he wants them. The bomb must be released about a thousand feet in advance of the object aimed at, and the plane must pass over and reverse its course before a second bomb can be thrown at the same target. The course of a plane can be followed by tracing its bombs.

My position during a bombing raid was most unenviable. A torpedo cast at the railway station and going a bit too far was likely to land on the two-story brick house in which I was lodged. One cast at the canteen, and falling short, was likely to do the same.

It is fashionable among the workers in France to affect great indifference to danger. I am free to confess that I am not a particularly courageous woman. My imagination is active, and on nights when we expect a bombing raid I always go through a period of misery before going to bed. I would not for anything leave the war zone, but I have always a lively vision of coming out of slumber to the accompaniment of fearful noise and the crashing of the building atop, and then my coward imagination paints pictures of lying torn and anguished under settling weights or of being burned alive while disabled and unable to extricate myself. Oddly enough, all my terrors vanish with the falling of the first bomb. I cannot remember being in what the English call a "blue funk" while a raid is going on, though many a time I have been in one beforehand.

Tuesday night some subtle instinct warned that trouble might come. In accordance with a natural forethought I slipped into a suit of underwear and woollen stockings under my nightdress. I must have been asleep in three minutes after my head touched the pillow, for I was dead tired.

HOW IT FEELS TO BE BOMBED

I WAKENED with the sense that I had heard a gun, and, with one stockinged foot thrust out of bed, wondered sleepily whether it was the first, second or third of the alerts, or whether indeed I had not wakened from a dream of a gun. Probably it was the last gun of the alert, for the next sound was the thunderous roar of a bomb which clearly had landed close by (it got a railway shed and a freight car on the tracks behind me). The terrific noise and the shock to our building, which rattled as if it were coming down, considerably accelerated my movements. I snapped on the electric torch which always lay, together with my cap and slippers, beside the bed, slipped a skirt over my nightdress and my great-coat atop, and got into the cap and slippers in record time. But by the time I had crossed the flagged passage and wrestled with the lock of the "grande porte" there was no getting out of the house. The canteen, directly across the street, lay in utter darkness, lights out, doors locked. There was no hope of using it as a short cut to the *abris*, or shelter, on the other side, while to try to go around it was almost certain death. The sky was ablaze with breaking shells from our seventy-fives; shrapnel was falling like hail in the streets, while the steady "pup-pup" of machine guns—both our own and the bombing planes'—advised all who could to remain under shelter. The noise of our guns and of the bombs was like a small inferno.

I stayed it out—about twenty minutes—alone in that dark flagged hallway, and it was lonesome. When the shrapnel and machine gun fire let up sufficiently to make it safe, I crept along under the shelter of the eaves to the door of a courtyard next door where I knew one of our cooks lived. She had invited me a few days before, to refuge there instead of trying to get over to the *abris*, because, she said, the whole upper lofts were full of hay, and it had been demonstrated that bombs will not penetrate to any depth in hay. But the door was locked, and though I beat upon it with my electric torch, nobody heard me. I finally took advantage of a lull in

the firing, when the Germans went back to their own lines for more ammunition, to get over to the *abris*.

There one of the women on night duty at the canteen told me that the directrice and everybody else not on night duty, had gone up to the evacuation hospital about ten o'clock, in response to a call for aid from the French authorities.

THE HOSPITALS UNDER THE BOMBS

IN E—— there were half a dozen large hospitals. The wounded, chiefly English, were coming in faster than the hospital corps could handle them. They needed our help, not only in registering the men—very few of whom understood any French—but in feeding and giving water.

I got to the hospital the next day and worked steadily till eight thirty. Then an ambulance driver gave me a lift as far as the canteen, and I managed to get a cold supper at our mess.

I was hardly in my office before I heard a knock at the door, which, as I was alone in the house, I always locked at night as soon as I entered. In response to my "Who's there?" a voice, guided by my English, replied, "I am an English officer." I threw open the door without a second's hesitation. A young officer, weary, white-faced, stood there, beginning to apologize as he saw my uniform and white veil. He was simply "done," he said—and he looked it. He had found every hotel was full, and, seeing a few gleams of light behind the shutters, he had knocked in the hope of finding shelter for the night. I knew that the woman at the canteen who would go off duty at midnight was scheduled to go immediately to the hospital to work until seven in the morning and that I could occupy her bed after I came back from the hospital, and I offered my apartment to the officer for the night. He was most grateful, and I rushed over to the canteen to get him a pitcher of hot water and a cup of chocolate. But there I found a group of French officers, who said they had had neither sleep nor rest for three days and nights, pleading for some place to lie down. As there was a

comfortable leather couch in my office, besides a wide soft couch over which I had laid my steamer rug, and, in addition, an exceedingly soft double bed in my room which I thought the tired Englishman ought to be willing to share with an equally tired man, I proffered my hospitality, which was gratefully accepted. I piloted them across to the office, and returned to the canteen, hoping to find an American ambulance boy who would run me over to the hospital.

TWO AMERICAN SOLDIERS TO THE RESCUE

I SIGHTED a group of the familiar uniforms, and was heading for it when, bang! went a falling bomb, without any warning alerte. The next instant all lights were out, and the French soldiers were swarming through the door. As all the other women in the canteen had set duties to perform—putting out fires, locking up money and food—and I, not being on duty, had none, I stationed myself at the door, calling out to the soldiers where they would find shelter. Being transients, they did not know where to find refuge. But long before the canteen was empty, the machine gun bullets were sweeping the street and the shrapnel was raining down. Two American boys came up in the darkness, and one said in the quietest tone of authority, “Get between us, lady!” They backed me up against the side of the canteen, close under the shelter of the eaves, and stood one on each side of me. I had no trench-helmet, so one of them took his sheepskin driving coat, folded it, and put it over his head and mine. As soon as a lull in the firing permitted, we ran across the street to the *abris*. The Germans went back several times for more ammunition and continued the bombing for nearly two hours.

One of our workers, who was at the hospital, told me that her first impulse was to run for an *abris* as we would do at the canteen, but when she looked about her and saw everybody composedly going on with duty, she gathered herself together and did the same—“Although,” she added, “my teeth just rattled at first.” Some of the wounded were terri-

fled and begged not to be left; and that called out the mother instinct in the women, so that they forgot to be afraid.

The Germans swept the hospital with their machine guns and did their best to bomb it, but fortunately made no hits. It was finally necessary to put out all lights and to cease work. It was a most trying ordeal, because the buildings were of pine, close together, and a direct hit probably would have started a fire which would have burned the wounded as they lay.

About half past one I went up to our mess and crawled into an empty bed. The next morning when I awakened it was to the sound of distant cannon. This meant that the battle was drawing nearer.

An especially hard day kept me on the strain from 8 a. m. to 7 p. m. and when I returned to the mess I found no dinner and no servants. Our directrice, anticipating evacuation, had dismissed them. Only a little Belgian refugee, a sort of "slavey," hung on, because she had no other place to go. Tired out, I managed to make an omelet and a cup of tea, and to fry some griddle cakes to replace the bread which was conspicuous by its absence. Then I stationed myself in front of the canteen hoping to flag a passing ambulance. An American driver stopped his car, and a Frenchman, who was beside him on the front seat, jumped down to help me up. This man had a bandage around his throat, and when I asked him if he was wounded, he made a hissing sound in reply. The American driver explained that he could not speak because he had a bullet through his windpipe. There were six badly wounded men on the stretchers inside, but we heard not a sound from them.

A THRILLING NIGHT UNDER FIRE

I SHALL not soon forget that night. I had steeled myself to meet horrors, and knew that I *must not* let them affect me. Yet in spite of terrible wounds, there was little sound of suffering. The place was wonderfully quiet.

When I got inside of the receiving room, a group

of our women who had been at work all afternoon were still moving about, white and hollow-eyed with fatigue. A French doctor asked if I could not bring some food there from the canteen. It was Thursday. Some of the men had been wounded on Tuesday, and had had no food and little water.

I found an English girl with an empty ambulance, who risked a reprimand for leaving without orders, and we flashed back to the canteen, and loaded up with twenty gallons of hot chocolate, bread, about three hundred hard boiled eggs, some kilos of chocolate, and raw eggs and sugar. We flew back to the hospital; but there was a big convoy of ambulances just in, so that we could not get up to the main buildings. We scouted around in the dark to find a place to deposit our stuff and open a temporary kitchen, and, returning to the ambulance, we came across a wounded boy who had sunk on a bench. The ambulance driver had passed him, making his way on foot, but being full-up, she was unable to give him a lift. He was wounded in the chest, was exhausted, and had no great-coat. It was absolutely necessary to get him under cover and to give him warmth and nourishment. We put our arms around him and tried to help him along, but soon it was apparent that he had not the strength to make the reception ward.

The English girl said, "You hold him up while I get a stretcher"; so I jammed myself up against the side of a building and put my arms about the boy while his weight grew heavier and heavier against me. I could not let him slip, because the roadway was narrow and a long string of ambulances, without lights, was passing. He never uttered a sound, but his arms moved convulsively. As he felt himself growing weaker, he put them around my neck, and clung to me precisely as a frightened child would. It seemed an age while I waited there, warning off ambulances that were about to shave us too closely. I could not help wondering where that boy's mother was, what she was doing, or if he had a mother. And I thought some terrible thoughts about war and some wicked ones about Germans.

TAKING CARE OF THE WOUNDED

THE girl came with her stretcher at last, and we got the boy on it. Then we went about setting up our feeding station. Hungry men limped in, bandaged mostly about the head, and *how* they consumed hard boiled eggs and drank hot chocolate! I left the English girl dispensing food and drink, while I took to the badly wounded a mixture of beaten egg, hot milk and sugar. Here and there men asked for a piece of chocolate or bread, but most of the wounded wanted only the liquid food. They would say with their awful English cockney accent, "Ah! that's good!" or "Prime stuff!" or "Could you spare a little more, sister?" In spite of dreadful wounds, they were full of pluck.

For the next two hours I gave water and egg mixture to all sorts and conditions of men—English, French, Canadians, Moroccans, Sengalese. The doctor asked if I knew enough to administer morphine hypodermics, and I regretfully admitted that I did not, while I registered a vow to learn. Then some American Red Cross men appeared, and some English doctors. Before midnight three or four long Red Cross trains had been filled with wounded, and sent out. Yet at that hour more than five hundred wounded men still lay on their stretchers on the grass outside. And all the while, as I worked, I thought of how, as soon as the moon came up, we should hear the familiar roar and rattle of the bombs, and of how the shrapnel and machine gun bullets would rain down on those upturned faces.

But, grace to heaven, the Germans did not come that night! At midnight I went into Ward 4, where some of the worst wounded had been placed. Stretchers had been laid on top of the beds and flat on the floor on both sides of the central aisle, till one could hardly move. Most of the wounded seemed to sleep. Only here and there one begged for water, and these men were usually wounded in the abdomen where not even water could be given. We could moisten their lips and wipe off the hot feverish faces, and that was all.

By one o'clock it was evident that the most of what could be done had been done. Another section of our women had arrived with more food, and I went out to the covered way between the receiving room and the operating room, to steal a ride home on the driver's seat of some departing ambulance. An English boy, who had been gassed, asked me hoarsely if I could get him a blanket, and I did so. Another man was there, on, whose eyelashes and eyebrows something that looked like ice seemed to hang. I think it was an application to soothe gas-burns.

It was two o'clock before I got to bed at the mess. The English officer was still occupying my apartment. I might pass off my action in resigning it to him as philanthropy, but candor compels me to admit that I was glad of an excuse to stay at the house where there was company in case of a bombing raid.

UNDER THE HUNS' SHELL FIRE

FRIDAY was a long, tense day. The French merchants and all the people with whom we had dealings, anticipating our withdrawal, swarmed in with accounts. When the G. A. N. (Grande Armée Nationale) sent in its request for a check (previously, I had been obliged fairly to windlass their bill out of them), I knew the French would evacuate. The Commandant sent for the Directrice, and advised her to follow French headquarters wherever it might move. He said he was evacuating all French hospitals and had turned over all evacuation hospitals to the English. No more wounded French were to be brought into E——.

All day I worked without food, and after 7:30 got supper for myself and three companions. We hoped for a night's rest, but the Germans began bombing us at dusk, and kept it up till daylight. They were after the hospitals, as we knew by the fact that the dropping bombs were at a distance from us and the regular line. All night the machine gun battle went on—our own guns at E——, warring with the sweeping planes overhead. We got so tired of going to

shelter, and so accustomed to the firing, that we finally stayed in our rooms and even opened our shutters to peer out into the calm summer sky. Shells were bursting and ground signals of colored lights were streaming skyward. It was too exciting to sleep until we gave out from sheer exhaustion. I managed to get an intermittent slumber from four until seven.

As there was no breakfast at our mess, I went to the canteen for a cup of coffee, and found the place crowded. The French Commander said that our town was due to be shelled before long as we were getting in range of the German guns. We decided not to go until we had to, but to cease keeping the canteen open at night; to sell only hot coffee, chocolate, bread, cheese, eggs and apples by day—thus omitting our hot meal—and to divide our forces, one part to run the canteen, another to organize a temporary canteen on the grounds of the evacuation hospital, and still another to maintain the rolling canteen at the railway station. The streets were almost blocked with refugees. I saw one unconscious woman in a wheelbarrow being trundled by a boy. Regiments went through, going up to the front, the men's faces stern and set. The sound of the battle grew louder and louder.

SERVING COFFEE UNDER BOMBING PLANES

THAT night we bundled our bedding into the Ford camion, and slept in one of the deep champagne caves. I had volunteered to go on duty at the canteen at six the next morning, and arriving there on time, found two or three hundred tired and hungry men waiting for the doors to open. The night before a great thermos marmite had been filled with boiling coffee, and we were able to begin feeding the men without delay. All day we did a tremendous business. About half past nine a German plane came over, tried to bomb us, and swept the street with a machine gun. We continued serving and pouring out coffee. The aviator killed a woman and child who were standing in a garden, and then

One of our machine guns got him. The plane, a three passenger one, came tumbling down into the public square. The pilot was caught with both legs under the engine and was badly hurt, but the observer and the gunner were uninjured. An infuriated Frenchman, who had seen the killing of the woman and child, rushed up and killed the gunner as they lifted him out. I got these facts from an American staff car driver who assisted in extricating the pilot. That morning, our guns got three German planes, much to our satisfaction.

At one that afternoon I left the canteen, and went home for the bath which I had missed that morning. I had just finished dressing when a German shell passed over the house, killing, as they said, twenty-seven persons.

I elected to stay over night at the hotel instead of going to the champagne cave. One of the women begged me to stay with her at our old mess, but I hesitated to do so because I was carrying a large amount of money belonging to the Red Cross, and the town was in more or less turmoil. All of the Red Cross men went off with their trucks to distant fields where there would be less danger of losing their vehicles, upon which we were dependent.

I threw myself, dressed, upon the bed, expecting every instant to hear the familiar boom and rattle of the bombs and the "pup-pup" of machine guns; but no sound disturbed the night except the distant thunder of the battle and the bursting of shells which were falling about a thousand yards short of the town. The Germans were trying to destroy the bridge over the Marne, to cut our communication with Rheims, but they did not have the range. They dug up the fields on the opposite bank, but did no real damage.

About two o'clock I fell asleep. The next morning four of us went first to Chalons, and then to a canteen at Jessains. Close to midnight we stepped out on the platform at Jessains to behold the welcome lights of the canteen glowing. Beds were hastily prepared for us, and for the first time since Saturday morning we got out of our clothes to sleep.

At Jessains we remained for a week. Rooms were requisitioned for us in the old chateau of Boissancourt, at one

end of the sleepy village of that name. We awakened to the singing of birds, to vistas of daisy-starred lawns and clumps of trees cleverly concealing surrounding outbuildings and stables; we walked to our meals at the canteen through a glorious wood, over old bridges spanning the swift clear Aube, and through wheat fields all ablaze with poppies. We found beds of wild strawberries and the grandfathers of all snails in the wood, waded in a sparkling brook, and worked from four to nine each afternoon in the canteen. After a week of this luxurious ease, thoroughly rested, we came on to Paris, to learn that our canteen had been evacuated entirely.

The streets of Paris are not so crowded as formerly, but I have had to stand always in street cars and in the underground, and I am getting bored, and yearn once more for the strenuous life.

FROM MY DUGOUT—TO YOU

By RALPH M. THOMSON

U NGODLY shells are singing overhead
Their strident measures to the weeping night;
Piercing the gloom, the rockets in their flight
Impart a ghostly pallor to the red,
Red fields, where mangled human forms lie dead.
The shrill staccatos of machine guns smite
The helpless darkness; and from height to height,
Drowning the Babel of bullets that thread
Their fiendish way beyond the last redoubt,
Is heard the groans and cries of wounded men.
But safely sheltered in my crude dugout,
And with my heart-thoughts fixed on home again,
I'm turning from the life I now pursue
To write a little love-note, dear, to—you.

WHAT TAXES SHOULD I PAY?

By PERLEY MORSE, C. P. A.

[AUTHOR OF THE A B C OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES]

WHOEVER may have been the author of that much-used saying, "Nothing is sure but death and taxes," certainly lived in those happy days before war taxes, additional normal taxes, excess profit taxes, the surtax, Capital Stock Tax, Undistributed Net Income Tax, State Income Tax, Returns of Information and the seemingly hundred and one twists and quirks to the tax problems of today that confront us all.

It is not an easy matter for the average man to keep proper track of just what tax returns he must make out or where and when to file them. Our tax laws of today are "fearfully and wonderfully made!" The very nature of our varied forms of business, incomes and expenditures makes this necessary.

These are just taxes. We are getting our money's worth for them, and more. No other people in the world get as good returns for their tax money as we of the United States. Yet all this does not alter the fact that the average man is up against a difficult problem in the matter of making sure that he is neither cheating his Government out of a penny that rightfully belongs to it, nor cheating himself by paying more than is asked of him, or than is necessary.

In a few of the instances that came to our attention there seemed to be really criminal attempts to evade taxation, but in a great many cases the tax reports were made carelessly without any particular effort on the part of the taxpayers to either guard their rights or those of the Government and this resulted in as many over-payments as under-payments.

Just as there are no two people who are exactly alike in looks, tastes, temper and other physical and mental attainments, neither are there two people whose tax return blank may be properly filled out just alike, item for item, sum for sum and penny for penny. It does not matter how brilliant a person may be, unless he is skilled in the gentle art of filling out tax returns and has made a long study of it, he is quite likely to make errors. They may be errors that favor the Government or errors that favor himself. The patriotic man—and there are mighty few of any other sort—certainly does not wish to favor himself and cheat his Government.

Not only are there different forms for different incomes, but for different forms of income. Corporations, co-partnerships and individuals, each are required to file different puzzling tax returns. The requirements in the way of reports from individuals in business are somewhat different from those called for from persons whose sole income is from investments, or from salaries.

MR. AVERAGE MAN MOPS HIS BROW

BUSINESS corporations and co-partnerships, generally, have to file Federal Income and Excess Profits Tax Returns, yet there are exceptions! All business corporations are compelled to calculate and return the fair value of their entire Capital Stock. The Corporation Undistributed Net Income Tax hits some corporations and not others. The New York State tax of 3 per cent under Section 9-a of the Tax Law applies to all mercantile and manufacturing corporations organized under the Laws of the State of New York. Other States have their special laws covering such corporations. This means a return, too. Then there are special Federal Taxes on a long list of occupations ranging in amount at this writing from \$3 per annum in the case of small tobacco manufacturers to \$600 per annum against manufacturers of adulterated butter and oleomargarine.

Almost from the top to the bottom of the tax return blanks here is something puzzling, questions and calculations

which seem simple enough of themselves but which are baffling because of their multiplicity.

The "Normal Tax" seems simple enough. But there is now an "additional Normal Tax." How to combine them is a matter that needs consideration. To compute one's net income should be a simple matter. But how about subtracting excess profit taxes and ascertaining the income that is properly subject to surtax? The citizen may struggle through this and then bump into the little problem of computing his normal tax on that basis, less credit additional exemption under the Act of September 8, 1916.

By that time Mr. Average Man will sit back and mop his fevered brow and wish for a few minutes earnest conversation with the man who told him that "anyone can make out his tax return in a few minutes."

There are to be considered such things as dividends, stock dividends, scrip certificates, dividends paid in securities of other corporations, dividends subject only to additional tax, the elusive "bonus" and who pays the tax on that amount. Then one follows on through the maze of rulings concerning rights to subscribe to stock, and interest, and bonds purchased with accrued interest. Foreign securities must be considered, insurance dividends, accident and health insurance, royalties, income accruing to a minor child and the divisions and subdivisions and sub-subdivisions covering real estate. Partnership profits must also be accurately noted and taxes paid thereon.

It has been said that not more than 10 per cent of the farmers keep books and that a great number of them did not pay war taxes because they actually had no means of knowing their income or whether they stood on the profit or loss side of the ledger that they never kept. Yet the farmer is as patriotic as any. If he knew how to fill out a tax return he would do so. Nearly as intricate as the return of a corporation may be that of the farmer, for a great many things are taken into consideration by the Government, such as deducting the cost price of stock, the loss of stock, his products sold, his products still held for the market, farm machinery.

depreciation of his property, the Government's definition of "farm" and of "farmer."

TAX BLANKS MAKE SANSKRIT LIGHT READING

CERTAIN incomes are exempt, some Liberty Bonds are not taxable in any amount, others are, above a certain amount. There are fine distinctions as to "depreciation." The matter of contributions must be considered, and bad debts which may or may not be deductible. It may interest many to know that our new taxes call for a decision as to just who is the head of every family. The Government seeks the truth, also, concerning partnerships and your fiscal year, fiduciaries making payment of an income over a certain amount, husband and wife's joint and separate returns, and other seemingly unimportant but really very important matters.

Not all of these problems must be solved by every man. Not all of them must be solved by any man, but many of them come to every man and it is little wonder that most good citizens feel like taking up Egyptology or Sanskrit for light reading after studying some of the various tax return blanks.

Tax Returns prepared by reputable Certified Public Accountants are usually nearly correct. The complex laws which went into effect last year made thousands retain accountants in this connection who had never done so before. This affords us an opportunity to see the result of the taxpayers' own efforts in previous years, to find the few who seemingly deliberately sought to evade full payment and of the many who, in their anxiety to be square with Uncle Sam, needlessly overpaid.

One individual who retained us for the first time in 1917 had always taken his Income Tax Returns very seriously. It was apparent that he considered it by far the best policy to keep in good standing with the Treasury Department, and to do this he believed that it was best to have a good sized credit balance there, the same as with his bank, because he

always knowingly overstated his income and in 1915 when the tax blanks came out with a space headed "50 per cent Additional Tax" he asked no questions at all, but filled it out and sent in his check.

Another man thought that "Inventories" under the caption COST OF GOODS SOLD on his Income Tax Return meant his entire inventory of Assets, Plant, Cash, Accounts Receivable, etc., as well as Merchandise. He invested some additional capital in 1917 and imposed both Income and Excess Profits Taxes upon it against himself, due to the fact that his "Inventory" at the end of the year was increased by his new investment.

The Invested Capital feature of the Excess Profits Tax Law furnishes a good argument for having accounts which tell the truth. A large manufacturing concern organized back in the '80s had written off very heavy depreciation ever since it started business, considering this sound and conservative business policy. The result was that their \$5,000,000.00 plant was on the ledger for about \$1,500,000.00. We investigated a lot of old records which they fortunately had and were able to dig up facts which justified the restoring to Surplus of some \$2,000,000.00 of excess depreciation which had been written off prior to 1913 when the Income Tax Law first went into effect. The result was that this concern's deduction on account of the 9 per cent allowed on Invested Capital was increased by \$180,000.00.

" CONCEALED ASSETS " A LOSS TO UNCLE SAM

THE Federal Capital Stock Tax Return blank issued in 1918 required information as to the amount of Net Income returned for Income Tax purposes for each of the five preceding years. This brought to light the fact that many business houses had not kept copies of their returns or did not know why the returns in question did not agree with their books. Most tax returns do not show the same amount of Net Income as the taxpayers' books as certain classes of income are not taxable and certain expenses, though entirely

proper from a business standpoint, are not deductible; but where no memorandum of differences of this kind is kept it is often impossible to explain them after several years have elapsed.

It has been pleasing to find that deliberate falsification of books for the purpose of dodging taxes is rare. Yet Uncle Sam has many millions of dollars of what we accountants call "Concealed Assets," in taxes that have not been paid in full. By far the greater part of this has been withheld through the very natural disposition on the part of those reporting their incomes to give themselves the benefit of the doubt. This began the first year that the law went into effect. Naturally these returns were accepted by the collectors, and tax bills were sent for the amount shown on the returns as filed, which seemed to settle the matter so far as the doubtful points which had arisen were concerned. And when others arose in succeeding years they were "settled" quite as easily and favorably.

Our Treasury Department is now setting under way an intensive drive for the collection of all taxes, beginning with the year 1913, that have been withheld in this way. This is a stupendous task, but a large force of Internal Revenue Inspectors are at work and are fast bringing it up to date. Additional taxes and penalties, as prescribed, are being imposed.

Few citizens, especially the citizens with average incomes, have much knowledge of just what share of his income goes to defray the expenses of our Government. There seems to be a common belief that the income up to \$2,000 per annum should pay no taxes, but the truth is that a considerable portion of every dollar spent by every man, woman and child, goes to pay both the direct and the indirect taxes for the support of the Government—Federal, State, County and Municipal—and the demands of each branch become greater, year by year.

The mention of "Corporation Taxes" does not seem to interest the man of small income, but it should. There is no reason for him to dismiss the subject as having no per-

sonal bearing upon his affairs because it certainly does have just such a bearing. He helps to pay all such taxes in just so far as he is a consumer of the articles made or the services rendered by these corporations.

WE GET FULL VALUE FOR OUR TAXES

EVERY individual should take into consideration the various ways by which the tax collectors levy indirectly on the wage-earners and the small-income man. There is food, clothing and shelter which consumes the greater share of the contents of the wage-earner's weekly pay envelope or the small income. These are universal needs. They cannot be set aside or avoided.

The farmer producing foods, the railroads transporting goods and men engaged in making, handling and selling goods; the beef packers; the commission merchants; the storage warehouses; the wholesalers and, finally, the retailers, all have various taxes to pay, either directly or indirectly assessed against them. Therefore, to pay these taxes, they must charge in just so much more for their product or their service. Thus it is that in the end the consumer pays the taxes and the wage-earner or man with small income pays for the support of his Government every time that he spends as much as a nickel at the provision store or meat market.

All this holds equally true with clothing. The wool-grower and the cotton planter, the railroad that transports the wool and the cotton; the manufacturer and the dealer all pay direct or indirect taxes and add them to their charges to the public.

Probably the oldest of modern taxes are those on land and buildings—the real estate taxes. Our State, County and Municipal revenues much come largely from such taxation. It does not matter whether one is renting a hall bedroom, a tiny flat or a large airy apartment; whether one owns a house in the country or rents one there; whether one lives in town in a hotel or owns a city house; every one must pay a certain amount of the real estate tax. If you lease the

premises or the room, the landlord adds at least a pro rata amount of the tax levied upon him to your bill for rent. The increased taxation has been one of the causes of soaring rents.

There are also to be considered taxes that cover water, sewer, garbage, road, street, sidewalk, snow removal, school, street lighting, franchise and license. State, County, Town or City must levy these taxes or there could be no more modern improvements than one would find in the wilderness. The tax payer must settle for all of this. Every nickel that you pay for a street car ride must have certain portion sliced off of it to help pay the transportation company's heavy taxes.

Many luxuries of yesterday have become the necessities of today, yet they are actually just outside of the realm of necessities according to the "food, clothes and shelter" standard. Taxes are levied on automobiles, motorcycles, gasoline, inheritance, express service, telephone and telegraph, investments, stocks, bonds, mortgages, medicines, perfumes, toilet articles, chewing gum, jewelry, sporting goods, cameras, boats, insurance, oil, club dues, admissions, tobacco and the like. Some taxes we pay in our purchase price, the possession of some luxuries must be reckoned in tax returns. And then customs taxes are paid by the consumer in any and in all events.

I do not know of anything that is not taxed, either directly or indirectly.

Taxes are the price of development and civilization, and it is worth it.

This price is paid by everyone, no matter what his condition, socially or financially. But to know just what taxes one should pay is a problem that needs careful consideration and, generally, the guidance of an expert if one wishes to render unto Uncle Sam that which is justly Uncle Sam's.

WAR-TIME SPIRITISM

By PROFESSOR JAMES H. HYSLOP, Ph.D., LL.D.

THE present great war has awakened interest in psychic research not because it is war, but because the number of deaths simply enhances an interest that death always creates in some minds. A death in the community may arouse only the family in which it occurs, but when a million people die from so horrible a thing as war the interest is multiplied or increased geometrically. The evidence of its increased interest is in the reception of the subject by the newspapers, the more frequent talk about the matter in private families, the sale of books on the subject, and especially the work of Sir Oliver Lodge, whose scientific standing and choice of a dead son as the subject of the work gave a poignant interest that seemed personal to each mother who might lose a son in the great conflict.

No one can measure the extent to which war has affected people. It is not a matter of statistics. Nor can we adequately summarize at this time the increased interest in Spiritism that has resulted from war's greatest and most deplorable cost—the loss of a million or more lives. But we know that it is awakening more and more of the interest that it deserves, and is being given greater recognition and more sincere thought in the churches than ever before. This is because the fact of death resulting from the war has been brought home to each individual more effectively than in ordinary life, and people who have been silent on the whole subject are called upon to meet the fears and the losses of their friends. If they cannot offer consolation and comfort to the mourning, they are helpless and even useless members of the community. They must conjure up some word of hope or comfort, even if it is only a vague philosophy.

But Spiritism is not vague in its verdict. It is more direct and confident than even religion which has only faith

to support itself. Spiritism speaks in the name of science and intends that its belief will have the same credentials as Copernican astronomy, Newtonian gravitation and Darwinian evolution. It is not uncertain in its sound.

We are firmly planted on the threshold of a new order of things. Spiritualists of the old-school are beginning to see that they must change their tactics. Particularly that they must give up their public performances, which from every point of view only bring discredit on the whole doctrine. They have never made any headway at all with these exhibitions, although some of them have been undertaken, even of recent years under very pretentious auspices; and they are beginning to realize this. And there will be a general advance all along the line. Many of the orthodox churches are going to take up Spiritism seriously from the standpoint of science. They will accept the verdict of science and go on with their ethical and spiritual work in the world. They will find that their belief in a future life is proved by science and they will use that foundation for all it is worth. Whenever a religious man can quote science in his own favor he invariably does so. The only thing that has kept the churches out of Spiritism hitherto is the universal distrust of many of the Spiritualists.

SPIRITISM IN ORTHODOX CHURCHES

IT is strange that the church did not see the light sooner. Some of them do see it and are beginning to feel their way into the consideration of it. One Episcopalian clergyman of Boston has preached it 20 years so tactfully that only Spiritualists would discover it. Another has openly avowed his interest in it, much to the disgust of some of his members. Others speak of it indirectly, perhaps calling it science instead of Spiritism. One minister appealed to by a parishioner to know if she should prosecute her interest in the subject told her that her gift of automatic writing was a divine one and not to "lend" it; that is, not to prostitute it as is so often done. Another went to her pastor and told him she would have to leave the church as she was convinced

that Spiritualism was true, while the church condemned it. The pastor simply replied that she did not need to leave the church because it had always believed in the "communion of the saints"! That is, it had always believed in communication with the dead!

Many will revolt at this, but the pastor was correct, at least so far as the formula was concerned, though it had perhaps become meaningless in the course of opposition to Spiritualists. Scores of clergymen have come to me to talk about the problem and to insure their faith. Some have left the church because it will not grant them freedom to discuss it. Many parishoners adopt the belief in spirit communication and remain with the churches because of their influence and their own desire to remain respectable. They perhaps see that the church was originally but a group of men interested in psychic phenomena. No one can read the New Testament intelligently without seeing that it was a "society for psychic research," even though it had not the machinery of scientific method for making this clear.

There is at present a very hopeful outlook for a general spread of interest among all classes of people. All we need is to get matters on to a scientific foundation, and so independent of the everlasting appeal to the sensational world. We have made some definite steps, but no one but ourselves really comprehend the magnitude of our task. To begin, the mere collection of evidence to show survival is a very difficult and costly matter. This evidence can be gotten only under certain kinds of conditions, and never depends on either the honesty or intelligence of the person to whom it comes. It depends, contrariwise, on their *absolute ignorance* of the facts. We have to experiment as we would with machines. The only result that is of any value is that from which we deduce indubitable proof that it cannot come from the mind in which it *seems* to originate. The current belief is that a medium is a wise woman who can tell you all sorts of things about spirits, but this is exactly the sort of thing we do not want. We must be sure that the medium *could not* possibly know the facts.

NEW TESTAMENT A TREATISE ON PSYCHIC RESEARCH

A SECOND and equally important branch of the field will be the application of psychic influence and knowledge to the treatment of certain types of insanity which are not organic insanity in the medical sense of the term, but represent maladies not yet recognized by the medical world. They are such cases as hysteria, dementia precox, paranoia, and even possibly manic depressive insanity, many cases of which, perhaps not all, are undoubtedly affected whether consciously or unconsciously by spiritistic influence.

The application of psychic research to healing is but the effort to repeat the phenomena of the New Testament. But there is no means to apply it in the way that modern medical science requires. As individuals a few of us in psychic research have applied it to some of the maladies named above and have succeeded in curing a number of patients who were pronounced incurable by the ablest medical authorities. One man who was regarded as a paranoiac was told he would have to go to Bellevue Hospital and not wishing to do so, came to me and in three days by hypnotic suggestion I had him cured. This was some six years ago and he is now earning his living satisfactorily without a burden on the state. A child suffering from dementia precox was greatly improved, but lacking the means for continuing the treatment we had to abandon the case before it was cured, though we had her nearly free. It was a case of obsession. We have dealt with several cases of this kind and they are more numerous than the public suspects, and more easily cured in some instances than the medical man supposes. We have not as yet proved to what extent such influences are present, but there is enough evidence of the fact to make it imperative to apply the method on a large scale to the insane, if only as an experiment for determining the facts. We cannot boast much as yet, but we can challenge attention.

This science will involve as great a revolution in the interpretation of nature, as it will in theories of medicine. What we are going to find in our particular field is that mental forces are a good deal like the mechanical. There is

indeed a whole new world of scientific exploration at our back and we are venturing into this realm with a strength of spirit and a hopefulness commensurate to our enterprise. This great war has brought tens of thousands to our standard the majority of whom will remain our faithful followers for all time.

THE WAR AND PSYCHIC PHENOMENA

MY capable co-worker, Mr. Hereward Carrington, who has given more specific attention to the tabulating of phenomena actually arising out of the war, than myself, has recorded the following among other cases. They are given in the actual language of the narrators:

A VISION OF DEATH

“My uncle was sergeant in the Second Regiment of Infantry when war was declared. He fought in the first battle, taken prisoner to Mayence, and thence to Torgau, where he remained nine or ten months.

“On Low Sunday, one of his comrades invited him to go into town in the afternoon. He preferred to remain in camp in his casemate, saying to his friend that he was not in good spirits, but not knowing himself what his sadness could be attributed to. Being left alone, or almost alone, he threw himself, entirely dressed, upon his bed and slept profoundly. As soon as he was asleep it seemed to him that he was in his father's house, and that his mother was dying on a bed. He saw his aunts caring for his mother until she died, about three o'clock. Then he awoke, and found that it had been only a dream.

“When his friend returned at six o'clock in the evening he told him what he had seen during his sleep, and he added: ‘I am convinced that my mother died today about three o'clock.’

“He was laughed at for this idea, but a letter received from his brother confirmed the sad news.

“I think I ought to add that the dead woman was in a dying state about three o'clock.”

A DREAM VISION

"It was during the great war, my fiance was a soldier in the Army of the Rhine—if I do not mistake—and for a long time we had had no news of him. During the night of the 23rd of August I had a singular dream which tormented me, but to which I did not attach much importance. I found myself in a hospital ward, in the midst of which was a kind of a table on which my fiance was lying. His right arm was bare, and a severe wound could be seen near the right shoulder; two physicians, a Sister of Charity, and myself were near him. All at once he looked at me with his large eyes, and said to me: 'Do you still love me?' Some days later I learned from the mother of my fiance that he had been mortally wounded in the right shoulder, and that he had died on the 23rd of August. A Sister of Charity who had nursed him was the first person to tell us of his death."

A SOLDIER RETURNS

"In her country home surrounded by loving ones a young woman lay dying of that dread disease, Consumption. Her eldest brother had enlisted when the first call for soldiers had come and was now 'Somewhere in France.' When he left home she had been indisposed but no one thought that in a few short weeks her young life would be ended. But the progress of the disease was rapid and she was soon near the gates of eternity.

"During her entire illness she had almost daily expressed a desire that she might be able to see her brother once more, but it seemed that her wish was to be denied. And yet on this beautiful Autumn morning she surprised her parents by stating that during the night her brother had come to her and that she was now ready to go.

"Those who were gathered around her bed tried to tell her she had evidently dreamed he was there. But to them she replied, 'No, I did not dream it. I was not asleep but as wide awake as I am now. I saw him plainly, in his soldier clothes, as he stood by my bed. To me he said, "I knew

you wanted me, Sis, so I have come. I cannot stay long. I must soon return. Do not fear, some day we'll be together forever. There will be no seas to separate us then. Until that time, good bye," and he faded away.' "

APPARITION SEEN BY A CHILD

"On May 13, my eldest son, who had enlisted as a volunteer six months before, at Valence, in the first Hussars, was taking part in the military manoeuvres in the country, which were shared in by his regiment. Being the foremost man of the advance guard, he was riding slowly, observing the country occupied by the enemy, when suddenly, out of an ambush formed on the edge of a narrow part of the road, came a shot which struck my unhappy son full in the breast. His death was almost immediate.

"The involuntary author of this fatal accident, seeing his comrade drop his reins and fall forward on the neck of his horse, rushed forward to help him, and he heard the words of the dying man uttered with his last sigh: 'You have done me an ill turn . . . but I forgive you. . . . For God and our country always! . . . Present!' . . . and so he died.

"Now this same day, May 13, about half past nine in the evening, while my wife was bustling about her household affairs, our little girl, then about two-and-a-half years old, came up to her mother and said, in her baby-talk: 'Mamma, look—godpapa' (my eldest was his sister's godfather); 'see mamma—see godpapa! I am playing with him!'

"'Yes, yes, my darling, play away,' said her mother, busy and attaching no importance to the words of the child.

"But the little thing, hurt by her mother's indifference, insisted on attracting her attention, and went on, 'But, mamma, come and look at godpapa. . . . Look at him—there he is! Oh, how smartly he is dressed!'

"Then my wife remarked that as the child spoke she became, so to speak, transfigured. She was excited by this

at first, but soon forgot what had passed. It lasted only a few moments, and it was not until two or three days later that she remembered these details.

“A little before noon we received a telegram telling us of the terrible accident which had befallen our beloved son, and subsequently I learned that his death took place almost at eight o’clock.”

VISION COINCIDING WITH DEATH

“Mezieres, my native village, had been destroyed by a bombardment which lasted only thirty-six hours, but made many victims. Among these was the little daughter of our landlord, who was cruelly wounded. She was eleven or twelve years of age. At that time I was fifteen, and very often played with Leontine—that was her name.

“About the beginning of March I went to pass a few days at Domchery. Before I left home I knew that the poor little thing could never get better, but change of place and boyish carelessness made me forget by degrees the sorrows I had witnessed and the terrible scenes I had been through. I slept by myself in a long narrow room, the window of which looked out into the country. One evening, when I had gone to bed as usual at nine o’clock, I could not sleep, which was something remarkable, for as soon as dinner was over I could usually have slept standing. The moon was full and very bright. It lit up the garden and threw a strong ray of light into my chamber.

“As I could not go to sleep I listened to the town clocks striking the hours, which seemed to me very long. I gazed steadily at the window, which was just opposite my bed, and at half-past twelve I thought I saw a ray of moonshine moving slightly, then a shadowy, luminous form floated past, at first like a great white robe, then it took a bodily shape, and, coming up to my bed, stood there smiling at me. I uttered a cry of ‘Leontine!’ Then the bright shade, gliding as before, disappeared from the foot of my bed.

“Some days later I went home, and before any one had spoken to me of Leontine, I told them my vision. On the day

and in the hour when she appeared to me the poor child had died."

APPARITION SEEN AT SEA

"M. G——, an officer in the merchant marine, had a brother with whom he was not on good terms. They had ceased to hold any relations with each other. M. G——, who is a first mate, was running from Hayti to Havre. In the course of the voyage, one night when he had gone to sleep as soon as his watch was over, he suddenly felt his hammock violently shaken, and his Christian name twice called, 'Emmanuel! Emmanuel!' He woke with a start, and thought at first it was a joke. Then he remembered that, except the captain, no one on board knew his first name. He got up, and went to ask the captain what he knew about it. The captain said he had never called him, and made him observe that he never spoke to him by his Christian name. The mate went back to his hammock and fell asleep again, but at the end of a few seconds the same call was repeated, and he thought he recognized his brother's voice. Then he sat up, resolved not to go to sleep again. A third time the same voice called him.

"As soon as he was up, he sat down at his work-table, resolved by hard work to get rid of the impression, but he jotted down the day and hour of the phenomenon.

"Some days after this the ship arrived at Havre. One of the officer's friends, with a troubled countenance, came on board, and as soon as he saw him, before he had time to speak, the officer called out: 'Don't tell me. I know what you have to say. My brother is dead. He died on such a day and at such an hour!' The date given was perfectly exact. M. G——'s brother had died calling on him, and expressing his regret that he should never see him.

"M. G—— has since died. This story was repeated to me, and separately (which is a guarantee of its correctness), by his two sons. One is one of the most brilliant barristers at Havre, the other is a lieutenant of the navy on half-pay. What they had told me they had heard from their father's lips, and their testimony cannot be doubted."

OUR SKILLED AIRCRAFT "NURSES"

 The Landmen Behind the Airmen

By MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM L. KENLY

[DIRECTOR OF THE DIVISION OF MILITARY AERONAUTICS]

OUR airmen in France cannot fly unless we give them our best support, whether this be in the shops, at office desks, or in the fields. We who are not lucky enough to be over there with these young men must by our united efforts help to keep them aloft and give to them everything they need for their fight in the air.

Flying is just like any other big game today—it demands organization. The time has gone by long ago when in a war individuals like the squirrel hunters, trappers, and guides of pioneer times can get together and start an offensive all by themselves.

Individual effort and initiative did very well before steel, electricity and gasoline were known. Then, as now, it was a question of personal courage and strength, but prowess was limited to the tomahawk and rifle. Today we have to reckon, not with what a valley of log cabins and clearings can produce, but with cities teeming with great populations, power plants, steel mills and blast furnaces. We no longer measure explosives by the powder horn but by carloads of T. N. T.

The enemy today is a prepared enemy. He has everything modern industry can produce and we must meet industry with industry. This requires organization, team work, men, and again men, all pulling together, each with his part to do and each ready to give every ounce of energy and brains in him.

The call for 20,000 skilled workmen for service in aero squadrons of the Army at home and overseas has provoked inquiries as to what precisely are the duties and employment

of some of the many kinds of mechanics needed about a modern airplane.

SKILLED MEN REQUIRED ON LAND

FOR one thing, there is the plane crew of five men, one responsible for the motor, one for each wing, and one for the fuselage and controls; a sergeant is in charge of the crew, the motorman is a corporal, and the other three are first-class privates. The sergeant first, and the four men under him, are responsible for the condition of the plane, and so for the safety of the pilot and observer when it goes up. If there is anything wrong with the wings, flying wires, controls, or the engine; if gas, or water, or oil is lacking, the death of two men, the destruction of the machine, and the failure of a reconnaissance or an attack may lie at the door of one of the crews.

The routine care of the plane is in these men's hands, as the care of a horse is in the hands of the stablemen, but if there is serious trouble with any part of it, experts attached to the squadron are called in. There are trouble shooters, for instance, to diagnose and remedy engine trouble; there are riggers and men assigned to repairs on wires and wings. These must include cabinet makers for the woodwork of the frames, which depends upon the most exact fitting for the necessary combination of lightness and strength. Sailmakers and tailors are used for sewing the linen fabric upon the frames, and cabinet makers again for the laminated woodwork or veneer of the body—if it happens to be a body built, as many are, of veneer.

The care of the propeller requires the services of a propeller maker, who may have been a pattern maker, or maker of the strong frames upon which piano wires are stretched. The electrician is needed for the magneto and the radio set and the wiring of both, and the instrument repairman must be on hand for the adjustment of the instruments—altimeter, compass, tachometer, banking indicator, drift set and all the rest of the delicate contrivances which assist the pilot in navigating his ship.

Chauffeurs and motorcyclists are needed for the service of the field for getting out quickly to a plane which has landed in trouble, for messenger service, supply service, and many other services.

Information as to the conditions of enlistment, which is open to men above and below draft age, and to men within draft age in limited service and deferred classifications, may be obtained by writing to the Procurement Branch, Personnel Section, Department of Military Aeronautics, Washington, D. C.

LEST KNOWING ALL

By LEONIE DAVIS COLLISTER

THE unlived dream
Of many strange desires
Lies deep between us.

And with silent voices
We refrain,
Lest knowing all,
Mystery, the eager gift
The gods bestow,
Take that frail blossom
Of our love
Into the twilight land,
Whereto she takes her flight.

OUR 'PLANES ARE THERE!

By LEWIS ALLEN BROWNE

OUR 'planes are there!
Our motors are there!
Our fliers are there!

Those of the enemy who escaped death at the cantonments between Waville and Damvillers, twelve miles north of Verdun, on October 10, can testify to the presence of American 'planes propelled by Liberty motors and operated by American aviators, flying in clouds over their trembling heads, and to the presence of American bombs that were dropped in their midst.

On that day three hundred and fifty American 'planes paid them a visit and those who survive are yet trying to reconcile with this event the German War Office statement, issued but sixty days previous to the effect that it would be at least two years before American aeroplanes could be produced in sufficient quantities to be at all worthy of notice.

Ask the survivors at the village of Bayonville, at the junction point of six roads, if, on October 20, they received any sort of a hint that our 'planes were there. On that date one hundred and forty-two American 'planes flew over this point in three divisions, at a time when all the six roads were congested with German troops, when soldiers and artillery and supplies were pouring in at this point. Half an hour later Bayonville was a shambles, the six converging roads a honeycomb of giant bomb craters, garnished with death. Shattered men, cannon, trucks and horses, together with the other supplies of an army, dotted the landscape for several miles about the village.

Germany knows—at least military Germany—that our 'planes are there. To the enemy there is no question but what the flying Yanks have arrived at the battle front, no question but what they are daily dropping sudden and violent

death upon their troops and no question but what their presence is increasing in almost mathematical progression.

THE HUNS THOUGHT IT WOULD TAKE US TWO YEARS

ON May 13, of this year, the first American-made De Haviland 4 arrived in France. In June the enemy reported "Here and there on rare occasions, we sight an American aeroplane." It was in August that the German War Office issued the would-be reassuring statement that it would take America two years before she could send over enough 'planes to be noticeable at all. In September the German censors allowed a paragraph in German papers to the effect that in certain engagements there was "considerable activity on the part of American airmen."

There has been no announcement since. Doubtless the enemy hasn't recovered his breath from the American air assaults of October 10 and 20. Not that these have been the only ones, for there have been many others and they are continuing and increasing day by day. They cannot help but increase since not only are our 'planes there, but others are getting there. At this writing they are arriving in France at the rate of more than fifty a day! By Christmas we shall be sending over at least seventy-five complete aeroplanes a day. By February the output will be one hundred a day, every day in the week!

Can they handle them over there? Can they assemble them over there? Can we supply sufficient trained aviators and sufficient ground experts?

All these questions may be answered with a single "Yes," made as emphatic as it is possible to do.

Our aviation equipment in France is now sufficient to assemble 300 planes a day.

Our supply of aviators here has always exceeded the demand. There is a long list of waiting aspirants for the aviation service. There will be 35,000 trained fliers by June next, according to the testimony of Colonel Arnold who appeared before the committee for the aeronautical section of the army, 11,000 cadets having, he said, already been trained.

And as to our mechanical output—we have by no means reached the peak of production. The combined facilities in this country for turning out aircraft complete, motors and all accessories, is equal to about 250 planes per day. And these facilities are being increased.

Aircraft production here started much like a mountain landslide, with rumbling and grumbling, considerable dust and a mighty slow movement.

But, like a mountain landslide, it gained great momentum despite all the obstacles of mistakes, criticism honest and otherwise, errors in judgment, indecision as to type, lost motion, labor delays and necessary experimentation.

And the fifty complete aeroplanes that we are now turning out every day does not include our training planes. Of these we have 7,000 over here and 15,000 motors for them.

At this writing we have between 12,000 and 14,000 Liberty motors in France and in action over the enemy territory.

OUR GREAT AIR PROGRAM A SUCCESS

AND in France we have also, as has been previously described in this magazine in-so-far as permissible, the greatest aviation assembly plant in the world, the largest aviation fields in the world, the best and largest assembling and repair shops for aeroplanes in the world.

Our motors are there and our 'planes are being delivered in increasing numbers, and American aviators have long demonstrated to the world their skill and daring in the air. In the very near future we shall have an air service far greater than the combined air service of all other countries, for our manufacturing ability exceeds that of all the Allies.

Our program, as just revealed in the testimony before the Appropriations Committee of the House, was for the training of 30,000 fliers. Whatever changes may have been made in this program have not been to lessen that strength.

When, early in 1917, we decided to strike the enemy forcibly in the air, as on land and sea, we wanted 25,000 'planes. This would necessitate 40,000 motors and, altogether for the ground service as well as the air service, some-

thing like 200,000 men. We have more than 100,000 men in the non-flying service now!

In addition to our own planes now going over, we bought many at the beginning. Our force is far greater than is realized. How large is something the war Lords of Germany would like to know but would fear to have the German people know.

Unless one gives thought to the upkeep of a great air service it would seem that at the rate of fifty planes a day now and 75 'planes a day within sixty more days, our equipment will soon be gigantic. But it should be taken into consideration that we must continue to increase our output greatly to do this, since, according to testimony before the United States Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 40 per cent of the aviators and 100 per cent of the machines must be replaced monthly!

OUR MANUFACTURING FACILITIES HAVE GOTTEN UP SPEED

BUT we are equal to it—and more. Our facilities are such that we can replace this percentage to keep the service up to the standard and also increase production at such speed as to cause our air service to grow by leaps and bounds.

The difficulties that we had at the beginning were much like starting for a valley that lies over the mountains. We had to make the grade. The summit has been reached and passed. It is now "easy going" and the speeding up becomes easier every day.

We are turning out all of the training planes that are needed. While we are speeding up the production of the various types of 'planes for actual use in the war, we are keeping up the necessary equipment for every branch of the service, training and otherwise. As long ago as last July the Curtiss company in one of its three great plants in Buffalo, was turning out one complete advanced training 'plane every thirty minutes! This output, we may be sure, has not lessened.

This same company, the Curtiss, is now speeding up a new \$50,000,000 contract for another four thousand De

Haviland 4s. The Wright-Martin, the Dayton Wright, the Packard, the General Motors, the Standard Aircraft, and others are doing a work equal to the achievements of the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

Director of Aircraft Production, John F. Ryan, who has but recently returned from the battlefront where he watched our airmen, ever victorious in battle, and where he studied every phase of our aircraft service from the landing of knocked-down 'planes at the assembly centre to their going forth in combat, declared a fortnight ago that we were sending over fifty airplanes every day. Mr. Ryan also declared, upon his return, that "all was well." Just how well, the enemy would like to know although the truth would further increase the chill that is rapidly enveloping his pedal extremities.

"I was with our air forces during the St. Mihiel fight," said Mr. Ryan, upon his return, "and also the one in the Argonne. I believe that in both these offensives our air forces were stronger in numbers and perhaps as high in efficiency *as in any battle of the war!* This opinion was expressed by both the British and the French commanders as well as by our own. The air forces in both offensives were under the direction of the American commander, and while the French furnished a large part of the forces used and the British co-operated, the American squadrons made up about half of the entire number participating!"

The only criticisms heard of our fliers are really an expression of their virtues. It is said that they are too daring. This means that they take too many chances and thus may not at all times make the best uses of their opportunities through this bravery which on occasion may cause unnecessary sacrifice.

WE MET THE CALL OF THE ALLIES FOR MOTORS

WE are also supplying the British and the French with engines. The Liberty 8 in thousands fly over the lines in foreign built planes. Regarding these motors, Mr. Ryan said:

"To realize what it means to have these motors in great quantities, just reckon that 10,000 of them will develop at least 4,000,000 horse power! The first 10,000 was produced in five months!

"From now on my efforts will be to so lay down the policy of production and the training of pilots in this country as to perfectly fit such work into the combined program of the Allies, so as to put into operation at the front in the shortest possible time, the greatest air power and efficiency in order to help win the war at the earliest day."

Our earlier efforts to adopt the Liberty 12 to foreign designs was not altogether successful. We were yet in the try-out stage, where the doctors differed. The newspapers at the time quoted General Pershing as saying that the 'planes were not satisfactory, but we learned rapidly, though expensively, as is often necessary in hurry-up orders.

Changes were promptly made. Today General Pershing has only praise for our 'planes. They arrive in good condition, "knocked down" and ready for assembling, as this method provides so much more space upon our ships. Lieut. Col. Warwick Wright, of the British Royal Air Force, inspected seven hundred and fifty cases and out of all this lot found only one in which the contents were damaged.

It was our American-made De Haviland 4s, with Liberty motors, operated by American airmen, that did the bombing and the observation work in the St. Mihiel and Argonne attacks, and these planes are "carrying on" today, having increased in numbers and efficiency since their first really great test at St. Mihiel.

Fliers in France have repeatedly told Mr. Hamilton M. Wright, one of the FORUM's correspondents abroad, that the Liberty motors in actual service easily developed a speed of from 140 to 145 miles an hour.

"I called their attention," says Mr. Wright, "to the published claim of Wilbur Wright that often a 'plane reputed to fly 145 miles an hour was actually going no more than 125."

“ ‘ Ah! ’ they invariably answered, ‘ but that was in America. We in France know what those Liberty motors will do, we know that they can and do make as high as 145 miles an hour! ’ ”

WHEN THEY BEGAN TO ARRIVE

IT was in July that our equipment in France was practically ready to receive American 'planes, and the demand came, “ We are ready, send over the 'planes. ” American airmen then were flying for the most part in French and British made 'planes. It may have seemed to our fliers that our own 'planes would never come. But they did begin to arrive, even in that month, and they continued to arrive. Early in September when most of our quantity production problems had been solved, our 'planes were arriving, a dozen to a score a day, at the assembling plants.

“ Great work! ” cried our delighted fliers. Then the 'planes came at the rate of 25 a day and 30 a day and 40 a day.

“ That settles it, we've got the enemy licked in the air, ” was the verdict of every man over there in our air service.

Now that the fifty-a-day pace has been set and this is constantly increasing, our aviators are the happiest fighters abroad. The change was great indeed from conditions on July 4th when the appearance of American 'planes over Bois de Belleau, where they brought down enemy 'planes, created great excitement.

It means something to be a “ fairly good flier ” today. The French have said that all of our fliers are more than “ fairly good, ” that they are “ good ” without qualifications, while the great majority of them are “ merveilleaux! ” When one takes into consideration the fact that a “ fairly good ” flier in warfare today must be far better than was the famous exhibition fliers of a few years ago, the skill of a crack flier is difficult to appreciate.

We have spent nearly \$2,000,000,000 in our air program and there is another billion in readiness to “ carry on ”

with still more if it is needed. The costly experimental stage is over. Only such changes as are necessary to constantly keep apace of the improvements in aircraft now have to be made.

WHAT OUR 'PLANES MEAN IN WARFARE

THERE is no denying the need and the worth of airplanes in this war. Ten thousand 'planes are now equal to at least 500,000 trained soldiers.

Our De Haviland 4s, two-seated biplanes, cut off the enemy in the vicinity of Vignuelles and rounded up hundreds of prisoners, the exact number being deleted from the correspondents' reports.

Being somewhat short of pursuit 'planes we used these same De Havilands. It was considered doubtful if they would work. But while they could not dive as readily as the pursuit 'planes, being equipped with fore and aft guns, this was not necessary, and, as for speed, they overtook the speediest of German 'planes, and in returning after bringing down two of them, raked enemy groups by flying low so that the Huns were demoralized, dropped everything and fled, leaving supplies of every sort, machine guns and some light artillery for our troops to capture.

Our 350 'planes in the raid at Waville consisted of 200 bombing 'planes, 100 pursuit machines and fifty triplanes, carrying mammoth loads of giant bombs, one of which would blow a stone building to a pile of dust and crumbled debris.

When the enemy came forth to give battle and saw our fleet of 'planes he turned tail, and fled, but not until we had brought down twelve of his machines while out of the group of 350 we lost but one machine!

And at Bayonville where almost a whole army of the enemy was piling in along the six converging roads, our 142 machines attacked, first by a part of them flying low and dropping light bombs and raking the mobs of Huns with machine gun fire. So low did our aviators fly that the pale faces of the frightened boches were plainly seen as they fled in all directions, diving into houses, under trucks and seek-

ing cover like a group of rabbits disappearing into the warrens. Then came another lot of our flyers a little higher, dropping light bombs that filled the air about the enemy with a cloud of sharp steel fragments, resulting in terrible carnage. The third lot, still higher, dropped the immense bombs that annihilated whatever they struck, for a great area. Then, after circling about, our men came back again, flying low and raking such of the enemy as was able to come forth with a deadly hail of machine gun bullets. At this, 222 enemy machines headed for our airmen to give battle, but when they were close enough to see our forces they turned about and scuttled back home again out of danger. In this fight our men got nine enemy 'planes and again we lost but one.

As that great arm of steel, now swinging through Belgium at the extremity, and about ready to sweep outward across the whole land occupied by the enemy, comes closer and closer to the Rhine, the airplane will have its great opportunity in this war. It will rush over the border and give German cities a taste of the bitterness of death and the justness of vengeance. Cologne, Metz, Frankfort, Berlin—and other cities will know, to the terror of their inhabitants, that our 'planes are there and that our armies are following; that unconditional surrender will cease to be optional.

Our 'planes will do their part in the war, for "they are there" and that is just what they are there to do.

REBUILDING THE INJURED SOLDIER

How Uncle Sam Will Give Back to Society the Disabled Heroes

By HON. HOKE SMITH

[U. S. SENATOR FROM GEORGIA]

PRIOR to the present war, the policy even of the most advanced nations was to care for their crippled and disabled men with small pensions, leaving them to recruit the ranks of mendicants; but now, and for years to come, every unit of productivity will be needed, and useful occupation may cheer the lives of the injured, while it serves their country.

Having been Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor for the past six years, I feel I can give assurance that no effort and no expense will be spared by our Government to fit disabled fighters for self-sustaining positions, and to aid them in securing such positions. This work will be done by the National Government in the performance of an obligation, and not as an act of charity. We owe it as an obligation to those injured in the war. We will need them rehabilitated as a force in our National life.

Each American soldier, sailor and marine suffering permanent disability must be and will be offered and urgently pressed to accept an opportunity to reestablish a place in life for himself and society as good as or better than the one he occupied before entering the National service.

A few years prior to the war a trade school was established in a Belgian province where men injured in industry were trained to use their remaining faculties in productive occupations. As the Germans swept through Belgium the teachers from this school were scattered. The director of the school landed at Lyons, France, where a desperate local

need for labor existed. Soldiers were returning from the front injured in various ways. The director of the Belgian school, with the aid of the local authorities, founded the first French training school for war cripples. The school met with great success, and France soon began to offer on a broad scale opportunity for rehabilitation to all her men injured at the front.

The Belgians founded a school for crippled soldiers in France at which "not only are disabled soldiers trained in new occupations, but the school in the course of its operation produces enough supplies for the Belgian army, to make the enterprise self-supporting."

England, Italy, Canada, and Australia have accepted the new view. They are training the disabled soldiers along the most varied lines, suiting their new occupations to their physical and mental conditions, and holding out to each the opportunity to come back and be a real force,—independent, self-supporting, and contributing to his country's progress.

HOW OUR GOVERNMENT WILL REHABILITATE SOLDIERS

MORE than a year ago the problem of furnishing opportunity for rehabilitation to our own disabled soldiers and sailors attracted attention in many parts of our country, and especially in Washington. More than one commission was formed of voluntary workers to consider the subject. I presented a resolution to the Senate, requesting the Federal Board for Vocational Education to investigate and furnish information to the Senate which might aid the Senate Committee on Education and Labor in the preparation of legislation. This was done, and the information was valuable. Finally, a board composed in part of representatives of the Navy, of the Army, and of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, prepared a bill, which was substantially the bill I introduced in the Senate, and which was approved by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. This bill has become a law, and under it the Federal Board for Vocational Education has charge of vocational rehabilitation of disabled soldiers.

The law provides that the disabled soldier, when discharged from the hospital, shall come within the supervision of the Federal Board for Vocational Education. While he is in the hospital, he is under the control of the Surgeon-General's office; but the Federal Board for Vocational Education, through educational experts, may act in an advisory capacity to the surgeons in the hospital.

In the hospital all is to be done that may be done to restore physically the injured soldier; to make him again sound if possible. If limbs are lost, to furnish artificial limbs, or rather mechanical appliances of a character suited for actual use rather than for ornament.

In the hospital, and even before the patient reaches the hospital in the United States, every effort is to be made to inspire hope and confidence that the injured man may again be able to play a part in the peaceful forces of his country.

TRAINING TO COMMENCE IN THE HOSPITAL

THE work in the hospital will be made to dovetail in with what the patient will be advised to take up permanently, but it will essentially be only an introduction to the real vocational training which it is hoped the injured soldier will utilize in the broad way after he leaves the hospital.

The Government has set aside a fund of \$2,000,000 for this work during the present fiscal year. That amount was appropriated because some fixed sum had to be. Whatever is needed will be given, for this year or the next or the next.

Complete authority for carrying on the work is given the Federal Board for Vocational Education. We were fortunate in having already established that organization, which had developed much of the needed machinery.

Not until the soldier is discharged from the service and is again a civilian will the full work of vocational rehabilitation begin. The Vocational Board will assist the hospitals in providing light occupational training during convalescence, which training will be selected first for its therapeutic

value, and second for its occupational. The Board may have representatives in the hospitals to advise with its managers about such work and to study and advise the patients and to assist in conducting the occupational work carried on there.

By the time the patient is ready to leave the hospital, he should have been able to decide what new occupation, if any, he shall accept training in, and probably will already have begun preparation for it. Then the Vocational Board takes full control, the Surgeon-General's office's relation to the case becoming what the Board's to that time will be; that is advisory.

Virtually the only substantial disagreement in working out a general plan was as to whether it would be best for the army or navy to retain complete control of the disabled man until he was vocationally, as well as physically, restored. Some thought it would be best to keep him technically in the service during his vocational training so that he would be fully amenable to the rules of military discipline. This method was at first undertaken by some of our allies and found to be unsatisfactory. In France, while the men were continued under military control, eighty per cent refused to undergo occupational training. In England, where civilian control was adopted and the men allowed to volunteer for re-education, eighty per cent willingly took the training.

RESTORING SELF-RELIANCE AND INITIATIVE

FURTHERMORE, the training is more effective when it is carried on away from military restraint. A great deal of military psychology must be "trained out" of the men before they become fully efficient industrial workers.

They must, in large measure, be re-taught self-reliance, initiative, confidence, which can best be done when they are removed from every semblance of military authority.

It is also left with them to decide, first, whether they shall take up training at all, and, second, for what occupation they shall be trained. The Vocational Board may advise

them and will do so with great care, after studying each case and placing before each man information as to occupations he may be fitted for, but it cannot coerce. The only penalty provided in the law is that, after the disabled man has accepted and begun training and then abandons it, the allowances granted him under the War Risk Insurance Act may be temporarily suspended at the discretion of the Board.

Those allowances will be sufficient to relieve the disabled man of all undue anxiety while undergoing training. They will be the same as given during his service, except when the compensation for disabilities due him under the War Risk Insurance Act exceed the pay drawn for his last month's service, it, and not the pay, shall be given. Whereas, if a former enlisted man, has dependants, 50 per cent of his pay or allowance, together with what the government had been adding to it, will be allotted them until his re-education is completed and he is placed in a position.

All benefits under the act are allowed officers as well as men. Anyone entitled to compensation for disabilities under the War Risk Insurance Act is *prima facie* entitled to receive re-vocational training, the only other stipulation of the law being that, in the opinion of the Vocational Board, the disabled man is unable, on discharge "to carry on a gainful occupation, to resume his former occupation, or to enter upon some other occupation, or having resumed or entered upon such occupation, is unable to continue the same successfully . . ." Thus the widest possible discretion is allowed.

No case entitled by law or merit should be or will be neglected.

PRACTICALLY NO HOPELESS CASES

THE Board has unlimited discretion in the selection of occupations and even professions in which to offer these disabled men re-education. It may employ existing institutions or establish new ones. It may make arrangements with shops, individuals or any other agency for giving these men the training they should have. There is

no time limit or expense limit; the allowances continue and all expenses are borne by the Government if a man is in training a month or years.

Wherever practicable and industrially advisable, the men will be urged to adopt occupations wherein they may make use of such experience as they had before entering the army.

For example, two men, who were butchers on enlistment, each lost a leg, and are now being prepared to become meat inspectors. In many cases, as in the two mentioned, the men will become fitted for higher and better-paying positions in the line of work they followed before going to war.

A former dairy worker has been sent to an agricultural college where he will be given a special course in dairy farming, so that hereafter he may supervise where before he only labored. A negro farmer, no longer able to follow the plow, has been sent to Hampton Institute, where he will be given a special course in poultry raising.

The Federal Board of Vocational Education has issued a pamphlet giving the occupations open to disabled men of every type. They number into the hundreds and the list is far from complete.

There are practically no hopeless cases, except those suffering from permanent mental derangement and all of those are not hopeless.

Dr. Bourillon, the French re-educationist, declares: "It would be rash to draw up a limited list of the trades which can be taught to the mutilated, for often an ingenuity and unsuspected skill allows of their doing work which at first sight seemed to be impossible."

It is the duty of the Board to aid the men to secure positions after training is completed. In this part of the work no great difficulty is expected, for the leaders of industry, or organized labor, and all outside agencies are offering every reasonable cooperation. In time, of course, these men will be subject to the same economic laws that affect all labor, but they will have the extra security coming

from the fact that there rarely is an over-supply of skilled workers.

The policy will be to give disabled soldiers, after they leave the hospitals, opportunity for re-education so specialized that their superior training will enable them to successfully compete for employment in occupations useful and paying, in spite of disabilities caused by injuries.

ONE PER CENT OF ALL SOLDIERS NEED REHABILITATION

HOW many men will come under the terms of the law no one can safely estimate. The experience of Canada and Great Britain up to last Spring was that one per cent of all sent to the front would need rehabilitation along vocational lines, and can be greatly aided thereby.

Unfortunately, many thousands of men who probably are entitled to the benefits of the law were discharged from the forces before it went into effect. They suffered disabilities as a rule before being sent abroad. A large number of them had or have had tuberculosis and other disabling diseases.

The Board now is undertaking to locate those men and wherever attention is needed to see that such is given.

It is the duty of the Board to see that training is carried on as near as feasible to the man's home.

It will keep in touch with the work through fourteen district offices located in the following cities: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Atlanta, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Kansas City, Denver, Dallas, San Francisco and Seattle. Those offices will be in charge of experts who will look after the men in each of the districts covered.

I will not give in detail work being done by the Federal Board for Vocational Education; but I urge those desiring information upon the subject to write directly to the Board. They have literature prepared and being prepared which will be most useful.

OVER-SENTIMENTALIZING INJURIOUS

AN obstacle in the way of the complete performance of the work of rehabilitation is the tendency to over-sentimentalize about the subject in question. This tends to cause some who are disabled to unduly estimate their handicaps and to become fixed in the belief that they face hopeless futures. It also may lead some into adopting new occupations more unique than practical, and upon which they cannot safely depend.

The public may take a very important part in this work, and it can begin by restraining the natural, and in a way admirable, impulse toward sentimental and emotional excesses in dealing with the disabled soldier.

"The great publics of our countries do not yet, I think, see that they, too, have their part in this sacred work," said Lord Charnwood at the Inter-Allied Conference on the After-Care of Disabled Men in London recently. "So far they only seem to feel: 'Here's a wounded hero; let's take him to the movies and give him tea.' Instead of choking him with cheap kindness, each member of the public should seem to reinspire the disabled man with the feeling that he is no more out of the main stream of life than they are themselves; and each, according to his or her private chances, should help him to find that special niche which he can best, most cheerfully, and most successfully fill in the future.

"The more we drown the disabled in tea and lip gratitude the more we unsteel his soul, and the harder we make it for him to win through, in the years to come, when the wells of our tea and gratitude have dried up."

I commend the above warning to the American public, without, of course, suggesting that there be the least cessation in sensible attention to our returning heroes.

The public should be further warned against the danger of acquiring a warped and partially false perspective of the subjects to be dealt with and the way they must be dealt with. Popular publications have circulated much in the

way of reading matter and pictures on this question but the bulk of it bears on those phases most appealing to the imagination. We read much about what is done for "cripples," particularly the maimed and the blind. No one would withhold an item of praise or encouragement for the wonderful things, therapeutically and vocationally being done for the most highly pathetic types of the disabled, like the blind, the armless, or the legless. Yet we should not forget that they constitute a very small proportion of all those who must be restored physically and occupationally. Seventy-five per cent or more of the total are disabled in such ways as are not visible on casual observation. Of all the Canadians who have returned from the war, fewer than fifty are blind.

We will care for our injured soldiers, and will broaden our conception of national responsibility to cooperate with the states that all our citizens may be given better opportunity to prepare for the pleasures and burdens of life.

OUR DAILY MEAT

From the Breeder—Feeder—Commission Man—Packer
—Retailer to Consumer

By EDWIN WILDMAN

OUR daily meat has become the subject of a controversy that is somewhat disquieting to the consumer, not to mention the meat packer, the commission man, the stock raiser, and the retail butcher. Along with other commodities and food products meat has soared to top prices. Whether this is due to the shrinking purchasing power of the dollar or to monopoly and control on the part of the packers, as the Federal Trade Commission has recently charged in its report to the President, or to profiteering on the part of the retailers, is both an economic and Federal problem. That the slaughtering of our daily meat is largely within the control of the five great packers, at Chicago, is undoubtedly true, as pointed out by the Commission. But whether that control is operated to the disadvantage of the consumer, or to his benefit is a question upon which the meat packers and the government investigators hold varying opinions.

The public, as consumer, has a right to have its meat at fair prices, providing the war needs are supplied. The public has a right to know if any of the various purveyors of its meat are illegally profiteering. The government has a right to interfere with such practice, wherever they exist, and to enter into the meat situation, and take command or regulate or punish any malefactor who interferes or excessively profits upon the supply for war or home consumption.

Exhaustive investigations have been made and are still being made by the Federal Trade Commission and the Bureau of Markets to ascertain just where and what is the cause of high prices and control.

Fortunately there does not seem to be any question as to the excellence of our meat supply and as to its adequacy.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, we shipped to our Allies more than three billion pounds of meat; to be exact our shipments were 3,011,100,000 pounds. This fiscal year, which will end next June, the shipments will be far greater if the present export per cent continues, as we have been sending over as high as four hundred millions of pounds a month which, maintained, will total about five billion pounds for the year.

Yet we are sending to our Allies only about 30 per cent of our total amount of meat, which means that the meat packers of the United States butchered, prepared and sold more than ten billion pounds last year.

These export figures do not include the meat that we are sending over for our own soldiers, at this writing two million men.

We are raising more livestock today, we are killing and packing more meat, we are exporting more and we are eating more meat at home than ever before in our history!

A MEAT EATING NATION

OUR two million soldiers overseas and our million or thereabouts in training here are eating more meat than they would in civil life, for in civil life they would consume pies, cakes and other foods that are not practical to serve in army service. Laborers are eating more meat than ever before, because, despite the higher prices the retailers are charging for meats, as the average laborer is making from two to three times as much money and can afford to buy more meat now than he could before the war.

The Food Administration's constant plea for conservation of food has not fallen upon deaf ears. In the homes of the great, but underpaid, middle class, the housewives have intelligently sought to conserve the daily meat. Nine million people take their meals in public places. Owners of these places have been enjoined to help conserve meat.

The whole process of handling our daily meat is one of the most gigantic industries of the Nation. It is a business that cannot be left to itself, no more than can coal, steel or

grain, be permitted to remain, untouched by Federal consideration. If there is actually a monopolistic control or illegal profiteering in any link of the great meat chain that link must be tempered in accordance with the rest of the chain. Where our daily food is concerned, our life, health and happiness is at stake, every consumer is permitted to voice a protest, if unfair practices stand between him and his essential ration.

FROM THE HOOF TO THE HOUSEWIFE

MEAT in its various stages is subject to such various conditions and undergoes so many handlings that the human element protrudes itself all along the line. This holds good from the rainfall in the grazing districts to the condition of crops used in fattening the herds just before the slaughter; from the hoof that in life tramps the plains to the dressed carcass that reaches the retailer and from the retailer to the housewife. There is but one product in its varied functionings—animal food, whether cow, hog or sheep.

In the various stages of progress from the ranch to the butcher's block in your corner meat market, this daily meat of ours passes through a complicated series of accumulation and distribution, all of which to a large degree is subject to the laws of supply and demand, to the human element, shrewdness in buying, skill in packing and cleverness in selling.

The packer buys at the best advantage in the stockyards and sells at the best advantage from his branch distributing houses to the local meat market men; the retailer adds his profit—a profit the government has stipulated, and sells to the consumer. If the packer controlled both ends he could bear the prices at the stockyards and bull the market price at the distributing house. This the Federal Trade Commission claims that he does; this the Big Five, of Chicago, claim they do not. In a measure, however, it seems that they do largely dominate prices at the stockyards because of the fact that they are the largest buyers; in a like manner their prices to their distributing houses is the prevailing price, because

they are the largest sellers, but whether their control at either end is at the expense of the public pocket or to its advantage, is a question that only a comprehensive all-encompassing investigation can ascertain.

It is claimed that the packer can force the sale of animals shipped to the yards by high yardage charges and high charge for grain to feed the yard-stored animals; that the packer can refuse to buy at the stockyards at unprofitable prices if the demand does not warrant purchase. It is apparent that this could be done, in a degree. That he can "rig" prices in collusion with buyers and commission men is charged. Packers emphatically deny this and maintain that the yards are an open market where purchases are made in competition with others, that the yardage and feed supply is not excessive, and that they are willing to relinquish their part ownership in stockyards.

That the packer's distributing house can refuse to sell, at a lowering price to the consumer, and thereby hold up the retailer, is further charge. Live animals will keep and the farmer or commission man can refuse to ship to an oversupplied demand, but the dressed or killed product must be sold. This is the position and claim of the packers. True, it can be frozen, but our domestic markets do not take frozen meat except in extremely small quantities. Beef for our Allies and our own forces overseas is frozen because it is thus easier to handle, takes less ship space in days when every foot is needed, and keeps better, making more certain its availability when wanted. Pickled and smoked products may be held and more nearly stabilized in price with relation of the laws of supply and demand.

THE BIG PACKERS AND THE LITTLE BUTCHERS

IN the summary of the report of the Federal Trade Commission the onus is laid on the "Big Five." The investigators reported that these five packers killed 70 per cent of the live stock slaughtered. Says the report: "Control of the meat industry carries with it not only control of all kinds of fresh and preserved meats, but in addition a very great

competitive advantage in more than a hundred products and by-products arising in connection with their preparation and manufacture, ranging in importance from hides and oleomargarine to sandpaper and curled hair. In all these lines the Big Five's percentage of control, as compared with other slaughterers, is greater even than the percentage of animals killed because of the fact that many of the small packers are not equipped or have been unable to utilize their by-products."

The summary also points out that their control is extended to fish, poultry, milk, butter, cheese, all kinds of vegetable oil products, canned fruits and vegetables, staple groceries, rice, breakfast foods, fertilizers, leather, wool, cold storage, extensive dealings with banks and in real estate. In presenting its evidence the Federal Trade Commission showed a chart giving the interlacing interests of the Big Five in 108 allied businesses, banks and industries.

That there is illegal profiteering by local retail butchers at the expense of the housewife, is unquestioned. In fact this war profiteer has come under the Federal Food Board, to his sorrow frequently. He is so numerous and so active in his wiles that he is hard to catch. Sixty-two of them were recently rounded up in New York. They were arrested and fined, some charging from 5 to 20 cents per pound in excess of the prices permitted by the Food Board. But even his profiteering, while grossly excessive and unquestionably a cause of just complaint on the part of the public, does not solve the larger economic aspects of the meat control. The small or petty cheater can always be landed. He is a pest and beclouds the issue, but in time, under proper regulations and penalties, can be made to behave. He has the public direct to deal with and the cheated housewife makes herself effectively a check upon his violations of the laws.

THE QUESTION OF CONTROL AND MONOPOLY

THE large issues rest with larger handlers of our animal industry, in which there are three apparently warring factions; the live stock owners, who sell at the stockyards; the commission men and speculators who buy for the packers

or on their own account; and the ultimate local buyers and sellers to the consumers. The live stock owners send their animals to the stockyards, when they must sell or pay for yardage and feed. It is here that the Federal Trade investigations point out a position of vantage on the part of the packers, whose prices and percentages appear to be in collusion. The packers, however, assert that the stability of the laws of supply and demand, and their own daily demands in accordance with their facilities for slaughtering and dressing meat, govern the prices bid, and not "rigging" or collusion. That there is an opportunity for collusion and control is apparent, since the Big Five handle 70 per cent of our meat supply. That they do control to the lowering of prices and the forcing of sales is denied by them, though the Federal Trade Commission presents in its report evidence to show that the packers divide what live stock they buy in agreed proportions, each packer having a set percentage of the total purchased by all five; this percentage being maintained whether a half of the normal supply comes to the market or a double quantity.

Here, it seems, is projected the whole question of Big Business, the Government and the People. It is not a new question and one that has been threshed out in the case of Steel, Oil, and for War efficiency, the Railroads. Just how far the Federal Government may advantageously assume ownership of our big business is, in the last analysis, for the people to decide. As yet Government ownership in this country is largely an experiment and not a very profitable one.

To project the argument here would be untimely just now, but it is scouted, by our best economists if government ownership is advisable and compatible with our fundamental conceptions of democracy. The invasion of any man's rights is open to judicial supervision, in relation to Justice to all.

As the question of meat is under supervision and the packing industry under consideration, their position in the matter, and their "defense" is properly a matter of consideration. In this connection I give space to the argument of Prof. L. D. Weld, former head of the business administra-

tion of the Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, former Commissioner for the Bureau of Markets of the Department of Agriculture and now manager of the research department of Swift & Company. He says:

THE POSITION OF THE PACKERS

“**W**HEN one really studies the packing business, he finds so many evidences of rivalry and competition that the public belief that they work together appears absurd. The bidding of the packers’ buyers against each other; the jealousy with which each packer guards his position in the market by trying not to let other packers get ahead of him by purchasing larger parts of the live stock receipts than they have in the past; the manner in which the prices of live stock and dressed meat fluctuate together; the fact that retail storekeepers shop around from the distributing house of one packer to the distributing houses of the others; the fact that smaller packers are in evidence in all parts of the country, and that those that are efficiently managed are prosperous—those and many other things are proofs of free competition.

“The recent report of the Federal Trade Commission stated that sixty-five of the largest packers outside of the five leading ones earned during 1914, 1915 and 1916, profits as high as or slightly higher than those earned by the five large ones.

“The fact that the profits of the packer amount to only a fraction of a cent a pound of meat (or to only 3 or 4 cents on each dollar of sales) absolutely dispenses the common impression that packers’ profits are responsible for high meat prices.

“Some people say that the packers are giving out misleading information when they say their profits are only a fraction of a cent a pound, on the ground that this profit does not include the profit from by-products. The facts in this case are as follows: The packers’ profits figures for their meat departments do include the profits from the preparation and sale of the regularly recognized commercial by-products, such as cured hides, tallow, refined oleo oil, etc. These

products are either sold to outside buyers or to other departments of the business, such as leather tanneries, soap works, or the oleomargarine department. When transferred to other departments they are done so at the regular market price at the time of sale. The packers' profits on meat do not include the profits of these other outside departments such as the soap works, for example. The soap department of one of the largest packers buys only 10 per cent of its raw materials from the meat department. There is no reason why the profit on soap should be included in the profit on meat, in order to give a correct figure. But the profit on the 10 per cent of prepared raw materials transferred to the soap department is included in the profit on meat. Last year Swift & Company's profit on all products, including soap, leather, etc., was only a little over half a cent a pound.

THE PACKERS OUTSIDE OF THE BIG FIVE

“IN 1917 there were 833 slaughtering houses located in 253 cities and towns subject to inspection by the United States Department of Agriculture. The five large packers account for only about 60 per cent of their output. And besides the inspected houses, there are scores of slaughter houses which do not do interstate business and which are not listed as subject to Government inspection. It is true that many of these houses are small and do a local business; but there are a great many that do an important interstate business and that are in flourishing condition financially. In fact, packers outside of the five largest have certainly held their own during the last ten years, both in numbers and in relative volume of business done.

“To say that a large number of small packers scattered throughout the producing sections would result in as high a degree of efficiency and in greater satisfaction than the present concentration into large companies overlooks many factors. In the first place, the most economical organization of the packing industry depends not only on distance from producing sections and to consuming centres, but on ability to draw enough animals to operate houses that are large enough

to gain the maximum benefits from large-scale production, division of labor and utilization of by-products. The largest packer in the United States now operates over twenty packing establishments, scattered throughout the country, and all the packers are constantly studying conditions, with view to establishing new houses whenever the supply of live stock at hand is sufficient to permit economical operation. Possibly the large packers themselves are in as good position as anyone to judge accurately of these matters.

“Unless consolidated, small packers cannot build up a system of refrigerated branch houses covering the whole country such as the large packers have done. Small companies can only do a small local business and only large companies can properly handle the surplus millions of live stock from the West and distribute the products over great distances. Only such an organization as now exists could begin to supply the hundreds of millions of pounds of meats that are needed every month throughout this country, by our soldiers abroad and by our Allies in Europe!

“If there were a monopoly among the big packers, if there were collusion as to prices I would not have been with them a year! A year’s research has made it clear to me that there is no monopoly or collusion.”

THE COMMISSION’S CHARGES AND THE PACKER’S VIEWS

THE Federal Trade Commission’s report, however, charges that the Big Five, Swift & Company, Armour & Company, Morris & Company, Wilson & Company and Cudahy Packing Company, are using their power to: “Manipulate live-stock markets; Restrict interstate and international supplies of food; Control the prices of dressed meats and other foods; Defraud both producers of food and consumers; Crush effective competition; secure special privileges from railroads, stockyard companies, and municipalities, and Profiteer.”

Naturally the packers are on the defensive in so far as their personal honor and their business integrity are concerned, but thoroughly resigned as to the objective of the Government if its rulings will benefit the industry and help

to win the war. And, quite as naturally, they are critical as to whether there is animus in the investigation.

"Not a soldier has gone without meat for a single meal at home or abroad since the war began," Louis F. Swift told me during a recent visit to the Chicago packing plants.

"We have done everything asked of us," he continued, with emphasis. "We are willing that the Government should take over our refrigerator cars and as for the stock-yards, they are already regulated by the United States Department of Agriculture. We have no objection to the Government's taking them over completely if they will conduct them as economical and as efficiently as they are now run!"

"We do not believe that taking over branch and storage houses would be practical. It would destroy personal responsibility and initiative in the handling of a highly perishable product, where only the greatest skill and the longest experience can succeed. We are willing, and eager, to co-operate with the Government on any practical combination plan. We are in open and honest competition with every other packer!"

"At the beginning of the war Armour & Company offered its services, the services of every official and every employe, to any and all work that it could perform in contributing to the successful conduct of and final winning of the war," said Mr. J. Ogden Armour. "We are doing all that we can," he said, "and I reiterate a thousand times this statement. Naturally I resent the charge of unlawful methods or monopoly control. The packing house business has been under Federal control since November 1, 1917, through the agency of the United Food Administration.

"The live-stock cars of the packers are under the control of the Government's Railroad Administration; the Government Bureau of Markets assumed control of the stock-yards July 25th last while it was the Food Administration that deemed it advisable to leave the refrigerator cars under control of the packers, but the branch houses, the cold storage houses and the refrigerator plants are now under control of the Food Administration.

Mr. Thomas E. Wilson of Wilson & Co., and the others of the packers were equally emphatic in their denial of any monopoly on their part or of any unfair practices.

THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE NOT AS DRASTIC AS THE
PACKERS THINK

THE Government's attitude is doubtless not quite as drastic as some of the packers seem to think. The Federal Trade Commission, in its report and recommendations to the President, seeks to make it plain that it suggests the acquiring by the Government of such of the storage houses and marketing terminals as would open to all manufacturers and handlers of food products equal opportunities for all to market food products to the local retailers—all coming under Government control and inspection—for the purpose of eliminating unfair privileges and producing efficiency for all food purveyors.

The apparent intention of the Government is not to deny the rights of the packers to compete or to discourage their efficiency, but to turn their important branches of distribution into public markets. The success of this undertaking will depend upon the ability of men selected to manage the markets and the measure of service rendered.

In the meantime it is the position of Chairman William B. Colver, of the Federal Trade Commission, "that the Commission is the 'traffic cops' of business. When business gets going too fast we turn it to the right or slow it down or, if it is not speeding up for war interests, we make recommendations, but always within the legal status of authority conferred upon us by Congress and we are here to prevent monopoly."

Whatever comes out of the meat controversy will probably result to the public's benefit. The small retailer butcher will be brought to recognize the importance of obeying the law, the packer will continue to be under Government regulation, the live stock dealer will have his day in the court of public opinion, and the public will know something about how his daily meat is handled from the hoof to the local butcher shop.

TO "HER" AT HOME

BEING THE LETTERS OF PVT. FRANCIS L. FROST,
A. E. F., FRANCE

I HAVE been doing considerable traveling in connection with my trip abroad, and I am seeing, hearing, and doing interesting things. I remember how you told me that some of the boys complain that they can't write interesting letters because of the strict censorship, while others manage to send regular stories. I can sympathize with the former. Of course we can't write about the big things we see and hear, the things that are counting heavily for the Allies, and that are Oh, so encouraging! But we can tell you at home to hold your heads high when the American soldier in France is spoken of, for he is making things hum, learning all he can, and putting it into use in such an effective manner that France idolizes him; and the latter fact, far from turning his head, is giving him a truer view of what the French mean by *camaraderie*. You should see a bunch of blue-clad poilus—veterans, too—going along a pretty French road, singing a lilting song, a smile on their faces, and the very ends of their waxed mustaches bristling with the unconquerable spirit of France!

The Australians are a fine body of men, too, and they and the Americans get along splendidly. One sees many races of men gathered together to do for the Allies, and it makes one appreciate the fact that this is a world war.

Just now I am in a British Y. M. C. A. hut. It is crowded with Americans, and the atmosphere is distinctly U. S. On an improvised stage is an antique piano, and there is a crowd gathered around it singing rag-time. Just now it is "The Sunshine of Your Smile." Last night there was a concert here, given by some French war workers. A young poilu with numerous service and wound stripes, played the violin wonderfully. There was a 'celloist, too, and a young French girl who sang French, American, and Italian songs.

She sang "Don't cry, little girls, don't cry. They have broken your doll, I know!" She had all the expression of the French, coupled with a fine voice, and she was a real beauty. Imagine the effect on a bunch of American boys. They'd have had her singing all night if possible.

When we marched to camp we had plenty of chance to try out our French with the children, who ran along with us and begged for "un sou" or a collar button. Many of them talk a little English, and if any at all, it is always good. They are serious minded little folk, God knows. But they are happy, nevertheless, and glad to see "Sammée." I have found that it is association with the people that alone can teach us the language. I have to get out of ridiculous situations by writing in French. I did that with one little tot. She gravely scanned what I had written, nodded her head vigorously with a "Oui, je comprends," and then, taking my pencil, went over what I had written, and put in some graves and acutes I had left out, for all the world like a little school teacher. There is one stock phrase that I have learned to rattle off, because it is so handy, *Si vous voulez que je vous comprenne, il faut parler plus lentement*. Then they won't jabber away so fast and one can understand a little of what they mean.

CHEER UP AND "CARRY ON"

I HAVE been reading *Under Fire* too, a queer coincidence, but I was not able to get a translation, so I probably missed the style and got only the narrative. I can understand your desire to be over here under the circumstances you mention. It is but a normal and patriotic wish. But I am nevertheless constrained to set down one fact: No matter what you read about the war—no matter how horrible it may be or how vivid and active an imagination you may have—your mind can only conjure up a picture that falls as far from the truth as evil is from right. You may think I exaggerate. But there are millions of Poilus and Tommies and Sammées who have lived that life and talk about it with

a strange look in their eyes . . . but for you to express a desire to be undergoing these same things—well, I can't say it, but I only hope you understand! . . . Meanwhile, carry on, and forget about coming to France. You say you can "read such things" without a qualm, but there are reasons, as I said, that you can hardly appreciate. So cheer up, Miss Fire Eater, and continue to knit and cheer up your flock of soldier boys by writing your fine letters.

One of the boys in the Unit is sadly afflicted by the wiles of She who sells tickets at the movies here. He speaks no French, and she no English, but there seems to be some kind of language they both understand. Anyhow, a boat ride on the lake was on the program, and the enamoured Sammée "hired" me to go along as official interpreter and boat rower. Well, Barkis was willin', so I went. The thought struck me that I had them at my mercy, as it were. But I didn't take advantage of the fact, of course. I can't describe the situation to you very well, but I did more laughing during that expedition than I ever did before in my life. *Oo, la, la*, as the French say, it was to laugh, all right. Do you remember that picture on the *Post* of an American soldier in France, talking to a French demoiselle, with a dictionary. It's a common sight. The person that drew it must have had experience. Thank goodness, I can carry on a conversation, if not indulge in rhetoric. I can make Juliette understand!

BY MOTOR TRUCK TO THE FRONT

SINCE my last letter, I have changed my place of abode. Our journey was by truck, and as we had several which were in all stages of repair, it was necessary to tow them. Towing isn't a pleasant job, especially for the fellow on the truck being towed, as I found out. All the dust in the world comes a-whooping up into your face and the Lord only knows when the guy that's towing you is going to stop and let you pile up on his rear.

Willie was piloting a truck that had no brakes, and he had an interesting job. He broke his tow rope about twenty

times on the trip and of course the whole bunch had to stop. There are many picturesque curves and steep grades on the road we took, and the driver of the truck that was towing Willie was particularly daredevil. He'd go rambling down one of these steep hills, around curves and over bumps, with the dust pouring up into Willie's face. Ten times out of eleven he'd have to slow up for the truck ahead at the bottom of the hill. If Willie was caught unaware, he would smash into the front truck, and if not, the best he could do would be to steer to one side and let the tow rope catch him up. Then both trucks would slough all over the road and nearly upset. Poor Willie was nearly crazy. Every time we stopped, he got out and harangued the crowd, "Honestly, boys, it's hell!" he kept repeating. "Dick up front goes whooping along and how the devil am I going to know when he's going to stop?" But we'd tell him, "Cheer up, Willie, there's a whole radiator and engine between you and the front truck; and you don't have to worry until they're smashed." So every time the train stopped we would gather around Willie's truck and take exact measurements on the angle at which his radiator was bent and figure on how many more smashes he could have before the next one would get him.

By this time it was getting late and we were all dusty and grimy and dry and very tired. But there was a long way to go yet, and go we did, in spite of the faint moonlight which made everything very deceptive. You were never sure whether the truck ahead of you was two feet or a hundred away; and there was one bit of open road, about which the orders were, "Go like hell and don't raise any dust." We obeyed the "go" part, but the dust was not conspicuous by its absence.

The wee hours were coming on as we neared our destination, when the leading truck gave up the ghost for want of gas, with a dying choke, amid the expletives of its crew which he heard all along the column. There are times, as the writer George Pattulo says, when profanity ceases to be profanity and becomes a picturesque art. Thus it was then.

The surplus supply of gas was some way behind, but finally we were ready to go ahead and at last pulled in at the end of our journey sometime before dawn. As soon as the trucks were lined up everyone climbed in back to flop for a few hours until morning, with the ever present "rumble-rumble-roomp" of the "big boys" to lull us to sleep. The next morning—Oh, blessed soap and water, Oh, blessed fried spuds and bacon!

We have become accustomed to the sound of the big guns long since. It is interesting to watch them shooting at the planes Fritz sails over in, to see the little puffs of smoke, where the shells are coming ever closer to him, until he runs for his own lines, or—once in a while, is shot down.

What is left of this town is very nice. But there is a lot that isn't left that must have been nicer once upon a time. Les Boches sojourned here for a while, and got peeved because the French preferred to have them elsewhere. So when they left in haste they blew most of the big buildings sky high, for which act they are suffering right now. In this new offensive Fritz is butting his ivory dome against a defense that is, as the French say, *absolument irreductible*, and last reports say that allied counter attacks are forcing them back. Oh, girl, the Germans have got about as much chance as the proverbial snowball in hell! Just so! As I heard one poilu exclaim this morning as he read the paper: "Oo, la, la! Just look at what those Yankee kids are doing!"

"OH, SO ENCOURAGING"

MUCH boom-boom-boom in this vicinity just now. Also buzz-z-z-z-z-z-z-z overhead at night. But Fritz, as I mentioned before, keeps pretty well up in the clouds. He doesn't seem to have half the nerve and pep that the Yanks, who are after him, have. More power to the Yanks!

You ask if the Censor won't let me tell of some of the things I referred to which are "Oh, so encouraging." What are they? One thing is the spirit of the boys over here. A million words have been written about it, but none will ever

express it rightly. A civilian, coming among the soldiers, would say he was not aware of it because he heard many complaints. That would show he did not understand the soldier. What soldier is there who does not kick? No matter how good a meal is dished up, he must bawl out the cook. He may kick, too, because he has a certain thing to do. But you'll notice he always *does* that thing well. There is where the spirit comes in. Secretary Baker says 300,000 more of the family reach France each month. Sounds encouraging. Americans in this last offensive have undertaken major operations alone, and have done as well as the best of the Allied troops. Sounds more encouraging, doesn't it? But you know all that. There are many other facts with the same encouraging qualities. But we are not over-confident. We know the hard row to be hoed. We know that when we come home we may have several of those gold service stripes on our left arm. But won't we be proud of them? I should say *yes!* You are beginning to see U. S. boys with two of those same stripes now. I saw several today. I won't get my first until November. I am quite certain of being here that long!

It is very kind of you not to ask me to put the name of the place I am at under the stamp! We don't use stamps anyhow over here. Besides by the time you got the letter, I should very likely be somewhere else—you bet I'll never be a tourist after the war. And, as you say, when Uncle Sam puts a censor somewhere it is not for us to do any dodging.

A FOREST MEETING

YOU ask me to tell you some of my experiences with the people of France. I had an adventure some time ago that will live in my memory. It seems strange to me now that I can remember so well the details of what I am about to write. When you read it you may understand, however. It is but one of a thousand similar incidents that must have happened in France, incidents that help us to a better understanding of the cause for which we are fighting.

One evening I sought quiet, and wandered far beyond

the outskirts of the town where we are billeted. It was not yet dark, for the days were still long and the evening was full of peace for those who love the silence of forests. I had been following for several hundred yards the course of a stream, and presently I came to a small clearing. It was a spot full of beauty; all around were the tall evergreens, now in the rays of the setting sun casting slanting shadows across the wavy grass of the clearing. The stream found its course around the edge of the little opening, emerging from the woods between two great granite rocks, to gurgle over a pebbly bottom, through the waving grasses again, bordered with blue fleur de lis, to finally disappear once more into the dimness of the woods beyond. Leaning against one of the great rocks, I surveyed the scene with satisfaction. It was just such a place that I had sought for—a place where one might go to read his book, perhaps, or to lounge among the grasses, gazing at the blue sky above and thinking thoughts of things far away; a place seemingly distant from war.

But on this particular evening I was not long alone. Hearing a sound above the murmur of the brook, I turned and saw standing near me an old French peasant who gazed abstractedly across the clearing.

“Good evening, Monsieur,” I said. He responded civilly. A moment of silence ensued.

“It is a wonderful evening,” I said at last.

“You speak truly, M’sieu,” he answered. He regarded me curiously for a moment. “You understand the French a little, yes?” I nodded. Again only the rippling sound of the stream broke the silence. The Frenchman leaned heavily against the rock.

“Yes, M’sieu, it is a wonderful evening. A beautiful spot, also. I come here every evening.”

“You find it so beautiful, then?”

“Ah, yes. But beautiful in a sad way. You see those tall fir trees, and the song they sing when the wind blows, you hear it; you see the waving grasses, and there is music in the brook. And over it all, you see draped the mantle of

the calm blue sky, now shot with gold from the rays of the setting sun. You see and hear all that, yes?"

"Yes, I see and hear all that."

Suddenly the old man's form straightened. His seemed to be the position of a soldier, save that his left arm held out an almost accusing finger, that pointed across the clearing.

"*Regardez, M'sieu!*" I looked, at his bidding, and saw what I had not seen before. Beneath the shadow cast by a long fir tree which stood apart from the rest, I saw what seemed to be three low mounds. Behind each, I saw a cross, and on each cross the round red, white and blue insignia that betokened the victim of an air-raid.

"*Les Boches,*" I said in a low voice.

"*C'est ca,*" the peasant answered simply. "They lie there, my wife, my little daughter, my baby son. And why? Le bon Dieu knows, and can we question?" He sighed heavily. "We are simple people here. We concern ourselves with the affairs of the soil. In the spring we plant, and in the autumn we harvest. Our life is full and pleasant. And then we heard one day that it was to be war. Those who remembered the days of '70 said that the Germans were coming to ravage the land again. The Mayor of the town yonder advised us to go to another village farther removed from the frontier. But there was the harvest coming. On it depended our very life. What should we do? Our existence was threatened in any case—we stayed."

THE HUNS ARRIVE

THE old man walked slowly across the clearing and stood looking down at the three mounds. I followed him and stood by, respectfully. For a long time he stood thus with bent head, silent, but it was not hard to guess his thoughts. "There came a night," he said at last, "when a heavy hand knocked on our door, and a German voice demanded entrance in the name of the Kaiser. The wife, clasping the baby boy in her arms, ran for the door behind. I seized my daughter's hand. In a moment we were running silently towards the woods. But the baby's cry was heard by the Germans. A

shot rang out, and the bullet whizzed close by. We ran but the faster. Another shot, and the wife stumbled—then fell—”

The Frenchman stopped speaking for a time.

“Perhaps it was better so. A painless death, before the filthy hands of the beasts could touch her. She was fair, and beautiful, she——, but you know, M’sieu. And the baby boy found his death against her breast, crushed in her fall. I had no need to look twice. I took the little girl in my arms, determined to dash her to death against those rocks yonder, rather than that she should be in the power of those wretches. The Germans came running out of the woods into this clearing and surrounded me—one of them struck at me with his saber, as I raised my arm to shield my little one——”

He held up his arm, and for the first time I saw that he had no right hand.

“——And then there was a blinding flash, a roar as of many thunders. And I knew no more. Look, M’sieu!” I looked, and saw a deep depression in the otherwise level surface of the clearing, as a shell hole, but now all grass grown. “Some German aviator must have blundered,” the peasant said. “Those beasts were sent to their last rest by the deadly dew dropped from the curse of their own making. For their evil, a sudden death—far better for such as they, the torture. And here I stand, unfit for service while France bleeds again——” he held up his handless arm—— “condemned to labor only in the fields while brothers and comrades know the trench. This in my youth!”

“Youth, M’sieu?”

“Yes. How many years do you think I have?”

I looked at him—his gray white hair, his bent form, his wrinkled face.

“Sixty?” I ventured.

“I will be thirty-eight next month, M’sieu. Now do you understand the meaning of the word *Revanche*!”

“There are a hundred million people across the seas, M’sieu,” I said, “who know these things. The sons of your Sister Republic are coming by the hundred thousands—will

come by the millions. I make no idle boast, M'sieu. But America has found an idealism from which she will not swerve. Our President has said that 'the day has come when America has the privilege to spend her blood and her might for the principles which gave her birth and the peace which so justly she cherishes. God helping her, she can do no other.' "

I will never forget those evening hours in that little clearing. Every detail is impressed indelibly on my mind. And think how significant that meeting was in one way. Suppose another German aviator could have looked down on that clearing that day. What would he have seen? He would have seen an old man, bowed down with grief, over the graves of his loved ones, typifying the challenge to humanity thrown down before humanity by this "heaven born" master who claims his power from God! And to that challenge he would have seen the defiant answer of a free people, symbolized by the presence of the simple soldier in khaki, who wore the uniform of the Army of the United States of America.

THE SPIRIT OF *camarades*

NO, it is not strange that the French and Americans become such good *camarades*. It is a case of mutual appreciation, hard to describe.

Right across the street from the school house where we are billeted is a "*Caves du Midi*"—a place, most informal, where a one time French soldier sells wines and beer. I have struck up an acquaintance with him, more on account of his tales, than of his wines—to tell the truth, this French red and white wine gets my goat from looking at it. His idol is America. America, he says, has solved the problem of world freedom, and if it hadn't been for her, France would be German now. He is quite old, and shows the effect of his turn in the trenches. It was the loss of one eye that gave him his discharge. After going scratchless through Verdun, he later fell from a horse and lit on a tree trunk. If that isn't

tough luck I don't know what is! That is the kind of thing that will happen to me, I suppose.

I haven't seen Bairnsfather's *Fragments from France*. I have seen human fragments, pathetic enough in appearance God knows, but Oh, so cheery! How little a thing a mere broken arm is beside some of them, and I thought I was feeling bad. More and more it is brought to us on how vast a scale things are done here. What is the future historian going to do? As you say, all this is a wonderful experience for a boy of twenty, and I am thankful that I can do what little I can.

HOW'S ATLANTA NOW?

The War Face of the Great Southern City

By DUDLEY GLASS

ATLANTA is taking the war seriously but not tearfully; she is sorry it had to be, but joyous at having a part in it. She sent her boys away with silken flags flying, and she is devoting herself now to taking the boys from other towns into her heart and showing them that she loves a soldier. There is no mourning in Atlanta, though the gold stars have replaced the blue on many a service flag in the windows of her homes; there is only rejoicing that the Americans are pressing on toward the Rhine and the hope that the Allies will make no peace until they have carried the flag to Berlin.

It is Atlanta's way to meet great situations joyously, exuberantly, and to "carry on" with a song. Atlanta will never admit that she can be injured by fire or flood or pestilence. She has accepted the hardships of war with a grin of good-humor; she has taken the profits where she could, though they have been few, for there have been no great war contracts here. She has given to the Red Cross and the Red Triangle; she has subscribed to the Liberty Loans; but she declines to be down-hearted.

I have heard visitors from the East say that we Southerners do not realize we are at war; that we are pursuing our daily lives just as in the years before the name of Belgium loomed large on the world map. But those Easterners did not know us. We have been in the war since it began. Our boys were filtering into the fight through Canada long before the Lusitania was sunk. We were watching the career of Kiffin Rockwell, of Atlanta and America, as he piloted a French airplane when the flying game was young, and we honored him and envied him the sacrifice he made.

But we are accustomed to air our joys and keep our sorrows to ourselves; to flock together for our rejoicings; and talk of serious matters only among our intimates.

THE SOUTH MORE AMERICAN THAN "SOUTHERN"

WE have never been sorry we were at war, I think. The South has been inclined to look upon Woodrow Wilson as little short of infallible. When he advocated watchful waiting, we waited and watched, albeit with some impatience. When he decided that the time for waiting was over, we rejoiced openly. Our eighteen months of war have brought us regulation and restriction which stepped hard upon the toes of our traditional states' right conviction, but the one or two politicians who tried to make capital of opposition to the administration learned that the South was more American than Southern. Witness the defeat of Senator Hardwick, of Georgia, one of the most popular of her sons. President Wilson had only to intimate that he preferred the election of a more friendly candidate. The next week Senator Hardwick was buried in the discard.

We are not glad we are at war. But we are not moping over it. We are sending our young men overseas to fight beside the young men of New England and the West for the honor and glory of the United States, and we are sending them with a song on our lips, though our eyes may be dim with tears. We present them with silken colors, embroidered by the hands of young girls, and our regiments—where there are regiments that maintain an identity—have girl "sponsors" to bid them good bye. For we are very proud in the South of the boys who go to fight, and we are not ashamed to display our pride. There is none of Chicago's "Indian face" in Atlanta. We cheer wildly when the colors go waving by, and our hats are off when the bands play "The Star Spangled Banner." We are even learning to stand up when the musicians play "The Marsellaise," if some one who recognizes the air gives us the example.

Perhaps our thousands of soldiers help us keep up the military spirit. We have forty thousand or more at Camp Gordon, twelve miles out the famous Peachtree Road. We have a big general hospital at Fort McPherson, the old post of the Seventeenth Infantry, regulars, two miles to the south and just beyond is the new Camp Jesup, where thousands of trained mechanics in uniform are engaged in rebuilding everything from a five-ton motor truck to a broken pistol.

THE WAR PARADE ON ATLANTA'S FIFTH AVENUE—PEACHTREE STREET

A CITY couldn't very well forget the war when its streets are dotted with soldiers. There's never a day when the olive drab isn't as plentiful on the streets as the palm beach which is the usual civilian summer attire, and on Saturdays, why, it looks as though an army had invaded Atlanta again. The young man in civilian clothing is something to turn and look at.

There's an institution in Atlanta of many years' standing—or walking. It is called the Peachtree parade. Peachtree street, as everyone knows who has traveled a bit, is to Atlanta what Fifth Avenue and Broadway combined are to New York. One end of it is lined with the retail stores. It stretches out through the automobile district, where they call it Gasoline Row, and on beneath the spreading shade trees past handsome old homes (though the business houses are marching steadily out the street) into the open country, where it becomes Peachtree Road. And every afternoon it is lined with women and girls, dressed in their best, who stroll from the home section past the old residences which have become boarding houses, past the block after block of automobile agencies, into the shopping district, to see and be seen.

It has always been worth watching, this Peachtree parade on a sunny afternoon, for Atlanta women and Atlanta girls are surely as easy on the eyes as those of any other city, and their reputation for taste and elegance in

dress has spread far and wide. But nowadays the parade is worth traveling many a mile to see, for beside the girls are the officers and men from the camps, especially on Saturdays, when leaves of absence are plentiful. They swing down the street in pairs and quartets and sextets, spreading across the sidewalks and unwittingly crowding such unimportant persons as middle-aged married folk into the street. They fill the soda water emporiums to overflowing, and stand three deep before the candy counters, and when the lights are turned on the movies the rows are seen to be filled with olive drab. The theatres, which had a hard struggle in some parts of the country last season, were saved in Atlanta by the throngs of soldiers who flocked to every performance, even though it meant a twelve-mile taxi drive back to camp at midnight. And not many of the soldiers went to theater without a girl. You'd think there surely couldn't be a fourth enough girls to go round, but providence and the country cousins solved the problem. I believe every girl in Georgia and the Carolinas who has a relative resident in Atlanta has spent the summer here.

It's very well for the home boys, perhaps, that they're nearly all in the service, for the young man in civilian attire appears to have no place remaining in the social life of Atlanta. The dinner dances at the clubs are for the officers and men of the camps—one might save words by saying, "for the soldiers," for Atlanta, socially speaking, has declined to make a distinction between leather leggings and canvas, no matter how furious a gray-moustached major of the old army may become at finding his one-step "broken" by Private Jones of Company C, First Replacement Regiment. Atlanta has opened her homes to the soldiers freely and lavishly. There is rarely a Sunday dinner or tea which has not a few soldier guests, and in the occasional instances where some fledgling lieutenant has ventured a hint that officers and enlisted men do not mix well the reply has been:

"You are all guests in my home, and all beneath my roof are my friends and my equals."

WOMEN IN THE WAR SPIRIT

WELL, Well! Somebody has said that no Southerner could speak for five minutes or write five hundred words without reference to the beauty and chivalry of the Southland. Perhaps he was right.

But our women are such a great part of Atlanta in war time that one naturally writes of them first of all. And it isn't merely in the "society" department, or the entertainment of the soldiers. Our women, three generations of them, are doing a very large part of the war work of Atlanta.

There's a great deal of this war work here, too, not only because of the three big camps, but because Atlanta is the southeastern headquarters of the American Red Cross Society, the Liberty Loan organization, the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. and of practically every organized war activity known to America. Their headquarters fill floor after floor of the office buildings. Their warehouses occupy scores of store buildings on hidden-away streets. There are thousands of typewriters clicking and hundreds of motor trucks humming on the business of these new industries. The office building elevators are filled with newcomers, some in the uniform of the organization, some burying beneath civilian hats a string of titles which bring fresh profanity from the newspaper copyreaders who must struggle with the reams of "publicity" which emanates from these officers. For, it may be remarked in passing, there seems to be a publicity director, three assistant publicity directors and a half-dozen plain press agents for each separate branch of these war activities, and the editorial room wastepaper baskets threaten to strain the back muscles of the office boys.

Much of this work is done by paid employees, serving under "dollar a year" or nothing a year general directors, but a great deal of it is handled by volunteers, principally women of the well-to-do class who took special courses in stenography and office work to qualify themselves for the positions.

But it is in the patriotic clubs that Atlanta women are

putting forth their greatest efforts. There is a big Red Cross Chapter, of course, with its many workrooms and branches, and a War Camp Community Service, whose duty and pleasure it is to provide the soldiers in camp and city with concerts and vaudeville and open air "sings" and minstrel shows and free automobile drives and everything that a soldier could desire that is not provided "by issue" from the quartermaster's department. There is a large fund provided for this work, maintained by public subscription, and several prominent men and hundreds of women are devoting almost their entire time to making the soldiers' off hours happy. The women have had their own committees in every "drive" since the war, too, and never have they failed to "put it all over the men" in raising their quotas—perhaps because they hastened to obtain subscriptions from their husbands and their husbands' corporations before the men's committees could reach them.

ATLANTA NOT AFTER WAR PROFITS

ATLANTA has been hit rather hard by war prices and war scarcities, and she has had few war profits to balance them on her ledger. Besides, whatever profits there are have fallen to a few, while the burdens are distributed among the many. Ours is not a great manufacturing city, though we have a fair share of factories, and there are no great government work payrolls such as Detroit and Cleveland and Pittsburgh enjoy.

Perhaps it is because our manufacturers have not tried as hard as they might to obtain government contracts. We are an independent lot of folk down here, deeply imbued with the feeling that we are perfectly able to run our own business in our own way. The unions are bad enough, though Atlanta labor is only twenty per cent unionized, but having a young lieutenant snooping around our factories and telling us to do this and not do that is unbearable—I am speaking from the manufacturer's viewpoint, now. But I believe that

when the manufacturers really understand that they can do a service to the government, that they are actually needed, they will set aside their own preferences and begin to turn out more goods for the armies. There is a great deal of this war work under way in our factories now, but by no means all there should be.

No, the war hasn't brought big profits to Atlanta, unless it is to the owners of rental property. The only serious complaint of profiteering has been brought about by the high rents charged the wives of soldiers who followed their husbands to the city. Apartments which might have been rented for thirty-five dollars a month two years ago have jumped to sixty dollars and more, and cottages and bungalows bring rentals beyond reason. It is admitted that changed conditions make some increase reasonable, but a hundred per cent jump is looked upon by the victims as uncalled for. And, of course, the high rents are bearing just as hard upon the home folks who must rent houses. It has made the labor situation difficult. Wages have climbed. The "laboring classes" as we have been accustomed to call them, are earning more than they ever dreamed of, while the salespeople in the stores and the clerks in the corporation offices are struggling to pay for three meals a day from salaries but slightly increased since the war began. If it had not been for the food administration's curb on prices—which has not gone half as far as some of us would like—some of our people would be suffering this fall for actual lack of sustenance.

LABOR INDIFFERENT AND INDEPENDENT IN EXCESSIVE PROSPERITY

BUT the labor situation has reached a point so serious that it forms the topic of discussion wherever two or three men or women meet. We have depended upon the negro for our physical labor and our house work. There was a time when a dollar a day obtained the services of a pick wielder or an odd-job man, but that is in the dim past. The wage rose to a dollar and a half a long time ago. But nowadays

the negro man will not consider working for less than three dollars a day, while the untrained servant girl demands five dollars a week and her meals for washing dishes and sweeping the floors. We wouldn't protest so much, perhaps, if we could keep them, even at those wages. But here is where the peculiar disposition of the negro comes in.

The negro—and I am writing of the negro as a class and not of the many individual negroes who are thrifty and ambitious—desires a place to sleep, no matter how dirty and insanitary and generally uncomfortable, an outfit of gaudy clothing, and three meals, and he is not, as ordinarily supposed, a gargantuan eater. Six dollars a week will buy him those essentials to happiness. Therefore, he works two days a week and spends the remaining five sauntering up and down Decatur street declaring his independence of the white man. The servant girl comes when she pleases and goes when the spirit moves her, and half the households in Atlanta are servantless at least three days of every week. Electric washing machines and kitchen labor saving devices have had a big sale in Atlanta this year, and the number of business men who breakfast at Childs, is remarkable in a city where half-a-dozen restaurants had a hard time to keep going a few years ago, owing to the Southerner's preference for home cooking and his habit of going home to luncheon even if it required two hours.

We must continue to depend upon the negro, however, for there is no substitute in the South, where the population is almost entirely of Anglo-Saxon or Scotch-Irish descent and there is no such thing as a white servant class. Atlanta is especially American. There is no other city of its size which has such a small proportion of citizens of foreign birth or immediate descent. We have a colony of Greeks, but they own and operate the restaurants and fruitstands and call no man master. We have a little Russia, but its inhabitants conduct cheap stores in the negro districts and build up tidy fortunes thereby. We had hardly enough Germans to support a Turn Verein in the period before the war, and the day after we entered the war there was none. We

have no Scandinavians, no Irish of the emigrant type; and the Jamaican negro has not yet learned there are elevators to be operated in our apartment houses and hotels. We must hire a Southern darky or do the work ourselves. We are learning to do it, too. One of our wealthiest bankers telephoned a few days ago to say he would be absent from a directors' meeting because he was plowing his farm. The manager of one of our big stores invites his friends out to his suburban home to see the new electric laundry he has installed in his basement, where he does the week's washing every Monday afternoon after business hours. And it is an ordinary thing to see a limousine built for a chauffeur being driven by the head of the family while his wife and her guests at a theater party sit behind the glass screen and communicate with him by means of the speaking tube.

ATLANTA WANTS THE WAR WON IN GERMANY

WE have had our share of everything the war has brought except spy scares and explosions. We gave up our annual season of Metropolitan Opera, upon which we had prided ourselves for eight years. We have contented ourselves with one teaspoonful of sugar in our breakfast coffee, though Southerners have a sweet tooth; we have sat on our verandas through a succession of sunny and inviting gasolineless Sundays; we have even faced iceless days in midsummer. An unprecedented drouth which has emptied the reservoirs in the mountains has curtailed our electric service and made our Great White Way as dark as a cavern and stopped half our elevators. And as I write this we are in the midst of an influenza scare which has closed the theaters and motion picture houses and prohibited all public gatherings, though the Southeastern Fair is in full swing and drawing larger throngs than ever before. We are feeling something more serious than that, now our boys are in the thick of the fighting over there. The great division we sent overseas from Camp Gordon included thousands of Atlanta boys; young officers just graduated from the

training school, boys drafted from every home, and the news has come that this division was in the great drive at St. Mihiel. There are many gold stars on the service flags which dot our streets. There were scores of gold stars carried by women in black in the service parade which marked the opening of our Liberty bond campaign. There is never a casualty list which does not bring a pang to some Atlanta home.

But Atlanta is taking the war joyously, for all that, and bravely. And over all the city is the conviction that this war should be won on German soil. The German acceptance of President Wilson's terms came over the wires a few days ago, and Atlanta, instead of rejoicing that the war appeared nearing its end, was indignant at the thought that our American soldiers who had sailed overseas to give the Hun the beating he deserved should be cheated of the opportunity to administer it.

THE DOLLAR MUST BE STABILIZED

A Plan to Prevent Harmful Fluctuation and Soaring Prices

By IRVING FISHER

[PROFESSOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS, YALE UNIVERSITY]

THE Great War which in the public mind at first eclipsed the "high cost of living", has finally thrust it again into the foreground. Since 1914, prices have been rising at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per month in this country, as compared to $1/5$ per cent per month before the war. Taking wholesale prices in the year 1913 as a standard, and calling the level then 100, the price level for the month of June, 1918, is represented by the figure 193. This is not a mere estimate, but is the result of calculations by the Bureau of Labor Statistics from wholesale price quotations collected monthly by them. No wonder that price fixing is a paramount issue today, and that the lagging behind of wage scales in the general advance causes acute discontent. The still greater increase, $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per month, in Russia was at least part cause of the Revolution, and the rise of 3 per cent per month in Germany and Austria must have played a part in the growing discontent and unrest of the people in those lands.

The very number of the theories put forward to explain the present soaring prices suggests that no one of them is fundamental or general. Scarcity, waste, and profiteering may explain individual cases, but for the general explanation they are not sufficient. We must look to the one factor common to all prices—the unit in which all prices are measured—the dollar. When the general price level rises, instead of searching for a multiplicity of individual causes, why should we not recognize that a depreciated dollar may be responsible? If the dollar lost in value, it would take a

greater number to pay for a particular commodity. A rising price level is equivalent to a decreasing purchasing power of the dollar.

We must not be deceived into the belief that, because our currency is on a gold basis, it is therefore stable. To be sure, the price of gold is always the same, *in terms of gold*, in the same way that a quart of milk is always equal to two pints of milk. Naturally, since money is gold, and since gold can, at any time, be money, they are always equivalent in terms of each other. But supply and demand take effect on gold just as they do on other commodities. The output of mines, changes in the methods of extracting the metal, the needs of foreign commerce, the development of credit systems, fashions in jewelry, etc., will always cause changes in the demand for and supply of gold, and hence in the value of the dollar. A chemist writes that he foresees the possibility of the utter wrecking of the gold standard through some discovery which, by enabling the working of many deposits now just below the level of profit, will flood the world with gold.

THE EFFECT OF THE LARGE IMPORTATION OF GOLD

THE present upward price movement showed itself almost immediately after the beginning of the War, following the importation of large quantities of gold in payment for munitions and supplies furnished to the European nations. The excess of currency in this country, even though it was gold currency and not paper, had somewhat the same effect in less degree as the Continental paper money inflation of the Revolution. At that time money was a drug on the market and was so cheap that the story is told of a Philadelphia barber who used it to paper the walls of his shop, calling it the cheapest wall paper he could get. Inflation can result not only from the issue of worthless paper money, but from the oversupply of currency of any form, even credit currency in excess of business needs. It is credit inflation that is responsible for the continued rise in the United States since

1914. Such excess is no advantage to a country as it would be to an individual, because, as an excess, it does not add to the purchasing power of the country. It simply results in a depreciated value for the dollar, and a consequent rise in prices.

At first thought this holding the dollar responsible for the high cost of living would seem to make the complaints about rising prices quite groundless. Since the dollar enters into all payments, all payments should increase in the same ratio, and in the end be the same as in the beginning except on a higher level. The injustice, which is sufficient cause for the complaints, lies in the fact that all payments do *not* rise proportionately. Many people receive payments in the form of salaries, annuities, life insurance, etc., which are comparatively fixed. These people suffer when prices are going up for their incomes remain the same in depreciated dollars. A similar injustice is done to all savings bank depositors, and bondholders. A rising price movement may leave them actually poorer in purchasing power at the end of a period of saving than at the beginning, the cost of living eating up all their interest and some of their capital in addition. Wages also usually rise more slowly than the cost of living, thus causing general industrial unrest.

An injustice of equal magnitude affecting a different class of people, occurs when prices are falling. Then those who have fixed incomes or are living on interest continue to draw their incomes in dollars whose value is appreciated. What they gain is lost by the business man, the stock holder, the enterpriser whose fixed costs are rising more rapidly than his proceeds, and whose business must be conducted at a loss. The result is business depression, hard times, unemployment, and a far reaching disturbance that retards the progress of production. In a word, if it is the dollar that is responsible for price movements, it means not less, but greater and more subtle, injustice. Just because the real culprit is so hard to catch, the injured parties are blindly resentful and suspicious and ready for any radical action, however irrational.

THE DOLLAR A STANDARD OF WEIGHT

SINCE the price level is so much at the mercy of the fluctuating value of our currency, whether the fluctuation be due simply to changes in the value of the precious metal which we imagine to be stable, or whether it be due to an excessive development of the use of credit, it seems evident that to consider the dollar a stable unit of value is a mistake. It is further evident that the consequences of the mistake may be disastrous. The problem is, how can the dollar be stabilized in purchasing power?

The dollar is not a standard of value, but a standard of weight. Because it is fixed in weight, it fluctuates in value. It can be made stable in value, accordingly, by causing it to vary in weight. If gold is so common as to have lost in value, surely the depreciated dollar can be restored to its former purchasing power and kept stable by increasing the amount of gold in the dollar. If on the other hand, our currency should for any reason appreciate in value, and the purchasing power of one dollar be greatly increased, then the dollar could be unloaded until it was reduced to its previous value.

Does this mean that we are to have gold coins of various weights, depending on the date of their coinage, jangling in the market place? Far from stabilizing the dollar, such a result would only be confusion worse confounded. No one would be able to say what constituted a dollar. This situation can be easily avoided, however. Except on the Pacific Coast, one rarely sees gold even now. Most people prefer to carry yellow backs representing gold instead of the actual metal. Why not make a rule of what is already a custom, and take all gold out of circulation? The change then would simply be in the amount of gold bullion for which such a gold dollar certificate could be redeemed. The owner of a ten dollar gold certificate would be entitled to ten "dollars" of gold bullion just as at present, the "dollar" however being at any moment not always 25.8 grains of standard gold but the number of grains of gold bullion

which the government had last declared it to be. The change in weight from month to month would concern only the gold miners taking gold to the mint in exchange for certificates, and the exporters and jewelers requiring gold for foreign trade or the arts. For the rest of the population, the plan would make no difference. We who use the dollar certificates would be as unconscious of the working of the new plan as we are now of the coinage operations at the mint. The change from our present system to the new one could therefore be made with no dislocation and without our being aware of it.

ADJUSTING THE DOLLAR TO THE MONTHLY PRICE AVERAGE

A MUCH greater and more fundamental difficulty which until recently would have made our proposed plan out of the question is the problem of adjusting the weight scientifically. Since the success of the whole plan depends on the accurate weighting of the dollar, that point could not be left to the discretion of any official. A necessary prerequisite therefore has been the development of the collection and use of price statistics. The monthly price average or Index Number calculated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (as the figure 193 mentioned above for June, 1918) shows each month whether and how much prices have risen or fallen, and is the signal which would automatically authorize an official of the Treasury Department to adjust the weight of the dollar, increasing it by one per cent whenever prices were above par, and decreasing it by one per cent whenever they fell below par.

Let us look at a definite example. Suppose the scheme were inaugurated now and the price level of today established as the standard and called 100. If the present tendency of rising prices were to continue, the index number for next month would be higher, say 101. This would be the signal for an increase in the weight of the dollar. Since it takes \$101 to buy what \$100 formerly purchased, it would take 1 per cent more gold to give the dollar its former purchasing power. Accordingly the Treasury Department

would increase the weight of the dollar by this one per cent; and the brakes would be put on the movement of prices because the fluctuation in the price of gold would be taken care of in the changed dollar weight. The diminished value of the gold content of the dollar would be compensated for by its increased weight.

Perhaps that adjustment will be enough and the next month will see the price level back to par—the new dollar having the same purchasing power as the previous dollar of lighter weight. Perhaps the compensation will have been insufficient, and the index number will still show a rise (though less than what it would have been if the dollar's weight had been unchanged). In that case a still further weighting is called for, and so on until the rise is stopped, even if the dollar weight is increased to a pound. Long before that could take place, however, the fall in the value of the dollar would be compensated for by the increased weight. Possibly on the other hand, the first adjustment was more than enough, and brought about an index number below par the next month. In that case the unloading of the dollar would take place in the very same way. Thus, by continual observation of the tendency of prices, and by taking each departure from the level as a signal for a corresponding change in the dollar's weight, the variations could never go long without a correction. Just as the steering wheel of an auto is used only when the auto is swerving from the straight course, but is nevertheless successful in keeping the auto on the road, so the system of stabilizing the dollar by correcting each deviation as soon as it occurs will prevent the disastrous price movements which we have suffered in the past.

“BRASSAGE” SHOULD BE CHARGED TO DEPOSITORS OF GOLD

THERE is one other proviso included in the plan, aimed to prevent speculation. A small fee, corresponding to what used to be called “brassage” should be charged to depositors of gold, and no single change in the dollar's weight should be allowed to exceed this fee.

The present price convulsion is increasingly bringing home to the people of the country the need of reform. With the great increase of outstanding debts, especially War Loans, and the holding of Liberty Bonds by such a large proportion of the population, the injustice of price movements will be more clearly evident. We cannot tolerate the situation that every holder of a Government bond should suffer the virtual loss of all his interest simply through rising prices. On the other hand, unless we take steps in advance to prevent it, the end of the war may bring such a rapid exportation of gold that our currency will contract so severely as to hamper the work of reconstruction and readjustment to peace conditions.

This plan has run the gauntlet of criticism for several years and has, as a result, received the endorsement of hundreds who have studied it carefully, including President Hadley, of Yale University; a committee of economists appointed to consider the purchasing power of money in relation to the war (consisting of Royal Meeker, United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics; Professor Wesley Clair Mitchell, Columbia University; Professor E. W. Kemmerer, of Princeton University; Professor Warren M. Persons, of Harvard University; Professor B. M. Anderson, Jr., of Harvard University, and Professor Irving Fisher of Yale University); Frank A. Vanderlip, president of the National City Bank of New York; George Foster Peabody, of New York; John Perrin, Federal Reserve Agent of San Francisco; Henry L. Higginson, of Boston; Roger W. Babson, statistician; John Hays Hammond, mining engineer; John V. Farwell, of Chicago; United States Senator Robert L. Owen; the late Senator Newlands; and Sir David Barbour, one of the originators of the Indian gold exchange standard.

THE THEATRE IN REVIEW

By C. COURTENAY SAVAGE

A RECENT incident of great interest to the theatrical world was the acquisition by the Enemy Alien Property Custodian of the hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of royalties earned by enemy holders to the American rights of popular operas, musical comedies, and dramas. All such royalties collected will be invested in Liberty bonds, and for the first time in his decidedly checkered career that mythical business man, Uncle Sam, will have a keen interest in the success of "Salome," "The Jewels of the Madonna," etc., as well as the lighter and far more profitable "The Merry Widow," "Her Soldier Boy," and "The Chocolate Soldier."

This action was undertaken after several months of quiet investigation, and is not meant to impair the box office value of any of the property taken over. Most of the lighter operettas have been adapted for the American stage, and produced by American capital. All that interests the Enemy Alien Property Custodian is the percentage of royalty that would ordinarily find its way into Germany or Austria. However, so patriotic is the spirit of the American theatre that even though it means a loss of dollars it is not likely that there will be any revivals of the once popular musical plays. Incidentally two of the greatest successes of the dramatic stage are included in the list of seized material, "The Concert" and "Madam X." The yearly income from the stock companies playing these famous works is extraordinarily large. The German theatres, where modern German plays are produced, will, of course, suffer through this action, which, by the way, even takes the royalties on the phonograph records made by once popular singers at the Metropolitan.

THREE PLAYS FROM OUR ALLIES

HADDON CHAMBERS, who is the author of a half dozen spirited comedies of English life, is the author of "The Saving Grace," which introduces Cyril Maude to his American friends in a modern role quite as interesting in its way as his famous "Grumpy."

The play might be said to take its title from the pluck and unfailing kindness of the central character, or from the service, which comes through the war, and solves the difficulties of the little group of characters making the personnel of the play. The hero of the play is an ex-officer in the English army who lost his commission for eloping with his Colonel's wife. For years they have drifted through one shady situation after another, until the opening of the story, the time of which is late summer 1914, finds them quite devoid of any funds. Right on the verge of tragedy, the war comes, giving the playwright the chance to have a happy ending. Mr. Maude realizes all the complexities of *Blinn Corbett*, a mixture of a love-sick visionary and a shrewd officer. Laura Hope Crews, as the heroine of the elopement, gives an excellent portrayal of the loyal woman who will not be parted from the man who has been ruined in loving her.

Another drama from Europe is a Tolstoy tragedy "The Redemption," with John Barrymore as the leading character. It is a gloomy play, typically Russian, told in no less than eleven scenes, complex, and often confused. The text is familiar to most students of Russian literature, its theme being the unhappy marriage of *Fedya Protosova* (John Barrymore) who for solace spends most of his time among the gypsies. His wife turns to the lover of her youth—and there follows a long mental struggle of the husband whether or not he shall drag his name through the divorce courts. His nerve fails him when he thinks of the publicity, and at the advice of a gypsy he allows the report to be circulated that he has been drowned. His wife marries again, and he is a living corpse, drunken, degraded. The tragedy of the

play reaches a climax when it is discovered that he is alive, and the charge of bigamy is entered against his wife. To untangle the snarled skein of their existences *Fedya* kills himself in the courtroom. There is little in the depressing atmosphere of the text of the play to commend itself to American war-time audiences. The acting, however, is remarkable. Mr. Barrymore gives a masterly performance of *Fedya*. There is probably no American actor who equals him in temperament.

Of course, it is strictly French, unexpurgated, but the theatregoer, in New York at least, is not as squeamish as of yore, when French plays had to be pruned to a wholesome and therefore pointless flavor. I refer to "Sleeping Partners," in which H. B. Warner gives us a farcial monologue of an amorous bachelor and Irene Bordoni a facial reflection of a coquettish wife who seeks a liaison; an intensely amusing absurdity which could never have happened, and therefore exceedingly plausible. So ingenuously are the situations worked out that they all draw the pretty moral, that even married women who flirt, really love perfectly grotesque husbands, if the habit is formed early enough. The cast is a foursome and they play a skillful game over perilous hazards.

A GROUP OF AMERICAN COMEDIES

THIS is a bumper year for comedy, and when it comes to making Americans laugh it is only natural that our own authors are more successful than those who visualize us as a result of hurried visits to our larger cities.

"Penrod" for instance, is the result of the observations of Booth Tarkington, as typical an American as it would be possible to name. His famous stories have been constructed into an amusing series of theatrical episodes by Edward E. Rose, but the study of childhood's unconscious humor reverts back beyond the art of the playwright.

To attempt to tell the story of the play would be to spoil an evening for the thousands of people who will go to the theatre to see just which of the "Penrod" tales have

been used in the dramatic version. And no admirer of the play need stay at home for fear that an illusion will be shattered. The characters have stepped from the printed page—they live. It is a credit to the producer that the children chosen to play the younger parts are not professional actors, they are children. The love story, without which no play seems to be a success, is quietly woven into the action, but it is *Penrod*, his friend *Sam*, and *Herman* and *Verman* that really make the play.

Mr. Leo Ditrichstein is an actor of distinction, and to be counted on for an excellent portrayal of any role he undertakes. He is also able to surround himself with players of ability—but unfortunately he is only human—and sometimes not so successful in his choice of plays.

His latest comedy “The Matinee Hero” lacks the qualities that made “The King,” “The Great Lover,” or “The Concert” so very successful. It is the old theme of ambition and dissatisfaction. “The Matinee Hero” is not contented, he wants to play Hamlet—and the adventuress urges him on. He plays the part, despite the advice of his wife and manager. And he succeeds. The fibre of the play is not of the usual Ditrichstein quality. However, it is so well acted that it is sure of a measure of success.

A man who is so absorbed in his own affairs that he forgets the anniversary of his marriage is in danger of losing his mate, according to Jane Cowl in “Information Please.”

The sophisticated know that women run amuck in emotional affairs. A successful husband is not necessarily a satisfactory one. This causes all the trouble that gives “Information Please” its sparkle and complications. Miss Cowl, always attractive, is not at her best in her own play. I am sure she never met a hotel detective, the gross absurdity of the book. Please take off his hat and boil him down. The house sleuth talks like a “rough-neck” in a Bowery melodrama, and is out of focus and out of caste. Bright lines, smart phrases, modern and well staged; if recast, somewhat and pruned, “Information Please” will run across the continent.

William Collier, who spent the past two seasons telling "Nothing But the Truth," is equally successful in his new play, which demands that he tell "Nothing But Lies." Mr. Collier has a large and responsive following among American theatregoers, and they ask only that he be his usual self, and that no change be made in the recipe of each succeeding play. Aaron Hoffman remembered that fact when he wrote "Nothing But Lies."

The comedy—it is almost farce—tells of the wildly extravagant lies necessary to keep the girl of the play happy. The hero has really pledged himself to truth, but finds prevarication much the better way. The tangled result is obvious, but the lines are fresh, and fun provoking. The play has its one great novelty in a prologue laid in hereafter, in which the audience is allowed to overhear the conversation between Ananias and George Washington. Ananias gets the decidedly better end of the argument.

Mr. Collier acts his part with the same "Willie Collier" method that has made him an international favorite. His supporting cast includes Olive Wyndam, who is very sweet, and worth lying for, together with several members of his "Nothing But The Truth" company.

UNDER THE CONDUCTOR'S BATON

THE conductors of two recently offered musical comedies have had the pleasure of leading some really charming music—music of the type that comes stealing back to the mind long after the play is over and sends one hurrying to the nearest music shop to buy the printed melody.

The first of these musical plays was "The Girl Behind The Gun" which has a war story for a background, and practically an all-star company to interpret the roles. It has not an entirely unfamiliar plot in the misunderstanding that arises due to mistaken identity, but there is a generous sprinkling of humor. The music and dancing are the bright lights of the evening, and among the long cast Donald Brian and Ada Mead, the charming Southern girl, a refreshing and vivacious type on the stage, stand out prominently.

The second play "Sometime" is a novelty, and one that should enjoy long prosperity. It is built after the fashion of the movies with a series of "cut back" scenes. It has several capable players, a story of pretty sentiment that does not get lost in the second act; a comedian who is genuinely funny, and a heroine who has the elusive thing best described by the over-worked word, "personality." And the music is the best heard this season. Ed Wynne is the comedian, and Francine Larrimore, no longer forced to copy the mannerism of Madge Kennedy, displays a wistful quality that will carry her far. Then too there is an amusing girl named Mae West, who gives a clever impersonation of a vulgar, but funny, chorus girl. "Sometime" is quite the most interesting musical play so far presented to the new season's audiences.

A Belasco play is usually an institution. "Daddies" is no exception. The humoresques, pathos, charm, delight and perplexities of child-life come wrapped up in a delightful package, unfolding with increasing interest as the play proceeds. The crust of some confirmed bachelors proves a weak heart defense against the charm of Belgian orphans. Bruce McRae gives us a most entertaining *Robert Audrey*, good natured bachelor, and John W. Cope, a whimsically delightful *James Crocket*, crusty bachelor.

Miss Volare, as *Lorry*, is reminiscent of Maud Adams and sweetly ingenue in her delectable role of a little Orphan Annie, but little tot Edith King, as *Babette*, nearly steals the play from them all. She is the most delightful bit of childhood that has refreshed the stage this season. Of course, everyone must see "Daddies"—as I say—it is an institution of the period, quite irresistible.

THE FINANCIAL SITUATION

By W. S. COUSINS

THE fourth Liberty Loan campaign, which has just been brought to a successful termination, was the largest financial operation this world has ever seen. Accustomed as we are to big figures, the people of this country gasped in amazement when, in 1914, the magnitude of Britain's financial undertakings in connection with the war was first made public. We had not then learned to calculate in billions with the facility with which we now use that simple rule in arithmetic. Now we are making provisions for a yearly expenditure almost equal to the whole cost of England's four-year campaign, taxing ourselves eight times as much as our own pre-war National budget, and planning for bond issues double in amount the National tax bill.

It is obvious that such accomplishments are made possible only by the united co-operation of more than one hundred million loyal Americans, with a belief in the justice of their cause, and a grim determination to complete the task to which they have pledged their whole resources. The authorities at Washington have long ago passed the Experimental Stage in their war program, have calculated their requirements and their resources to a mathematical certainty, and it is therefore necessary for the maintenance of a maximum military effort in France and elsewhere that no part of the resources upon which they are counting should fail them at the crucial period. This means that no red-blooded American will shirk his duty, and those who have not been able to get into the game in the first four Liberty loans will probably have an opportunity to help out on the fifth and sixth loans which are directly on the schedule. Already organization committees in one or more of the Federal Reserve districts have begun to lay out their campaigns, and have determined to be on the ground early.

SECURITY MARKETS

WALL STREET has never given itself over to felicitations over the prospect of an early termination of the war. After careful consideration of the events of the past few weeks, and mature deliberation over President Wilson's latest note to Germany, the stock market registered its opinion that the conclusion of the war is still somewhat remote, and many traders made haste to buy back the securities which they recently permitted to slip away at concessions. The war stocks have moved up to the fore, and oil stocks, based on the greatly increased production of some of the prominent western oil fields, have been in favor at a higher price level.

There are persistent reports these days of foreign buying of American securities. Before the war, French and English investors were heavy purchasers of American railroad and public utility stocks but in the stormy period following the bursting of the war clouds in July, 1914, practically all of these stocks were sent back to America and became the property of our own people. The sensational manner in which the war is moving in our favor, and the rapid changes in the quotations for neutral exchange, make it imperative that those who would profit through the purchase of American securities must do their shopping early. They reason logically, that if American securities were desired before the war, they will be of much greater value after the United States has become more firmly established as a great, if not the greatest, nation.

Wall Street is also very much concerned at present with after-war financial problems. This is in direct line with the elaborate organizations and commissions launched by the British and French Governments to secure and maintain the benefit of favorable world markets for their commodities. In this country we have made a beginning by giving serious consideration to ways and means for absorbing the shock of the transition from a war to a peace basis. Leaders in the steel trade are hoping to prevent sudden decline of prices

and abrupt liquidation of labor in lines directly connected with war manufacturing. Of late there have been hints from Washington that the fixed price schedule under modifications yet to be worked out, is likely to be continued after the fighting ceases, and it is to be expected that various departments of industry will be treated in a way to scientifically ease the way from war to peace conditions. As the trend of war points to complete victory, it may be expected that means to free the transformation from possible business disturbance on a great scale will receive the attention of industrial and political leaders.

PRINCIPLES OF TAXATION

THERE is reason for gratification in the attitude of a number of prominent American business men-laymen, toward the problems which Congress, in the interest of "all the people," is trying to work out. Perhaps the most prominent of these problems at the present time is that of taxation.

There are a few well-known principles of taxation, and it is strange but disappointing that these have not been incorporated into the "Extraordinary" tax measures adopted by Congress. In a discussion of these matters at a prominent gathering in New York City, Mr. Otto H. Kahn emphasized the fact that that form of taxation was most desirable which raises the largest obtainable amount of revenue with the least economic disturbance, lays the burden on those best able to bear it, and if possible promotes thrift and economy in the country. Taxation should not penalize success nor discourage saving. It should not be carried to the point at which business would be handicapped or crippled, cash resources unduly curtailed and the incentive to maximum enterprise destroyed. It is an old maxim of taxation that an excessive impost destroys its own productivity.

Mr. Kahn takes the position that too heavy a portion of the eight billion dollar war revenue tax is to be charged up against excess and war profits, and that Congress might with wisdom and equity devise a system of consumption and

stamp taxes which would fall upon those who in no other way are chargeable with their portion of the war tax; such taxes would be productive of fairly considerable revenues, they are easily borne, cause no particular strain or dislocation, are automatically collected, and are conducive to economy. England and France have had satisfactory experience with them. There are numerous taxes of a tried and tested nature which would raise a very large amount of revenue and conform to the strictest economic regulations. They ought to be given a chance in the revenue measure now under construction.

FEDERAL RESERVE NOTES

SINCE the early part of last year the Federal Reserve notes in circulation have increased from a quarter of a billion to a little over two billion dollars, while gold coin to the extent of one billion dollars has been transferred from the vaults and the paying counters of the banking institutions, and from the treasure boxes of firms and individuals, to the Federal Reserve banks.

Taking cognizance of the expressions of apprehension at the rapid increase in the volume of Federal Reserve notes, the Reserve Board has issued a statement showing that the increase is indicative, not of currency inflation, but of a change in the form of the outstanding currency. As already noted in the shrinkage of circulating gold coin the certificates, and also in the decrease in the outstanding volume of "other forms" of currency, the net increase in the total volume of the circulating medium, in the period of nineteen months, has been \$736,000,000. It would be far from right to blame this moderate increase in circulating currency for the rise in price of necessary commodities which has taken place within the same period; but additional supplies of money have greatly facilitated business intercourse during the trying war period.

One of the problems which the war will leave for solution will be that of the gold reserve and the relation of our

standard of value thereto. No one has yet been able to devise a satisfactory substitute for the gold standard, but much dissatisfaction is being expressed because of the shrinking purchasing power of the yellow metal. Debts contracted during the war and repaid after hostilities have ceased will, measured in terms of commodities, command a much larger basis of settlement. Will not the piling up of war debts against a limited gold reserve add greatly to the perplexity of this problem?

BOND MARKET

NOTWITHSTANDING the heavy demands of the Government and the increased cost of necessary commodities there has been sufficient call for high grade securities to send the prices of the active issues up to the highest point reached by them since the turn of the year. No department of the bond market has been overlooked, the demand being keen for railroad, public utility and industrial issues, and to no less an extent for the bonds of the foreign allied Governments.

The average price of forty representative and active issues on the New York Stock Exchange is now close to 90, the previous high point of 77.87 having been established in May. As an indication of the great improvement which has taken place in the bond market, it is worthy of note that the lowest average price of the year, namely 75.65 was reached on September 27th, so that in about one month the average quotation for bonds has moved from the lowest to the highest point of the year.

More notable still have been the movement of the bonds of the Allied Governments and the French Municipals. The French Government 5½s, which enjoy a valuable exchange privilege are now quoted at 103, as compared with a low of 85 in the Spring of 1918. The City of Bordeaux, City of Lyons, and City of Marseilles 6s, all of which reached a plane of depression during the Hun drive in March, selling at 81 to 84, are now eagerly sought for at 99 and par. These bonds also enjoy the exchange privilege.

The Bond Issue Division of the Federal Reserve Bank has issued a statement drawing attention to the conversion of Liberty bonds of the first and second issues into those bearing the higher rate of interest:

The privilege of converting the 4 per cent Liberty Bonds of the first and second loans into $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent bonds expires November 9th. A large number of the first and second issues are still outstanding in this district at a lower rate of interest than they might command.

Holders of 4 per cent bonds may present them, up to November 9th, at banking institutions or at the Federal Reserve Bank, 120 Broadway. Bonds of small denomination, if presented at the Federal Reserve Bank, may be converted at three minutes' notice. The 4 per cent bonds cannot be converted after November 9th even if bonds at a higher rate of interest are issued thereafter.

The action of the Senate Finance Committee in striking out of the revenue bill the provision for taxing state, county and municipal bonds will remove the uncertainty on that question that has existed in municipal bond circles for the past several weeks. In eliminating this provision, the Committee gave as its reason that such a tax would be unconstitutional. The settlement of this important question which has raised so much protest from leading municipalities all over the country, should do much towards stimulating the future demand for securities of this nature.

The Editor's Un-Easy Chair

(Contributions to this department must be addressed to the Editor and should not exceed 1,000 words. Manuscripts should contain addressed envelope stamped.)

Southerners in the War Saddle

JOHN WILLIAM DAVIS' appointment as Ambassador to Great Britain, our highest ranking diplomatic post, again reminds us of the big part played by Southerners or men of Southern birth in present national affairs.

Mr. Davis is a West Virginian, but in all the comment on his appointment, which was generally commendatory, no claim or charge of undue sectional significance was made. Those familiar with his career refer to him as a representative American rather than as a typical Southerner, which, like his distinguished predecessor, William Hines Page, in many ways he is. Mr. Page is a North Carolinian but now a citizen of New York. Both he and Mr. Davis finely represent the New South which has supplied national leadership in the present crisis quite out of proportion to territory or population.

There was something highly dramatic in the appearance of former Confederate generals, such as Joe Wheeler and Fitzhugh Lee, in the uniforms of the United States army twenty years ago. The way Southerners of both the Old and the New South responded to the nation's call during the Spanish war was naturally inspirational of much exchanging of fine words. The dramatic element over which all sections rhapsodized then is lacking now, for, alas, the passage of time, added to the exigencies of war, has eliminated both Confederate and Union veterans as fighting participants in the present war. Fitzhugh Lees and Joe Wheelers and M. C. Butlers are on the firing line now but they are the sons and grandsons of the famous chieftains of the Confederacy.

But if the South were inclined to rhapsodize now it would find more ample excuse in its contribution of leaders in the present crisis than it did in that of two decades ago.

Who, fifty or so lately as twenty-five years ago, would have dared predict that a Southerner would be the leader of the nation, and in a measure the leader of the many nations with which we are allied, in the greatest of wars? Yet Woodrow Wilson is of Southern birth, rearing, and, in part, education.

And the man next to him in fighting the battles of democracy—General Pershing—comes from that school of Missourians which is as intense in its Southern attachments as are South Carolinians. Champ Clark, Speaker of the House and as Southern as the cotton blossom, is a product of the same school.

The "Solid South" in Control

THE two men who, next to the President, direct both of our war machines are Southerners. Secretary Daniels of the Navy is a Tar Heel of Tar Heels; Secretary Baker of the War Department was born in West Virginia, the son of an old Confederate Army surgeon. Ranking high in both branches of the service are many who, like Pershing, are of Southern birth and rearing. General Gorgas, justly famous as a conservator of our soldiers' health, is an Alabamian. Rear-Admiral McGowan, who as chief paymaster sees that our sailors are the best fed and best clothed in the world, is a South Carolinian. While Rear-Admiral Sims, who looks after naval operations abroad, is a Canadian by birth, Rear-Admiral Benson, chief of the bureau supervising all operations, is a Georgian.

Another glance at the personnel of the cabinet discloses the unusual circumstance that only one State outside the South is supplying native sons as first official advisers and assistants to the President. That State is New York from which hails Messrs. Lansing and Redfield. Two cabinet chiefs are foreign born, Mr. Lane in Canada and Mr. Wilson in Scotland. Six out of a total of ten were born and reared in the South. Messrs. Burleson and Gregory are in everything Texan. Mr. Houston was born in North Carolina, later claims upon him being divided between South Carolina,

Texas and Missouri. Mr. McAdoo, the heaviest freighted of all cabinet officers, is a citizen of New York but was born in Georgia and educated in Tennessee.

But in no branch of present governmental activities is Southern leadership so predominant as in Congress. This is due largely to the rule of seniority and the supremacy of the Democratic party. The majority leaders of both the House and Senate are Southerners, Mr. Kitchin being from North Carolina and Senator Martin from Virginia.

Twenty-nine out of a total of 75 standing Senate Committees are headed by Southern Senators and nearly a dozen others by Senators of Southern birth. While no Senator from a Southern State was born elsewhere than in the South (excepting Reed of Missouri, a native of Ohio), ten from other sections are natives of Dixieland. This circumstance may lend verity to the claim that Southerners have superior talent for public affairs. It may be mentioned, as an incident in further support of that claim, that several of the Southern-born Senators representing other sections are Republicans.

Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, who heads the great Military Affairs Committee, is a native of Mississippi. Senator Lewis, the Democratic whip and personal spokesman for the President on the Senate floor, was born in Virginia, reared in Georgia, first elected to Congress from the State of Washington and now represents Illinois.

The names of all Southerners filling conspicuous places at Washington or the front would probably fill a book. Few of them are usually thought of as Southerners but only as good Americans; for, with a possible rare exception here and there, there isn't a "professional Southerner"—a type most frequently encountered outside the South—among them.

Can't All the Races Get Together

WHILE we're on the job of regulating the world—or helping the Allies in the work, let's all start together and see if we can't understand each other. U. S. A. has had

extensive experience in assimilating foreign races. We have learned a few things in the past thirty years about different peoples. We've found them not so different under the skin, despite certain inherited tastes for spaghetti, chop-suey, red pepper, frog-legs, Ai sauce, sauerkraut and kosher meat. Fundamentally, Bulgaria, Poland, France, England and Turkey and China peoples are impulsed largely by similar desires, from a human nature point of analysis. We are inspired by the same music, aroused by similar ambitions and aspirations, stirred by analogous instincts to live comfortably, house ourselves clemently, dress properly, laugh and weep under not dissimilar emotions, love, hate, or be diplomatic in accordance with natural human laws.

We, the nations of the Greater Democracy, are not so far apart—except in one particular: language. This great human fact has been demonstrated in this land of all the world immigration. The war has set its seal upon foreign tongues in America—opportunity knocks at our door for a universal medium of exchange—of thought, of trade, of the confidence of understanding. The growth of the universality of the English language suggests a solution. At that eventual conference of Nations the suggestion could be acted upon. One language needs internationalization. If it's to be English, every school in every land can be regulated by international law, to carry a compulsory course of English. Certain books and pamphlets of world educational interest can be published and made a part of the compulsory course. An international official newspaper, distributed in every school and public reading room and library can be issued. Ten years of propaganda of general education along international lines will do more to eradicate ignorance and misunderstanding between peoples than has heretofore been accomplished in one hundred years. A blow of enduring effect must be struck at world friction, race friction, national friction—all of which causes war, causes animosity, makes trade relations difficult, retards civilization and world understanding and democracy of national life.

Let's Learn How to Work

AMONG other war lessons, educational promoters have a new slant. We've wasted a lot of brain ammunition in pre-war days. "The Colonel" discovered, some time past, that there were too many mollicoddles carrying around sheepskins. War has taught us that our hands need education more than our brains. We need a league of nations on this subject, quite as much as a police league. The thing that gets the boy or girl a job is equipment for work. Everyone knows this brought home fact now. Boys of sixteen getting dollars a day and girls of seventeen supporting their mothers at the typewriter—while men and women of forty or fifty, speaking three languages, waiting for the National Employment Service to get them a job. It's all right to learn the three R's and to know where the Tropic of Capricorn is, and that the earth revolves on its axis—but knowledge of these facts doesn't interest the employer who wants your hands; he takes it for granted that you are intelligent and have had elementary facts inducted into your brain in the fourth grade.

At the same time hands should be busy with something besides a slate pencil and a piece of chalk. Vocational training is the educational lesson of the war. No one need fear the wolf at the door who can load his shot gun with efficiency bullets. And poverty is, after all, the menace of civilization. There should be no such thing, the bible to the contrary notwithstanding—now that we have driven booze out of the essential class.

Begin with educating the educators. Make carpentry, mechanics, bookkeeping, laboratorial work, and other useful work, a teacher's equipment. Here's a chance for some war regulations for the Bureau of Education.

We don't want any more "mollys" in our 1920 class. Priority on vocational work! It's begun to tell in the South. The colored citizen is perking up; his pocket is war-full and his hands are beginning to work intelligently. The brain will take care of itself, with a little elemental help. Then

we'll have no labor shortage, no poor houses, less charitable institutions, fewer pick-pockets, and not so many left overs, square pegs in round holes and misfits generally.

The big work of equipping our youth efficiently has begun in essential work. The impulse needs recognition in public school rooms, in colleges and in the home.

Sun Wastage

NOW that we are scraping the earth for raw materials, harnessing the waters of the rivers, straining the coal deposits, the minerals and the woods of the terrestrial sphere, for war essentials, there seems to be no reason why the largest supply of raw material should escape the priority board. We refer to that gentleman up in the sky who shines while we fight and shines for the other fellow on the down side of the sphere while we sleep—the sun. He is needed by the Fuel Administration, the Ordnance Department and the Railroad Administration, as well as by the manufacturer and the housewife. Of course his work is on the essential list now, but he is a slacker, nevertheless, and is not up to efficiency. He warms the bum on the park bench with the same cheerful indifference that he expends his energy in opening up the view to the scouting Ace in France. He is a very prodigal person and there are times when we need all of his 100 per cent output. We need him in intensified form. He is pouring down upon us energy as great as 1.47 kilowatts per square meter, or 1.70 horse power per square yard; heat enough to vaporize 5.92 feet of water per minute. Just how the War Industries Board will put the sun to work it is not for a mere layman to say. But in these times, when every ounce of man and sun power is needed, this terrestrial slacker should be put into khaki and made to do his bit. With a doubtful coal bin this winter and the need of gas on the Western front, to say nothing of the fuel and food shortage, there is an opportunity for some of the wiseacres of Science to get busy on the sun wastage.

Greater Great Britain

WHEN the history of the World War is written it will be found that Greater Great Britain has emerged from the ordeal in all her ancient and honorable glory. She will yet be producing her unchanging type of public official, who is at once a leader of the people and their most trustworthy servant—the type, in very truth, which is perfectly expressed in the phrase “an officer and a gentleman.” As we have taken our fashions in clothes, manners and ethics from England in the past century, we may grasp our British ally by the hand in good fellowship and high regard, as a warrior, as a man of unyielding principle and fine integrity. It is good to think that we have done our bit to preserve this race from the humiliation that was threatened and the national extermination which was the ultimate aim of the Hun. But Britain has also preserved herself. In this Great War, every third male in the British Isles is fighting, an equivalent, if the proportion were maintained by us, to 16,000,000 men.

The British are fighting in fifteen various parts of the world. The personnel of the navy is 500,000. The navy has convoyed to the various fronts 13,000,000 men, 2,000,000 horses and mules, 500,000 vehicles, 25,000,000 tons of explosives, 51,000,000 tons of oil and fuel, and has kept the seas open for 130,000,000 tons of food and material; at the same time cutting off Germany's normal annual supply of foods and necessities amounting to 6,000,000 tons. In the British air service there are 42,000 men, and in one week recently British aviators dropped 3,000 tons of bombs, and in a single day on the Western front silenced 127 German batteries and destroyed 28 gun pits. The great British merchant marine of some 16,000,000 tons has been engaged in the task of feeding not only the allied British nations, but also in large part the people of Belgium, France, Italy and Serbia. 18,000,000 people out of a population of 44,000,000 have invested in War Bonds or W. S. certificates; the per capita income is \$236 against a per capita debt of \$589. Loans to Great Britain's allies total \$8,000,000,000. These few figures show how the war has brought forth the real

greatness of Great Britain, her heroism, her sacrifice, her loyalty to the principles of world democracy, and her resourcefulness. Fundamentally a nation of vast financial and industrial resources, her position after the war in the world of trade is assured. We have yet much to learn from our great neighbor across the Atlantic. We can profit by emulating her statesmanship, commercial acumen, and sound economics.

Art Has a New Theme

THE grewsomeness and the spirit of war has grasped the imagination of the American knight of the brush. Fifth Avenue—the Avenue of the Allies—in October gave its windows, its spaces and its roofs, over to the artists' war efforts. War in all its frightfulness, in its morbidness, in its spiritual elevations, was on exhibition. From the academicians to the cover illustrators, war art was displayed. The sculptor, too, contributed his bit. The patriotic exhibit revealed a new note in art development. No hidebound editor censured the art dreamer. He had his own way; he let his imagination play to the full. The realist presented us the brutality of the Hun, the dismemberment of arms and limbs, the lust of the elemental, the firebrand and the primal run amuck. The art poet visualized the triumph of the spirit and the beauty of sacrifice; the nobility of endurance. The illustrator glorified the bravery and heroism of soldiery in battle; the spirit of the fight and the softness of suffering. The exhibit was a great uplift to the thousands who thronged the Avenue; it presages the theme that art will carry into history and opens a new vista for the artist of the day. At last American Art has an opportunity and our Museums yawn for the results.

The FORUM'S Policy, Constructive Nationalism

TO WIN THE WAR

What is Constructive Nationalism?

Constructive business, industry, organizations—that look to a permanent betterment of our social and organic life as a democratic people.

National unity, solidarity, in common aims of the whole people, politically, socially, educationally, and fundamentally, as one people, one flag, one language, one loyalty.

It is the desire of The FORUM to open its pages to the thought of the best constructive thinkers in our country, that their thought may be the seeds or the stimulating means of a definite, substantial nationalism; aligning its aims and policies with the forces to win the war.

Recent FORUM Contributors:

- VICE PRESIDENT MARSHALL
- LORD NORTHCLEIFFE
- FORMER U. S. ATTORNEY GEN. GRIGGS
- FORMER AMBASSADOR PENFIELD
- U. S. SENATOR LEE S. OVERMAN
- SPEAKER CHAMP CLARK
- HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN
- MAX NORDAU
- SIR GEORGE REID
- THOMAS W. LAMONT
- BARONESS VON HEDDEMANN
- GUSTAVE HERVE
- DUKE OF ARGYLL
- PRESIDENT DAVID STARR JORDAN
- PRESIDENT EMERITUS CHAS. W. ELIOT
- PRESIDENT G. STANLEY HALL
- SAMUEL GOMPERS
- MARY E. WILKINS FREEMAN
- MARY HEATON VORSE
- SAX ROHMER
- U. S. SENATOR REED SMOOT
- LEWIS ALLEN BROWNE
- THEODORE N. VAIL
- ISRAEL ZANGWILL
- C. COURTENAY SAVAGE
- DR. EUGENE LYMAN FISK
- DR. JAMES J. WALSH
- MARY AUSTIN

War Savings Subscription:

Special Offer

YOUR war time interests demand that you are informed of the thought of our most distinguished men and women, close in touch with the affairs and aims of the Nation and the people. Contributors to The FORUM include a wide range of public spirited Americans, in the Government, in war activities, and in great organizations that have come into life to help with the war.

In keeping with the war time spirit we have planned a War Saving Subscription offer, 75 cents for your war saving fund, \$1.75 for the FORUM for one year, or, 25 cents for your war saving fund, and \$1.00 for The FORUM for six months.

WAR SUBSCRIPTION OFFER FOR NEW SUBSCRIBERS:

In order to begin your subscription with the next number, fill out the enclosed blank and return to THE FORUM, at the earliest possible moment.

PUBLISHER: Please enter my subscription to THE FORUM for One Year (\$1.75) or six months (\$1.00) in agreement with your special offer mentioned above.

Name

Street

City State

THE FORUM PUBLISHING COMPANY, 118 East 28th Street, New York City

The FORUM

For December, 1918

PRESIDENT WILSON AS A WORLD LEADER

An Appreciation and an Analysis of Our First International Leader

By HON. LEE SLATER OVERMAN

[U. S. SENATOR FROM NORTH CAROLINA]

IN the past, America produced many world figures but no world leader in the political sense. This wasn't because many famous Americans were not capable of international leadership but because our relation to international affairs precluded the opportunity for exercising such leadership. Washington, the father of his country, of course belongs to and is honored as military genius and statesman by all the world, but he set the precedent for the political isolation by which until lately the exercise of American statesmanship was confined wholly to this hemisphere and largely to our own domain. Franklin and Jefferson and Hamilton, together with many other Americans, earned and exercised an intellectual leadership not circumscribed by geographical boundaries, but it was beyond and outside of the range of the workings of world politics. Lincoln, the American who is honored everywhere as the patron saint of human freedom, influenced world affairs by precept and example rather than by direct participation.

But the world war, into which we entered reluctantly because of attachment to our traditional policy of non-participation in Old World politics but in which we probably proved the deciding factor, after we could no longer, in honor, refrain from entering it, plunged us actively and positively into the maelstrom of international affairs. For the first time in our history it became possible, albeit necessary, for an American to exercise international leadership. How fortunate we were that the fates decreed that opportunity to, and imposed the duty upon, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States! Events of the past few weeks have justified his leadership and developments to follow, in my opinion, will give it political sanctity. It is not less fortunate that his leadership prevails in the readjustments incident to peace than that it predominated in the closing days of the war.

HOW THE PRESIDENT SHORTENED THE WAR

WHEN the unbiased historian of these times comes to weigh the causes leading to recent glorious developments, I verily believe he will give to Woodrow Wilson credit equal to that accorded Marshal Foch for bringing the war to a conclusion a year earlier than was expected by the best military experts. Foch undoubtedly exercised great military skill, but a power exceeding that of cannon was employed with great effect by our President. I believe that Wilson alone shortened the war at least a year, not solely by his vigorous promotion of our part of the fighting but by his splendid international diplomacy.

It was he who first gave clear and convincing voice to the purposes and intents of the nations at war with Germany. His enduring phrase, "We are fighting to make the world safe for democracy," stated the case for ourselves and the Allies better than all the learned volumes of explanation put forth since the war began. His "peace terms" constituted the first clear definition of the ends aimed at by the United States and its associates in the war. Just how far his words served to bring about in Germany and Austria

that disintegration which no doubt hastened the climax, because of the lack of detailed information, is not yet known.

However, I feel assured that the influence of his words in breaking down the morale of Germany and Austria was as potent in producing final victory as were our arms. Every leaflet containing his speeches dropped from aeroplane or balloon on enemy soil no doubt served our cause as well as a hundred cannon, and doubly well when backed up so ably by our and our allies' guns.

Unquestionably the Allies felt and were spurred on by the ideals for which they fought from the beginning. But those ideals were largely vague, intangible and elusive until we entered the struggle. Our isolation from the scenes and prizes of the great struggle relieved us of all suspicion and enabled us to say, through our leader, what our associates out of fear of misconstruction had hesitated to declare. For instance, President Wilson readily gave voice to the just aspiration of France to regain the territory wrested from it by Germany in 1870. France could only say it was fighting a defensive war for France out of fear that an announced intention to regain Alsace and Lorraine might give color to Germany's charge that she had entered upon a war of aggression. Likewise, President Wilson could speak as freely as he spoke clearly about the national rights of the smaller peoples held in subjection by the Central Powers, without danger of his words being construed as desire on our part for conquest.

THE PRESIDENT CRYSTALLIZED THE WORLD'S IDEALS

ONE of our great services to the Allies, upon our entering the war on their side, was in giving them an unimpeachable voice, and it is to our glory and their great advantage that the voice was exercised so capably by our President. It would not be fair perhaps to say that the ideals of the Allies were originated or heightened by us; but it is fair to say that the validity of those ideals were proven by our entering the war. And those ideals found crystallization in the words of Woodrow Wilson.

It may not be opportune or polite to draw comparisons between the leaders of the nations that were associated in the war against Germany. The world now no doubt does and the future I believe will recognize three men as the foremost civilian figures in the war. They are Lloyd George, Clémenceau and Woodrow Wilson. Discussion as to which, in inherent merit, is the greatest would not be timely now. However, circumstances if nothing more appear to have given Wilson dominant place in the triumvirate of present world leadership. Upon those three men who led civilization to victory in war rests the responsibility for leading it out of the difficulties and partial chaos incident to sudden peace. Each of them by temperament and talent possesses peculiar and superior qualities. Lloyd George, the born reformer, Clémenceau, the "tiger" radical, Wilson, the idealist and, as someone has said, "a conservative who doesn't stand still"—to what more capable trio could democracy entrust its cause?

George's passion for reform and Clémenceau's extremism will be tempered by Wilson's calm sanity, his all-pervading sympathy and his merciful magnanimity. The words of each bearing on reconstruction would seem, in their lack of rancor toward the people of enemy countries and their lofty expressions of hope and sympathy for those we have defeated in war, to have been torn from the pages of heroic poetry rather than from the feelings and passions of the time.

Time will probably show—as it proved Abraham Lincoln the best friend of the section of our country on which he made war—that the best friends of the peoples who populated the German and Austria-Hungarian empire are the three men who above all others will pass judgment upon them. And this, I believe, will be particularly true of Woodrow Wilson.

WILSON'S MERIT AS A WORLD LEADER PUT TO TEST

JUST as he made war for an ideal, he will so far as he may rebuild around an ideal. The case which he stated so well and effectively for the Allies remains yet to be proven

by the success attained in establishing the ideals upon which the case was based.

Therefore, Woodrow Wilson's greatest task is just at hand; the merit of his world leadership, heretofore necessary and unavoidable, will be put to the test. Now that the war is won and America's aid is no longer essential to success, will the Wilson idea prevail against the selfishness, hate, greed and desire for recrimination which are inescapable following experiences so cruel as those which the war lords of the Central Powers imposed upon humanity? Will he see that full justice is done but its bounds not overlapped? Will he be able to force conflicting interests and passions to recognize as the choice fruits of victory things far more important and desirable than indemnities secured and revenges accomplished? Can he prevent us and our associate nations from in some way catching the disease we have fought to destroy?

In those and other questions which might be asked lie problems far more difficult than was the making of successful war. But I believe that President Wilson's thought and voice will dominate in solving them.

For the very circumstances which placed him in the forefront in carrying on the war and defining its purposes will tend to make him arbiter in solving the questions arising out of the war.

The United States will spurn anything like European conquest or undue advantage as a result of the war as you would spurn the plague. We can go into the peace conference with clean hands and palms on which there will not be so much as the suggestion of an itch. There is nothing which we can ask for ourselves; thereby we shall be free to speak solely for the rights of others.

And who among living statesmen today can speak so well for others as Woodrow Wilson? Where is there a man imbued with a finer feeling for democracy, or possessing a saner conception of social justice? His forbearance with Mexico proved his patience as well as his deep sympathy for misused and abused masses. His tolerant attitude toward Russia, his perception of the ends aimed at, however blindly

and blunderingly, by an almost helpless people shows how his heart goes out to those only rudely, if at all, capable of taking care of themselves.

WILSON'S IDEALISM NOT IMPRACTICAL

YET the presence of American soldiers on Russian soil to-day is evidence of the fact that Wilson's idealism is not confounded by an impracticable nature. It proves that he has no more liking for the autocracy of Bolshevism than for that of junkers; that he dislikes anarchy as much as he hates oppression.

He knows as well as the stubbornest reactionary that the world cannot be made over in a day, and that democracy, like all things worth while, has to grow—it cannot be manufactured. At best we can only fertilize the soil, sow the seed and protect the plant from the intruder. It is as important that the tendency toward extremism that is evident in most of overturned Europe be checked and restrained as that the evils from which it is the reaction be destroyed.

And there was never a wiser or more practical act of statesmanship than President Wilson's prompt offer of food to the starving peoples of the countries with which we were until lately actually and are still technically at war.

I don't know whether it shall be practicable or possible for the President to sit at the peace table. Really I think it of no great importance. Whether or not he is there in person, he shall be there in thought and determined will. I do not believe terms of peace which in essential character do not meet his approval will be adopted; and I am confident that the treaty finally agreed upon will bear the mark of his mind as indelibly as does our Declaration of Independence bear the stamp of Thomas Jefferson.

And his diplomacy in peace, like that he exercised in war, will be aimed at procuring rightful results rather than at establishing meaningless forms. His approach to European problems as so far disclosed indicates that he attaches more importance to the actual character than to the perfunctory skeleton of government. He knows that democracy

can exist even under a king, as in England, and that tyranny can walk hand in hand with democratic formula as has often happened in the republic south of us.

The dominant note he will sound at the peace conference will be in behalf of the submerged masses, for freedom and equal opportunity for all human beings.

Out of the war will come the reign of democracy throughout most of the world, and the era in world history thus begun will reflect the ideals of Woodrow Wilson, who takes his place in the annals of time as our first great international leader and one of the renowned world figures of all time.

THE SENTINELS

By MARGARET E. SANGSTER

DEAR God, you sent your angels long ago,
To sing a hymn above the weary earth—
You sent a star that silvered all the snow,
To tell the story of the Christ Child's birth;
And on this day we hear the song again,
And see the star reflected in the skies;
And through the midst of bitterness and pain
We see, once more, the Christ Child's smiling eyes.

Four years—and tho' the rows of crosses stand
Like sentinels that guard a sleeping throng
Above the slush and mud of No Man's Land;
And tho' our pilgrimage seemed dark and long—
With hearts all glorified we kneel and pray,
To thank you, God, for Peace on Earth today!

A DOUGHGIRL ON THE FIRING LINE

She Made the First Doughnut in France, and Was
One of the First Four of Her Service to Go Over

By ADJUTANT HELEN PURVIANCE

[AMERICAN SALVATION ARMY WORKER IN FRANCE]

"If this is war, let it continue," said an American soldier as he partook of Miss Purviance's doughnuts. This Salvation Army lass tells of her experience of fifteen months in the service close to the great battle line in France.

WHEN a French soldier is wounded, and knows he is "going West," he asks for his wife, an Englishman calls for his sweetheart, but an American wants his mother. And the thought of that mother is carried with him like an indelible print from the training camps in America, across three thousand miles of water, and remains with him when he goes "over the top" and into that unknown country from which many never return.

I don't believe there are any big mothers in America, I mean big in statue, for every soldier speaks of her as "little mother."

"Say, when I get home——" Well, you just ought to hear some of the things these boys of ours tell me they are going to do when they get home. Some are going to sleep two weeks but most of them are going to eat. So I just want to warn you, you American mothers, stock the pantry right up to its top-most shelf with all the things he likes best because he has already decided what he wants for that first dinner at home.

Our organizations sent women workers to France that your boys may not miss you quite so much. We try to create a little of the home atmosphere and with a woman's hands help them over the rough spots of homesickness, wounds, or any of the other hurts that come to the fighting man. Our huts do not always look like a home. Sometimes it's a real, honest-to-goodness hut that can be taken to pieces and put

together again at a moment's notice. Another time it may be a tent, or a corner in some shell torn house.

The boys very rarely call us sister but very, very often you hear a twenty-seven year old girl addressed as "mother." If it wasn't for the beautiful tribute in that word, "mother," one would have to smile when it's used by a man old enough to be her father.

After I had been in Paris a few days, I went down to a camp of thirty-five thousand soldiers, where the Salvation Army has six huts, to learn something of housekeeping in a strange country under difficulties. The boys seemed glad to see American girls and many of them came over and bashfully shook hands with us. Some of them hadn't seen any girls from the States for months.

WHERE THE FIRST DOUGHNUTS WERE FRIED

FROM there our Col. Barker, of the S. A., took three other girls and myself out in a car to look for some troops who needed mothering. Our destination proved to be a big camp of the First Ammunition Train, which supplies ammunition to the First Division, America's famous shock troops. The boys absolutely refused to let us go, so Col. Barker left us with them. It was at this camp and on this division that the first American doughnut was given its try-out.

"What can we make to eat out of the things we have that will be American and taste good to the boys?" said one of the girls.

"A doughnut," promptly replied Margaret Sheldon, of Chicago, Ill., and a doughnut it was. We had no rolling pin, so the dough had to be patted into shape, and then came the question of how to cut it out. That problem was solved with the top of a baking-powder can and the hole, for whoever heard of a doughnut without a hole, was made with a camphor ice tube. I fried the first doughnut and saw it eaten by an American soldier. One of the boys remarked a short time after that as he was munching one of our doughnuts, "if this is war, let it continue."

When orders came for the men to move to the front, the Commanding Officer did not think we would be allowed to go, but just the same he supplied each of us with a helmet, two gas masks, and a shelter-half. (A shelter-half is part of a tent and the other half is carried by the fellow who shares the tent with you.)

UNDER BOCHE GUNS

IT was decided that we were to go to the front after all. On our arrival in the Toul Sector, the boys made dug-outs for us, we opened our canteen, and everything was decidedly comfy considering we were in range of the enemy's guns. One of the boys gave me a dog, a French shepherd dog, whom we called "Sancey," and whenever the Boche planes began to bomb us that dog ran immediately to the dugout where she knew she would be fairly safe. But I can't say that the doughboys or doughgirls displayed quite so much common sense. Most of us ran out to see the planes, and on one occasion one of them flew so close to the ground that we could see the aviator. Several of the boys, and a couple of the girls, too, got rifles and shot at him. Of course this was very dangerous and strictly against regulations, for it only proved to the Boche, what he already suspected, that troops were billeted there.

It was at this time that the General in command of that division asked that all American women doing war work in France assist at the hospitals during a drive. I volunteered and was sent to a field hospital for gas and shell-shock men. I worked in the evacuation ward trying to make the men as comfortable as possible while awaiting their turn. We washed the blood from their faces, took away their handkerchiefs which were soaked with the gas, and gave them fresh pieces of gauze. For some we wrote letters, and if we had time washed their hands. We always made hot chocolate, soups, or cooling drinks for them. A doctor said to me, "If you women didn't do anything but walk through the wards so the boys could see you, and hear you talk, it would help." Another doctor told us that the hos-

pital attendants were more gentle with their patients because women were there.

THE SLEEPERS IN THE POPPY FIELDS

ONE afternoon I was feeling a bit "fed-up" with remaining indoors, so I left one girl in charge of the hut and suggested to the others that we take a walk. We felt that it was selfish to be merely taking a pleasure stroll, and decided to go up the hill and decorate the three American graves there. They were by a poppy field, and gathering great armfuls of these brilliant blooms, we made the resting place of those American boys a mass of pink and crimson flowers.

"Let's go down the other side of the hill to the hospital and leave the rest there," I said. "We have so many left." So we did and I hope they cheered up the sick boys.

Whenever we find an American grave (they are all marked), we take pictures of it, and if possible get the address of the relatives and write them, telling its location. It must be some comfort to those at home to know that *his* grave is being cared for by another American woman. The French people incidentally are very kind in this respect, and often the kiddies carry bouquets of flowers to put on freshly made graves of "Les Americains."

THE LURE OF THE KITCHEN

SOMEBODY once asked me how many batches of doughnuts we make in a day. I couldn't say, because we make one right after the other, as fast as we can. As soon as the boys find out we are making doughnuts they begin to line up, and as fast as they are cooked, they take them out of the pot with a twig.

Most of the work done by the ammunition boys must, of a necessity, be done at night, so I kept my hut open all night.

An officer said to me, "Adjutant Purviance, since your hut has been open at night I find my men have fewer accidents and less repairing to do. They don't want to miss that piece of pie and cup of hot chocolate."

We hadn't had any mail for almost a month and the boys were "pretty low," as they expressed it. They hung around the kitchen more than ever. Some of them scraped pans and washed mugs because they wanted a chance to talk to us. It was very hard to get flour at that time, the transportation facilities being especially bad, and one day one of the boys came in the kitchen and said, "I know why you can't get any flour." Of course we all asked, "Why?"

"Because," he said with a grin, "they are making so many doughboys now."

While I was running two huts about a kilometer and a half apart, I started out for the other one late one evening. About half way there I met the girl I had left in charge marching along at the head of a whole company of soldiers. In answer to my question she replied, "the Captain said we could entertain these boys for the evening." So back to the hut we went and I gave the top sergeants fifteen minutes to select the best talent in the lot. They sang, gave recitations, danced and told funny stories. They all like to sing, also to play games; blind man's bluff, drop the handkerchief, and romping games that go back to the days of their childhood parties.

THE FIGHT ON THE SOISSONS FRONT

WE arrived at the Soissons front about nine o'clock one night and the billeting officer assigned us to quarters for the night. We always carry blankets, cots, and sometimes mattresses. When we got to the house assigned to us, or rather what was left of the house, we found it already occupied, so back we went. We didn't want to look for another place because we knew all the corners would be harboring sleeping soldiers. So we just sat and waited for our friend the billeting officer. He didn't get back until 4 o'clock, so we decided to sleep some other time and began to make out doughnuts, pies, and hot chocolate for the coming day. Everyone had left the village but two old ladies, who had positively refused to go, and they still pottered around in

their garden perfectly indifferent to the shells the Boche sent over at frequent intervals.

The next night we made our beds in an ammunition truck. You have never seen anything so beautifully kept as the engines in those trucks and the boys are justly proud of them. During the Cantigny drive our General sent a message to the front asking if the line was still holding and the answer came back, "it will hold as long as you continue to keep us supplied with ammunition."

Our boys are such splendid fighters! When they start after the Hun nothing stops them, not even their own barrage. Many of them have been wounded simply because they wouldn't stop, and went right through our own artillery fire, but as the boys all say they want to "see those Germans pushing up the daisies."

I heard a captured German General say, "your men are wonderful fighters. You have organized and trained an army in a few months that would have taken us five years."

Our boys told me they had captured machine gun nests where German women had been strapped to the guns just as the men were. In fact not far from us there was a woman among the prisoners.

Putting women in the trenches, and sawdust in their bread, were some of the other things Germany had to resort to before the end. I happened to find some of their bread and saw the sawdust but I wanted to be sure, so one of the doctors examined it too. A German prisoner stood and watched us, then said, "the Kaiser baked that bread."

My brother, who is working with the ambulance service, was carrying the wounded out of a town I watched being shelled. It was filled with civilians and among those hurt was a small boy of about eight or nine. Just before my brother left me I gave him a flower, so he gave it to the little fellow.

"He didn't groan once," he told me afterwards, "and nearly one whole side of his face was shot away. I put him in my ambulance and took him to the nearest hospital but

when I got there he was dead. Closely pressed to his baby face was the crushed flower."

One of the hardest things I ever had to do was to tell a boy of his mother's death. His captain came to me with two letters, one written to him by the boy's sister and the other for the boy.

"Look here, you're a woman and can do this better than I can," he said, putting the two letters in my hand. Then he sent the boy to me. He was just a youngster, only seventeen years old. When I finished talking with him, he said, "I guess my sister thinks I don't care what happens now, but she's wrong. I'm going to live a clean, straight life so I'll be able to meet my mother when it's all over."

FOR THE DAYS OF WAITING

I HAVE a message to you mothers, wives, sisters, and sweethearts of America, a message from your boys in khaki. I am trying to tell you what it means to those boys to have some of their womenkind with them in France, and how much more it's going to mean to them now that the fighting has stopped. Those fighters of ours whom we affectionately call "our boys," but whom the Germans speak of as "men," will need us much more now. America can't send too many of her best men and women to help the man in khaki through that tiresome period of waiting to come home.

I have been in the Salvation Army for ten years, serving mankind. I have been within sound of the guns for fifteen months, and twice, during the whole time, I was, I must admit, what is so expressively called, "scared to death." A bomb did it once and a shell the other time. When the bomb fell I was out in the vegetable garden with some other girls and several soldiers. Somebody yelled and automatically everybody threw themselves flat on the ground. The bomb hit near us and made a hole large enough to put a small size house in. The other time I was standing in the little curtained off part of the tent we used for our sleeping quarters, when I heard the swish of a shell. I knew it

wasn't from our guns because there was no report. So I faced about with the vague idea of dodging it. It landed all right but fortunately for me it was a dud and didn't explode, or I wouldn't be here now.

When we got ready to move to the Verdun front, the Colonel said no women could go.

"Oh, Colonel, you don't mean that," said one of our girls. "You can't expect us to stay here when our boys are going?"

"You can't go," he repeated, "you will be killed."

"Please don't say we can't go, Colonel. We can't leave our boys but we can die with them."

Eighty per cent of the S. A. workers in France are women, and I am glad I was permitted to be one of the first four that went to the front. I have been on six different battle fronts. When I first went to Toul I saw Mont Sec and was there again in time to see it captured.

I have a letter from Colonel Lawton which will give you some idea of what our work means to the boys. I am very proud of this letter which is written in his own hand.

"SOMEWHERE IN FRANCE."

JUNE 25th, 1918.

Adjutant Helen Purviance,
Salvation Army.

MY DEAR MISS PURVIANCE:

I have been informed that there is a probability of your leaving the Sector occupied by our Division and I feel that I would be lacking in my duty as an officer if I did not make an effort to express to you my sincere gratitude for, and in appreciation of, your work while with us.

You have labored early and late through all conditions of weather and hardships to brighten the lot of the American soldier at the front. No privation, exposure, or danger has been too great for you to stand as long as you were able to feel that your efforts contributed in the slightest degree to the comfort of others.

I can assure you that your work has made the organization that you represent welcome in any camp or station of

the army and you may rest assured that you will always carry with you the gratitude of those for whom you have done so much.

On the behalf of my officers and men I wish you God-speed and only good luck and happiness which you so richly deserve.

Truly your friend,

F. G. LAWTON,

Colonel U. S. A. Commanding First Division Trains.

AND THE DAWN CAME

By LEONIE DAVIS COLLISTER

ALL night I listened for your step in vain—
I only heard the wind crash through the rain,
And as a mourner guards his precious dead,
I guarded in my heart each word you'd said,
And wept in wonder that life had been so sweet;
And then the dawn came palely down the street.

THE PERILS OF SECRET TREATY MAKING

How Conspiring Diplomacy and Public Ignorance
Produce War

By HON. WILLIAM E. BORAH

[U. S. SENATOR FROM IDAHO]

ASSUMING that the President's personal appearance at Versailles will establish the safety of world democracy, the triumph will be the destruction of a menace far greater than actual war, the destruction of secret diplomacy.

There is a story associated with the treaty of 1871 between France and Germany which throws much light upon the methods of secret diplomacy. France was anxious to secure a retrocession of Belfort, an Alsatian fortress. One of the French plenipotentiaries was a shrewd, persevering man of business, a student of human nature, by the name of Pouyer-Quertier. The representatives of the great Powers had sat late into the night. Bismarck finally announced that he was desirous of retiring and made ready to go. But Pouyer-Quertier insisted upon another bottle of wine, and Bismarck finally yielded. Before the bottle was finished Belfort had been receded to France.

For nearly three centuries in secret chambers, in the midst of conviviality and for reasons wholly disassociated with the interest or welfare of the people concerned, peoples and nations have been handed about. Will the world in the face of this awful catastrophe ever again permit the interests and relations of nations to be determined without full knowledge to those who must meet with all they have the crisis when it comes?

It is not very material to a people to have the publication of a treaty if its entire negotiation has been carried on in

secrecy up to the point where they are bound by it as a nation. If the Powers operating in secrecy proceed to the point where the treaty has become valid and binding, there is not much consolation to the people in knowing what it is after it has reached the point where their mouths are closed and they are stopped as a practical matter from any proceeding whatever. Therefore, to begin with, we must open discussion of the treaties before they are concluded and before they become binding upon the nations which are interested in the particular treaties.

EVILS OF PUBLICITY LESS THAN THOSE OF SECRECY

I WOULD be perfectly willing to concede that there may be some steps in the negotiations between the negotiating parties which at times ought to be treated in secret; but the secrecy never should extend to the point where the policy of a nation may be determined prior to open, full discussion and consideration upon the part of the treaty-making power. A treaty which establishes the policy or political course of a people ought to be open in its consideration from the very beginning. While evils may be conjured up in fancy with reference to the open consideration of the negotiation in some stages of it, those evils, in my judgment, are infinitely less than the evils which flow from secrecy. In weighing one against the other I have no difficulty myself in arriving at the conclusion that open diplomacy with reference to all matters which result in a final treaty or the shaping of a policy for people is the only proper procedure in this day and age of the world to establish the relationship of nations.

The President, in his address to Congress on January 8, 1918, said that the first item of the only possible program of the world's peace was:

Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

There is no limitation upon that, as to open negotiation, consideration, or discussion. In view of the fact that it is a

statement made by that part of the Government which would be more likely than the Senate of the United States to be called upon to act in secrecy in the origin of the proceedings, I take it that we can accept the President's view as to what constitutes open diplomacy, but this is not a new subject. It is one about which men have been thinking and writing, and upon which much has been said during the last 10 years. Many of the statements with reference to the evils of secret diplomacy come from those who have had much to do with the subject and who have given a vast amount of study to the subject at close range.

The London *Daily News*, in an editorial shortly before the commencement of the war, said:

Can Europe ever again tolerate the appalling peril of secret diplomacy? It belongs to the traditions of autocratic and personal government; it has no place in a democratic world.

That was a statement made before the most pronounced evil of secret diplomacy with which the world is familiar had been exposed to men, to wit, the present war. I do not contend, as has been often stated by men more familiar with the subject than I, that every war in Europe for the last hundred years can be traced to the evil consequences of secret diplomacy. But I do say, without hesitancy, that every war in Europe for the last hundred years has had, as a contributing and impelling cause, the evils of secret diplomacy. It has entered into every conflict and has tended to bring about every war in which Europe has been engaged even as far back as the treaty of Westphalia. Whether or not one could sustain the position that it has been the moving cause or the sole cause is not necessary for us here to discuss, but very few students of the subject will deny that it has been a powerfully contributing cause to these many conflicts. I think furthermore, no man can study the history of the present war, its origin and cause, without coming to the conclusion that it had its origin almost wholly and exclusively in secret diplomacy.

THE GERMAN PEOPLE THE VICTIMS OF SECRET DIPLOMACY
AND MISREPRESENTATION

HAD the consideration of these questions, even after the ultimatum to Serbia, been conducted in the open, before the entire world, with the sunlight of publicity beating in upon those people who were fomenting war and speculating in the lives of nations, the war would, I believe, have been averted. When we now reflect upon the visit of Lord Haldane to Germany, for instance, prior to the beginning of this war, and the action upon the part of the representatives of the several Governments, the dishonest, sinister, scheming of the dynasty of Germany playing under cover of secrecy, one can but conclude that this hellish conflict could have its birth nowhere outside of secrecy and darkness; the open light of day would have exposed it to premature death—secrecy is always the handmaiden of crime.

We have been loath to believe, as a people, that the mass of the German people would, had they known all and been free to act, have sanctioned the war. I do not mean a popular vote—I mean that if they could have known what was going on in secret with a view of bringing on the war.

There was a powerful propaganda put forth in Germany immediately following the declaration of war to convince the mass of the German people that war had been forced upon Germany. That propaganda was essential to secure from the German people the support that was necessary and essential to carry on the war. They were made to believe that every effort on the part of the Hohenzollerns or the dynasty, had been made to preserve peace. They knew nothing about the facts. It was all a matter of secrecy, confined to the chambers where the chancellors sit.

Had the German people been permitted to know the facts as they existed, had they been familiar with the scheme which was being carried out by their rulers and been permitted to judge of the facts as they developed from day to day it would have been a powerful factor against war even in Germany.

This war did not have its origin among the people of any country. There was no passion coming up from the great mass of those who fought and died in this war demanding the war. There was no familiarity with facts which enabled them even to have an opinion upon the matter. They moved up to the slaughter pen as thoroughly dumb driven by the secret diplomatic powers of certain European governments as the dumb brute goes to the shambles. There was not a note in Europe among the masses of the people anywhere favoring war. There was not a discordant passion among those now in battle line in Europe anywhere for this war. Those upon whom the burden falls entertained no enmity toward those whom they were slaughtering.

They were brought to the clash by the power which has been permitted for 300 years to carry on its schemes and its ambitions behind closed doors and to tie its peoples by obligations and schemes with which the people had nothing to do. The greatest war of all history was begun not to preserve liberty, but to destroy it, and the scheme was hatched in the chancellories of Europe. While these secret agents schemed the people toiled on in fancied security, without hatred or passion, until the secret conspiracy turned loose its dogs of war "in obedience to a barren diplomatic formula."

There has not been announced in this great controversy a proposition which goes more thoroughly to the heart of the controversy than the proposition which the President announced, that a prerequisite to any permanent peace is that hereafter no such thing shall happen; that hereafter the people shall be consulted; and the only way in which they can be consulted is by their knowing the different steps which their representatives take from day to day and month to month and year to year in their relations with other nations. Without realizing this as one of the fruits of the war, we can never enjoy real security.

WHY THE PEOPLE HAD TO BE EDUCATED TO THE WAR

WHEN this war began, in England the first six months of the war was devoted almost exclusively to arousing the English people to the real situation. They had to be

advised of things they were entitled to know long before. Almost every conceivable method of propaganda was adopted in order to bring the morale and the spirit of the English people up to the point of co-operation and solidarity in the support of the war. If they are permitted to be familiar with their relationship to other governments, they are prepared at all times either to approve or to disapprove of the conduct of their Government. In no instance in this conflict were the people themselves informed as to the nature of the controversy or as to the reasons why they should be called into such a conflict; and every single nation which entered into the war had to indulge in the same propaganda to familiarize its people with that with which they should have been familiar from the beginning, not only giving them the power to stay the proceeding of the conflict, if it was unjust and unrighteous, but to support it in case it was just and righteous, and to support it with vigor and with efficiency from the hour that the conflict arose.

I can conceive of no matter of more importance to the people with which they should be more familiar, than that of their relationship to the other nations. In this country we submit almost every conceivable complex question to the masses of the people, and they act upon it either direct or through their representatives. Almost every conceivable problem goes to them in some way through their elections—questions which are more complicated, more complex, and more difficult of solution than most international questions, and yet not so much depends upon their solution. The very life of the Nation, all their energy, their means, material and otherwise, are at the call of the Nation when the hour comes; and if there is any one question with which they should be familiar it is that which involves all they have. Domestic questions affect them seriously enough, but only proportionately to the seriousness of their relationship to other nations.

Up to the time that the President delivered his address and revealed the facts upon which we were compelled to act—the real reasons for going to war were not known to the people. The American people are perfectly capable of

forming sound and intelligent conclusions on these questions, and, be assured, American honor will not suffer at their hands. When war came both to Germany and to England and to this country these matters which might have been divulged and made known to them—the entente relationship, the treaties or understanding which bound those nations together, the obligation of one to another—had been in existence for years, and the people knew nothing whatever about them. They knew nothing about their relationship one to another, and had never been consulted with reference to those things for which they offered up their lives. These treaties are entered into contrary to the interests of the people, without the people being given any opportunity at all to pass upon them.

The propaganda for open diplomacy in Europe is widespread and seems to extend to every country of Europe. The people are determined that they will never enter another war, if they can have their way about it, which they have not themselves had anything to do with originating, and with which they were not in sympathy when it started, simply to carry out the agreement which had been made in secret by their representatives. In my humble judgment that applies also to the mass of the German people.

We were in this war by reason of the fact that the German dynasty was able to make these secret arrangements and keep them from their own people.

LUST OF POWER, SECRETLY SCHEMED, CAUSED THE WAR

EVER since the close of the Turco-Prussian war the scheme has been going forward which finally resulted in this war, and back of it were the ambitions and the lust for power. But this found its expression and its final achievement through the methods to which I have referred, the secret machinations and understandings and arrangements which they had been hatching and making throughout Europe.

Although at this time no one likes to remember it, every one would have liked to have kept out of this war if we

could have done so with honor. That was the attitude of the American mind; that was the attitude of the American public; it was the attitude of the American Congress, and it was the attitude undoubtedly of the American President. When the time came which compelled a reversal of that policy it was a very short period from that time until we declared war, and in that respect I maintain, as I have said, the people were not sufficiently informed as to the necessity for the declaration of war until they got it from the President and Congress. It came almost contemporaneously with the declaration itself.

But you might just as well argue in favor of a secret declaration of war as to argue in favor of a secret consideration of a treaty which may result in war. In the debate which took place in the English Parliament a short time ago I read a paragraph from Mr. Trevelyan, who said:

At the same time the House of Commons has shown an appreciation that there is a new era approaching and that the men and women of this country are going to take a more active and critical part in politics. * * * I am firmly convinced that during this war among many changes of opinion that have occurred there is, perhaps, no change of opinion so decisive as this, that our people now feel that self-government and democracy are unreal boasts, are empty phrases, if they are not applied with the same completeness to foreign policy as they are, and have been, to home policy.

There, in my judgment, is a succinct statement of the entire controversy. There can be no such thing as a democracy in the true sense of the word, as a rule of the people in my proper sense of the phrase if the matters which involve their foreign relationships are not as clearly understood and debated and considered by them as are the matters which deal with their domestic affairs. The matters which enter more directly into their very lives are the matters which are withheld from them; the matters concerning which they could endure secrecy are submitted to them.

NO SUCH THING AS DEMOCRACY WITH SECRET FOREIGN
DIPLOMACY

SHALL the Senate of the United States put its seal of approval upon such transaction by saying that we, too, will bind our people if it is within our power to do it, and notify them after the contract has been made? As this member of Parliament very well says, there is no such thing as democracy; it is a false phrase, unless the people are permitted to pass upon that for which they may be called upon to suffer and to die. He continues:

For 18 months they refused to give the House of Commons any information. At the conclusion of that time the arrangement was revealed to the world by the then Russian premier. Shortly afterwards occurred the Russian revolution. It then became apparent that the Russian people did not approve of the policy at all, but that it had been done in their name by the unscrupulous ministers who surrounded the Czar during his regime. I do not know why that arrangement with Russia about Constantinople should have been concealed from this house and the country for any reason except fear of their disapproval, and I am personally convinced—I may be wrong—that if there had been a foreign affairs committee, before whom the principal acts of policy had to be placed before they were realized, that agreement, in fact, would never have been arrived at with Russia.

So we see that the discussion is going on elsewhere; the movement is going forward in other countries, and we are simply keeping pace by our declaration in regard to this with that movement, which is world-wide. Its evils are upon every hand.

There was not a boy leaving his country home under the American flag who went forward to offer all he had upon the battle fields of Europe who was not to a very great extent a victim of secret diplomacy.

The conspiring ministers of Europe brought about a condition of affairs which compelled the United States to fight or give up its liberty, because the scheme behind closed doors was to destroy human liberty.

There may be "delicate questions" in Europe in connection with which secrecy should prevail. I am rather inclined to think that in the European chancelleries, where so many treaties were made for purely personal reasons or because of personal ambitions and at the instigation of a class of people who are sometimes interested, but that might be true; but I am thinking with reference to treaties which shall be made by this Republic.

NO TREATY TOO "DELICATE" TO GIVE TO THE PEOPLE

AS to them, there can be no "delicate questions" as it occurs to me.

I can not think now of any question that has arisen with reference to any treaty of this country since the beginning of the Government which could be really considered a question which the people ought not to know about. These "delicate questions" are rather indelicate suggestions to the effect that foreign affairs are too high up in the scale of intelligent effort for the consideration of the people. All public questions were once too delicate for the people, and in some countries of Europe, particularly in Germany.

What question has arisen with reference to any treaty in which the United States has been interested since the Jay treaty up to the present time that it would not have been well for the people of all Europe to have known about? Look back over the history of our treaties, their negotiation, their terms, and what finally became of them, and what question has arisen with reference to these treaties in the last hundred and odd years which the whole world could not have known about and been better off if they had known about it, and what question has arisen upon which the American people could not have passed with intelligence?

This conflict has closed. A scourged and weary people begin to assume again the avocations and duties of peace, and some of the most vital of human problems come up for consideration—problems whose solution will take form in treaties to be ratified. There is first the peace treaty, upon

which we are to build our hopes for permanent security, for a durable peace. It will have to do with our welfare and happiness as a people, our life as a Nation for years and perhaps for centuries. Certainly no one will contend that that treaty or any part of the negotiations should be considered in secret. Certainly no one will contend that those who have fought the fight and made the sacrifice, who in future years are to bend under the fearful debt the war has imposed, and finally through their energy and deprivations pay it, will not be entitled to know every step from the first to the consummation. Certainly no man will stand in the Senate and invoke secrecy upon that scene made possible by the blood and the offerings of the people. Certainly no one will contend that there are "delicate matters" here, too delicate for the inspection and approval or disapproval of those who are to make the treaty possible.

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY MUST NOT BE
CHANGED BEHIND CLOSED DOORS

A LONG with the treaty of peace will come other propositions, propositions which will reach down and take hold upon the very foundations of our national being and, if certain courses are adopted, may change the whole drift of our national life. We will likely be called upon then as a people, as a Nation, to pass upon the question of whether we will depart from the advice of the Father of his Country to enter into no permanent alliance with European powers or whether we shall hold fast to the faith which has guided us through the first century. I am not going to discuss the merits of this question. My views for what they are worth are known, and the vicissitudes of war have not changed them. But certainly that policy which bears the stamp of approval of Washington and Jefferson, which enabled us to steer through the unexplored sea upon which we launched our frail bark in 1789, and without which, in my judgment, the story of this Republic would have been a short-lived one, will not be changed behind closed doors. Whether we shall abandon the policy or hold to it is a subject upon which honest and

patriotic men may differ, but any man who would advocate its change without the full and complete knowledge and approval of the American people would have no claim to the respect and confidence of those who love free governments. Not one step should be taken, not the slightest obligation binding as to such a course should be had without the full knowledge and the unqualified approval of the people whose government this is. That which uproots the sacred traditions of a people should be approved alone by the people. No closed doors on that transaction.

Another phase of the same subject is presented in the proposition of a league to enforce peace—a league which it is hoped all nations will join. Neither do I discuss the merits of this proposition at this time.

I only point out its tremendous import, its almost stupendous possibilities for change in our national life. Some think it would make for peace, some think it would turn this Republic into an armed camp. It seems to me clear enough the changes wrought by such a course will be such as to make us a different political structure. We will necessarily take upon ourselves the race questions, the political jealousies, the troubles of tortured Europe. Some think we would be able to compose them and make for permanent peace. Others think, and with them stands the judgment of the fathers, that it would only draw us into the maelstrom of European politics. Only experience can fathom the troubled waters of that boundless sea. Will this, too, be considered in secret? Will alliances and treaties be made and confirmed for such a momentous course in secret? Will those matters upon which hang the happiness of the living and the countless generations to come be disposed of as "delicate problems"—too delicate for the people to understand or to pass upon, but not too delicate, perchance, to require limb and life in their support?

People who suffer and die as our people have done in the great cause of civilization can be trusted in every hour of every emergency which is to mark, as we hope, the onward progress of this Republic.

THEY SHALL PAY

By MARTHA B. THOMAS

PAY for the blood you have spilled in Picardy!
Pay for despair, and the tears of the old!
Pay for the terror of children in darkness!—
Buy desolation with silver and gold!

Pay for the eyes you have plunged into midnight!
Pay for the bodies you've shattered so well!
Pay for the laughter you've turned into screaming!—
What is your market of values in Hell?

Pay for the heartache that runs like a river,
Circling the sorrowing mothers of men!
Pay for the prayers of love and of longing!—
Here is a bill that will stagger you then;

You cannot pay, but your children's sad children,
Bearing the sting of your country and name,
They shall be bent with your debts of dishonor;
They shall be bowed with your burdens of shame.

Through their despair shall be paid the last farthing;
Through their distress shall be canceled each debt;
Yea, in their dreams will your Nemesis follow,
What you have done they will never forget.

YOUR RIGHT TO SPEAK FREELY

A Discussion of the Fundamental Rights of Loyal
Americans

BY HON. MILES POINDEXTER

[U. S. SENATOR FROM WASHINGTON]

A MOST unfortunate condition with reference to the freedom of public expression, and particularly that of the press, has been developed by the war. A widespread misunderstanding seems to have taken a deep hold upon the country.

It occurs primarily out of two things—first, the legislation against seditious and disloyal utterances and propaganda; and, second, the taking over by the several governmental agencies of the collection and distribution of information.

Incidental to these main factors are a number of measures also affecting the people's sources of information, and the means of developing a virile and independent public opinion. The increase of second-class postal rates upon newspapers and magazines and the establishment of the so-called zone system therein has worked a great injustice upon many sections of the country, particularly those remote from publishing centers. The success of any democratic government depends more upon an enlightened and well-informed public opinion than anything else.

A wise public policy should encourage and promote in every way possible the free circulation of all useful literature. The increase of postal rates and establishment of the zone system has crippled the circulation of many papers and magazines, and added extra burdens upon the people in securing necessary reading matter. The excuse for this made by the Post Office Department has been that the cost of the distribution of this matter in the mails was greater than

the receipts. When one compares the rates and conditions in such countries as Canada with our own, it is difficult to accept the figures put out by the Post Office Department. Irrefutable showing as to inaccuracy and exaggeration of statements as to this cost have been made, but aside from all that the papers and magazines of the country are perhaps as great an educational factor as the schools of the country. Upon the latter we spend something like six hundred million dollars a year; so even if the distribution of papers and magazines costs the Government more than the postal receipts were under the former rates, it would still be good policy to encourage and facilitate this distribution even at that extra expense. The Democratic Administration's policy in this regard is opposed to the fundamental principles of uniformity of rates of public service to all regardless of locality and to that wise policy of government aid and encouragement of learning so essential to a free government.

USE AND ABUSES OF PROPAGANDA

IN the eagerness with which the people and Congress have come to the support of the Government in the war with a grant of practically every request made by those responsible for its conduct, enormous appropriations of money out of the public Treasury have been turned over to the Administration for war propaganda and censorship. This has been developed far beyond the anticipation of Congress. In the brief space of this article, I cannot even enumerate the nature of the abuses, to say nothing of the specific instances, which might be tabulated, of the perversion of this power for partisan or other improper purposes. The theatres have been utilized. On going one evening to a moving picture exhibition I listened to a four-minute speaker, operating at the expense of the Committee on Public Information presumably to aid in the sale of Liberty Bonds, a good portion of whose speech was taken up with a fulsome eulogy of the Democratic President. It would be interesting to have figures as to what percentage of the printed matter put out by this committee is devoted to fulsome praise of the ac-

complishment of the Administration, rather than to a statement of fact. The suppression of the truth rather than the truth itself has often been the obvious purpose in view in this propaganda. This was notoriously exemplified in the defense of the Administration in its ordnance and aeroplane failures. The sordidness of this sort of use of funds lavishly supplied in the great burst of patriotism of our people does not need to be elaborated upon.

The legislation enacted by Congress to punish and prevent, if possible, the support of the enemy by written or spoken words was just and necessary. When the country is engaged in a struggle for its existence, as the United States is at present, no man under its jurisdiction should be allowed to aid the enemy by espousing his cause. In my opinion the penalty for such disloyalty and treason cannot be made too severe. I am in entire accord with the laws on this subject, and wrote myself that section which penalizes the support of the German cause or opposition to the cause of the United States.

Unfortunately, however, partly through a misunderstanding of the law, partly through an excess of zeal for the country's cause, there has been promulgated an idea that it is disloyal and unlawful to criticize public officials, and especially the President. It is astonishing to what extent even the editors of great newspapers have either been deceived or intimidated by this idea. It has been promoted in large degree by the propaganda and arguments of the Committee on Public Information and by the action in certain cases of the Post Office Department or postmasters, as in the case of the seizure of the Metropolitan magazine by the New York Postmaster.

PUBLIC OPINION, THE GOVERNING FORCE OF A FREE COUNTRY

IT may be well to take advantage of this opportunity to state what the law is on the subject; and what it seems should be the rule of propriety. Instead of it being unlawful to criticize public officials at this time there never was a time

when it was more essential, if our Government is to accomplish what is expected of it, that there should be free and independent expression in regard to the conduct of public officials. The force of public opinion, which operates solely through its expression in speeches and on the printed page, is the governing force in every free country. It is the great dynamo which drives the machinery of State. It is absolutely essential to the proper conduct of affairs. Without it, selfishness, dishonesty, and incompetence would flourish in office, and disaster would soon follow. If the free operation of public opinion is essential in time of peace, it is more essential in time of war, because of the more vital character of the issues involved. When the Government, either through a postmaster, its Committee on Public Information, with its ramification of agencies and activities, or through any other activity, inculcates the idea that public officials, including the President himself, should not be criticised and that all loyal citizens will support these officials in every policy which they espouse and in every act which they commit—it is reaching a heresy which in itself is disloyal and of the utmost danger. Furthermore, it is untrue. Every man has a perfect legal right now, as at all other times, to speak and write freely about public officials, either in support or condemnation, and this applies to the President as well as everybody else. He and all other public officials are subject to trial and judgment at the bar of public opinion, which cannot operate except through its means of expression. Even in times of peace it is unlawful to publish or speak malicious falsehoods to the damage of either a private citizen or public official. So far from a public official being exempt from criticism, the common law recognizes and tolerates a greater freedom of expression and of criticism of public officials than of private individuals, recognizing it as an agency of government, and due allowance is often made by the courts, in the trial of libel suits, for the extraordinary latitude of criticism to which public officials are subject.

NOT DIFFICULT TO DETERMINE DISLOYALTY AND SEDITION

THE same rule exists now as heretofore. It is unlawful to publish disloyal or seditious matters. What is disloyal and seditious is not difficult to determine, and, of course, no loyal citizen desires to publish any such matter and all are interested in preventing such publication. It is unlawful to publish false and malicious statements in regard to public officials, but it always has been so, and there is no new rule or law in that regard. With these limitations it is perfectly lawful and permissible to discuss freely and comment upon or criticize the acts of all public officials; in fact, the highest loyalty and patriotism might require not only the criticism, but the denunciation of public officials. Sometime ago the name of a Colonel in the Army was sent to the Senate for confirmation for Brigadier General. I was advised of certain disloyal utterances which this Colonel had spoken in various parts of the country. Under the circumstances it was not disloyal or improper to criticize this officer for his conduct, but on the contrary in my judgment loyalty required everyone aware of what he had said to criticise and denounce him and to give publicity to his conduct in this regard. I did so, and after considerable trouble prevented him from being promoted to Brigadier General, but was somewhat surprised a little later to find that the Secretary of War had put him in charge of the War Intelligence Office at Chicago. In France, it has been proved in trials in the courts that high public officials were carrying on treasonable negotiations with Germany. Could it be said that it was disloyal for a patriotic Frenchman to criticise these traitors in office? While we have had but few, and those inconspicuous instances, of that kind in the United States since the days of Aaron Burr, it still serves to point the principle we are discussing. It is of the very essence of the proper conduct of the war that stupidity, incompetence, luke-warmness, indolence, or disloyalty in office should be pointed out, criticized, exposed, and denounced wherever it exists. Now, as heretofore, newspapers and individuals are responsible to the law and to public

opinion for the soundness, truth, and loyalty of their expressions. There is no other limitation.

THE PUBLIC HAS THE RIGHT OF DISCRIMINATION

A FEW days ago a United States Senator declared that it was the duty of the people to support the President "in every particular"; and on the next day another Democratic Senator went still further and declared in a resolution, which he introduced, not that we should support the President in all of his known policies and acts, but that we should pledge ourselves to support him in unknown and undisclosed actions "in whatever course he may pursue" in the future. It probably would not be difficult to discover a motive for this position in these particular cases, but the idea that Congress or the people generally should so blind themselves, surrender all right of judgment or discrimination, will find little acceptance; in fact, the first of these utterances had particular reference to the President's negotiations of the 8th of October with Germany as to terms of peace. The deluge of criticism, protest, and denunciation, which swept over the country, showed that the public did not share the views of the Senator referred to. It is very likely that this overwhelming expression of public opinion against the negotiations which the President had begun with the German government caused the President in his note of October 14th to break off the negotiations. Apparently he felt some resentment against the criticism to which he had been subjected, as on the same day he issued a statement to the public, over his signature, asking them to subscribe for bonds, but "to leave to the governments of the United States and of the Allies the momentous discussions initiated by Germany."

The incident and the result, however, both serve to emphasize the right and value of independent public criticism of a high official.

All of this, however, is subject to rules of propriety and expediency. The people have constantly before their eyes

the welfare of the nation, and in any emergency the question of whether it is wise or expedient to attack an action of the government or to call public attention to a delinquency of a public official will present itself. From the existence of the right it does not always follow by any means that it should be exercised on every occasion. As to when and to what extent the inherent privileges of a free press and of free public discussion may be exercised, subject to the law of loyalty, of truth, and of good faith, must depend in the last analysis upon the sense of propriety of every individual.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY AND PEACE PROBLEMS

Intricate Questions Upon Which Depend the Peace
of Europe

By ROLAND G. USHER

[PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, ST. LOUIS]

NOT the military victory over Germany, now happily overwhelming, but the foreign policy of the United States promises to be from this moment forth the vital fact in determining the character of the peace settlement. The key to our foreign policy is now, and will continue to be, not the terms we propose to exact, in cooperation with the Allies, from the Central Powers, nor our own future relations with the latter, but our present and future policy toward our "co-belligerents" and "associates in arms."

The dominant factor in the relationship of the belligerents is the policy of this country, for it determines the relationship between them, which, in its turn, determines their relation to Germany and Austria, and their decision as to the fate of both. The gravest danger which this country may create for itself and others will result from our failure to choose purposefully a definite relationship to the various parts of the international structure, from an attempt to create co-operation with the European states in terms of isolation and of no entangling alliances.

There are those who object vigorously to the term "foreign policy," who shudder at the idea of diplomacy, who see lurking in those words, imperialism, secrecy, mistrust, the duping of the people, aggression. Yet whether we will or no, we have a policy. Such relations as the United States now has to other countries constitute our foreign policy.

Today the decision of the Allies as to the fate of Germany and Austria-Hungary rests upon the expediency of

attempting to deal in the future with those two nations as they had been before the war, or sanctioning and assisting certain movements in both nations tending to constitutional changes so sweeping as to affect their international position to a marked degree.

IMPORTANCE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY

IT is inevitable that the possible and probable arrangements in Europe must be made with reference to the United States, whose intentions in relation to foreign policy were, previous to the war, to all intents and purposes, absolutely unknown, not only to Europeans but to Americans themselves.

For the Allies and for the United States there exists a certain number of alternatives in regard to Germany and Austria, based necessarily upon the extent to which the existing coalition, created for the purpose of the war, may continue after the treaty of peace.

Let us suppose the coalition is entirely dissolved and that its present members cease to be pledged to each other and proceed to act without definite relation to each other's policies. Immediately every element in the situation has been evaluated. France and Italy, located by nature contiguously to Germany and Austria, and without definite pledges of immediate assistance, would find it extremely desirable to get into their own hands, not only their own military frontiers, but also the approaches to them in Germany and Austria, and would also prefer to see the overwhelming physical preponderance of those states destroyed. There would otherwise be no security.

If now the nations of the world should assume toward each other definite, mutual obligations in a league of nations and pledge their support and protection to France and Italy against aggression, the character of the league of nations would be the measure of the value of the guarantee which France and Italy received.

If Germany and Austria, unchanged in size and in government, should be admitted to the league of nations on equal

terms, and if the present Allies should not continue pledges of aid and assistance, the old balance of power would merely be reproduced in the league of nations. The councils of which would continually see a struggle for control of the league, in which France and Italy would be at a disadvantage and continually apprehensive of trouble. That would be far from security.

SOME LEAGUE OF NATIONS PROBLEMS

BUT if the present Allies should be willing to assume toward France and Italy more explicit and friendly relations than with Germany and Austria, to plan co-operation between themselves beyond that which they were willing to create with Germany and Austria, the league might then offer France and Italy definite security, because it would rest upon public pledges of assistance. This would, however, be tantamount to excluding Germany and Austria from the league on equal terms. It would indeed deprive the league of its character as an international government of equal sovereign states which the idealists are so anxious to insure. The attitude of the United States would decide naturally the fate of Germany and Austria and the fate of the league. For the physical power of the United States is such that it can never be disregarded, and sad experience has only too definitely shown that should Germany and Austria-Hungary retain their form previous to the war, the physical force of the United States would be essential in an emergency to offset their greater power.

But suppose the United States should in whatever way or for whatever reason—and so far as the European nations were concerned, neither would in the least matter—decide for a free hand itself in future policy, for a literal minimum of obligation of any sort to any foreign nation, for no ties or professions beyond those of natural sympathy—the result of comradeship in arms during the present war.

The league of nations would then become a loose, indeterminate association of sovereign states, from which France and Italy could not expect security, because its as-

sistance would be eventual rather than immediate, especially if the United States should fail to maintain a military establishment of its own of considerable size.

It would then become essential to create security upon the basis of European dispositions. Elaborate territorial concessions, considerable indemnities and financial guarantees would immediately become imperative. A series of extremely explicit undertakings between Italy and France and, in particular, of both with Great Britain, would become indispensable to reassure each other of the security which they would otherwise fear the United States might for some reason in a critical moment decline to give.

NO SECURITY WHILE GERMANY IS STRONG

NCESSARILY these decisions would preclude the admission of Germany and Austria on equal terms, if indeed the Allies did not feel it wise to decline to receive Germany and Austria at all until after a period of probation.

Suppose, on the other hand, that the United States is willing to enter clear, reciprocal, explicit understandings for the support and defense of France, Belgium, and Italy, and is willing to make public her agreements; suppose that she should come to some definite understanding about sea power with Great Britain; then a situation would exist—however phrased in international arrangements, through the machinery of a league of nations, or by the older method of alliance, written or implicit—which would render all parties secure against Germany and Austria with much less severe financial and territorial concessions. Both nations might safely be allowed to work out in such way as they should see fit their own administrative future.

While it would be desirable for Belgium and Italy to see the physical preponderance of Germany and Austria-Hungary abolished, it would under these circumstances not be imperative. Great Britain, secure on the seas by virtue of her understanding with France and the United States, would be less concerned about the fate of the German fleet and merchant marine.

Whether or not Germany and Austria-Hungary should be admitted to the league of nations on equal terms would naturally depend, partly upon what they themselves continued to be as elements of the international situation, and partly upon the constitution of the league of nations itself. If they continued powerful in size, efficient in government, security would not be possible so long as they entered the league as equal members. If they were reduced in size, especially if they were so reduced that their physical preponderance in population to a large extent disappeared, they then might be admitted as equal members to any league of nations.

In the end it would come to this: either the United States would agree to become an integral part of the European situation and form alliances or make understandings, or the United States would decline to become an integral part of the European situation, would make accordingly neither alliances nor understandings, and thus force the European states to settle the European situation upon a European and not upon an international basis.

CHANGING THE MAP OF EUROPE

NOW, in the light of these assumptions, what is the existing situation? What has been and promises to be President Wilson's policy? We must study first the facts of the situation and note what is done rather than what is said. The disruption of Austria is a fact, not merely a political and physical fact but a diplomatic fact, for all of the Allied nations had pledged themselves in advance to recognize the new states which are being formed out of the fragments of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Those states, too, have been formally recognized by the United States, so that we may say without hesitation that the disruption of Austria-Hungary was deemed expedient by the Allied nations and by the United States. Once that fact becomes clear, we see that the fundamental policy is the creation of a balance of power in Europe by the weakening of the Central Empires. Otherwise the Powers would not have recognized the new states

and would, as in the past, have insisted that they should seek salvation and nationality through autonomy under the Austrian flag.

In the next place we know definitely that treaties were signed between the European Allies which provided definitely for the physical weakening of Germany. They proposed to take from her in the west the whole of the territory on this side of the Rhine, though they do not necessarily mean to add it to France. They have pledged themselves in the east to cede the great province of Posen to the new Poland, and have given a large section of Silesia to the Czecho-Slovak state. This means without question the loss of all of Germany's military frontiers, for without possession of its western bank, the Rhine itself ceases to be a German river and fortresses on the left bank, which might command the right, become possible. The loss of Posen exposes Berlin from the east, while the loss of Silesia sacrifices the roads on the southeast; the Czecho-Slovaks in Bohemia will probably be in control of the mountains and will hold the keys to Saxony and the roads to Berlin from the south.

DISARMING MITTEL EUROPA

THESE concessions will further involve a sacrifice of perhaps ten or fifteen millions of population, tremendous natural resources, and a considerable area of territory. Austria is to be reduced literally to Upper and Lower Austria and the old crown lands, a district containing probably about five millions of people and about a third the size of England and Wales. The German fleet and merchant marine will be so weakened, if not ceded altogether, that access to the sea will be most difficult for Germany and impossible for Austria and Hungary.

Considerable direct gains will be made by France and Italy. The economic and military value of Alsace and Lorraine is very great and there are not a few people. Italy will receive the Trentino and Trieste, and perhaps a good deal more, making a considerable accession of territory and of

population, but, of particular importance, giving her complete control of her own military approaches. The remains of Austria-Hungary will be organized in various Slav states with an aggregate of not less than fifty millions of people, all enthusiastically anti-German, and possessed of the military approaches to Germany on the east, with military control of Vienna and of the Hungarian plain, to say nothing of the Black Sea and the Balkans.

If a neutral state is created along the west side of the Rhine, as seems probable, Germany and Austria would in the future find the problem of aggression extremely difficult. They would be separated from France by the Rhine and by a strip of neutral states reaching from the English Channel to the Alps. These they must first cross before they could approach the French boundary, where they would find literally the entire military approaches already in French hands. Any assault which they would make would be a frontal attack upon prepared positions. They would be separated from Italy by Slav states, larger in size, in the aggregate, than Austria, possibly as large as Germany, and, having crossed on the bodies of these active fighters, assuming such a fact possible, the Germans and Austrians would again find the military approaches in the foe's hands.

THE PRESIDENT'S ATTITUDE

AND the foe in both cases would have been strengthened by the addition of part of the population which Germany and Austria had lost. It would seem true beyond the possibility of denial that the settlement, already in process of execution in Europe, proposes to create a physical balance of power of such character that France and Italy, with the assistance of the Slav nations, can maintain themselves against any conceivable assault from Germany or Austria.

It is now well to look at the facts about American foreign policy, partly as we see them in the statements of the President, partly as we see them to be from the statements of the Allied nations in reply. The President insisted at first that

the co-operation of the United States was to be immediate, determined, unlimited, but confined to a military and industrial co-operation during the war and primarily directed against Germany. Specifically he declined to sign treaties, to draw up agreements, to authorize understandings of any sort, type or character. In his very first documents and in his final speech to the Congress announcing the armistice, he declined to group the United States with the Allied nations, declined to use the term "Allies," persisted in the phrases, "associates in arms," "the Allied nations with which the United States is associated in arms," "the Allied nations and the United States," "the United States in co-operation with its associates in arms, the Allied nations in Europe." It would scarcely seem possible that language could be found to express more definitely and completely the President's notion that no arrangements concerning the present or future existed between the United States and any or all of our European associates for any purpose whatever. So long as in his public utterances such is the President's attitude, so long as he continues to insist, as he always has, that secret diplomacy is unworthy of statesmen and of a democratic nation, we can hardly suppose that he has authorized any secret understandings of the type which have often existed between nations.

SIGNS OF PEACE CONFERENCE DISCORDS

IF testimony and reason are of any value, the United States is not now and will not be, so long as the President remains of this same mind, in any way pledged to any of our Allies for the future. Yet his public utterances have lucidly and vigorously defined lofty and idealistic visions for the future of the world. He is determined that a real democracy shall emanate from the war in the internal arrangements of all nations, not less in Germany than in the United States, nor yet more in Germany than in America, England, and France. A real internationalism he has espoused, and is willing to go great lengths to insure its efficiency and permanence. The negative aims of his policy are scarcely of

less consequence than the positive. He is averse to any measure which smacks of imperialism; he has set his foot upon all changes which might create soil for future wars. In uncompromising phrase he has rejected secret diplomacy and all of its wiles and methods as an expedient which the United States can never utilize or countenance. He has more than once defined the league of nations and has insisted that Germany and Austria must become members, and, by implication, members on equal terms.

Between the United States and our associates there existed, so far as the war was concerned, so far as the terms of the armistice were concerned, complete accord. This was entirely consonant with the original position of the President which limited our co-operation to the conduct of the war and to the case of Germany. But despite acceptance of the President's fourteen points by the Allies and by the Germans and Austrians, to say nothing of lesser fry, all is not harmonious for the peace conference and for the future. The United States is not in agreement on some exceedingly important points with the Allies.

EUROPEANS WILL RAISE OBJECTIONS

THE formal note of November fifth of the Allied nations to President Wilson definitely and formally declined to accept the most important single point of the fourteen so far as the relationship of the Allies themselves is concerned, the second point, relating to freedom of the seas. They professed themselves literally unwilling to accept that clause in any construction whatever and explicitly reserved for themselves complete liberty in all matters which it concerned. Inasmuch as our sole contact with Europe is necessarily by sea, they scarcely could have made a reservation more significant or important. The President's appeal to the country for the election of a Democratic Congress would also have been superfluous had he been in complete accord with the Allied nations, had he not proposed to urge at the peace conference policies which he was aware might meet with opposition.

The President has addressed himself to a task of the first magnitude and we shall be unwise to suppose that he does not recognize its appalling difficulty. That the chances are against his accomplishing such absolutely idealistic ends he knows, but he also sees that there is still a chance worth trying. In failure there can be no disgrace; in success there would be an achievement of which the statesmen of the ages have dreamed. It is not to be expected that the Europeans, who have more at stake than we, should hesitate and doubt, raise objections and desire to create additional safeguards of the old type. But such seems to be American policy: to urge certain international arrangements which contain for ourselves no very positive or direct gains of a selfish type, which involve possible risks for the European nations, but, could they be realized, would mark a stride forward in political organization of astounding import.

THE DOUGHBOYS' WAY

Thrills and Humors of the Battle Front Not
Mentioned in the Dispatches

By DOUGHBOY

WE had been attacking for days, harpooning the Hun all the way up from the Ourcq, and now the order had come down to take that little town on the Vesle, called Fismes. Generally the telephone men follow the attacking lines of infantry, stringing their wire as they go. But this Fismes operation was so delicate that the Colonel in command of the regiment, which had been chosen to do the storming, wanted to be sure that his telephone lines would be working. It was imperative that swift communication be maintained between his headquarters and the *Poste de Command* of the leading battalion. To insure this he ordered a telephone detail to proceed at once toward the Hun lines, secretly laying wire to a place he had chosen from the map where the P. C. of the 1st Battalion would be when the attack had progressed to its first objective.

It was dangerous work; volunteers were asked for. The entire signal detail of the regiment stepped forward. With their telephones and coils of wire, the men in command of a Sergeant, stole out into the night.

"Call up regimental headquarters," the Colonel had said, "as soon as the line is working."

A half hour passed, the officers in the Regimental P. C. every now and then glancing anxiously at their phone. Down in the big dugout they could hear the hungry growl of the shells. Every one of them knew that the Huns were putting a terrific fire on that part of the terrain where the telephone men had gone. Five, ten minutes more, with everyone listening now anxiously for the Sergeant's ring. And then it came.

"Sergeant ——— speaking, sir. Communication is established."

"How is it out there?" the Adjutant asked.

"Pretty hot, sir. Two of my men killed, one wounded."

"Sergeant, you take cover with the others and leave one man at the phone. Have him ring us up every five minutes."

"Yes, sir."

Five minutes passed and, as ordered, the phone in the Regimental P. C. buzzed again, "Sergeant ——— speaking, sir."

"Sergeant, what are you doing on the wire?" the Adjutant called back. "I told you to take cover and to have one of your men stay there."

"Well, sir, I couldn't bring myself to tell a feller to stay in this place, the way the square heads are shelling it—so I stayed here myself."

That's the way of the "Doughboy." Tactically he makes up the bone and brawn of the army; he is the battering ram of the A. E. F., for artillery alone never won a battle. It's the "Doughboy" who drives off the Hun and who *occupies* the ground that the Hun held. And spiritually they are the soul of the A. E. F., for their's is the dirty work; their's the hunger and their's—bless them!—the genial grin.

Try to picture them, your Doughboys, tramping down one of the white, arrow-like roads of France on the heels of the Hun retreat . . . packs on their backs, powdery white dust chalking their bronzed faces and hands. They go swinging along—Widow Halligan's son; Jim, the soda water clerk; Al, who shot pool; Tom, who had just been made paying teller—crunching along to where the shrapnel bursts and whines. And they are singing,

*Hail! . . . Hail! . . . Th' gang—sall here,
What th' hell do-wee care,
What th' hell do-wee care,
Hail! . . . Hail! . . . Th' gang—sall here,
What th' hell do-wee care, NOW!*

Now that's the "Doughboy's" song in France. Back in the cantonments in the U. S. A., he used to like:

*Good-bye Broadway, hello France,
We've come to pay our debt to you.*

But if he caught a "Buddie" singing that mushibye now! Rather, he makes the historic silences of France ring to:

*Oh, th' in-fan-tree—th' in-fan-tree,
Wit' th' dirt behind their ears;
But I'd rather be in th' in-fan-tree
Wit' th' dirt behind their ears
Than ca-val-ree or art-till-eree
Or a ————— engineer.*

HOW THE HUN WAS ROUNDED UP

ONCE more the bovine subjects of the "All Highest" were bound *Nach Paris!*—only this time as prisoners. It happened in one of those villages across the Vesle to which, for years to come, Americans will make pilgrimage, as to Gettysburg. Down a sunken road clumped some two hundred German prisoners, a young Prussian "shavetail" lieutenant strutting at their head. From time to time the Prussian shifted his eyes about in an endeavor to spot some American of high rank so that he might salute and perhaps curry favor. After noticing the young Hun servilly salute an American Colonel the Corporal in charge of the prisoners eased in alongside the Prussian.

"Don't be a boob," he said confidentially; "that stuff won't get you anything. It don't do you any good to boot-lick 'round here," and then, over his shoulder, he called to the Doughboys, "Come on fellers, this gang is movin' too slow."

And the Doughboy in the rear of the column who was puffing on a cigarette while alertly watching the gray-green

men he guarded, yelled out, "Cummon youse guys, git a move on. Git a move on."

Can't you hear its echo out of the past—a cop on some small city street corner?

And then there was that night in the cellar of a house at Cantigny. Here is how he told it: "And then I sees another squarehead stick his bean up and I walloped that with th' butt of me gun. But s'help me Joe, if another big cheese didn't put his nib in it and I shove him one in th' belly. Then, Joe, a mob of them—Cripes! they must have been twenty, beats it up outer a dugout pullin' this 'Kamerad' stuff on me, with hand grenades behind their backs. But you know what that gang did to little Petey Flynn—he was my Buddie, Joe, an' I owed them stiffs one for that. So I pulls th' old Sho-Sho on them, Joe, and them what wasn't sayin', 'Good morning Gawd' was squealin' 'Kamerad' real-like, this time, Joe. Then I brings th' mob of them back to th' Lootenant, Joe, and he ast me where did I get them birds and I says, 'Oh, up there somewheres. Do you want any more, sir?' He says, 'You bet I do,' so I beats it out and drags down four of them and a machine gun. I woudda had six, Joe, only two of th' boobs forgot t' say 'Kamerad,' an' I wasn't takin' no chances after what they did to my Buddie—do yer blame me, Joe? The Lootenant says he was gonna ast th' Captain ter recommend me fer th's Croiks de Ghwhere—but saay, Joe, a big scuttle of suds would look fine just now, hey boy?"

Back home you've heard his kind called "tough," haven't you? But up Montdidier way when the Hun flung two armies against the British's one he said in his own way, "They shall not pass."

In these glorious days the pariah of the proper has found himself; he's discovered that his hereditary enemy is not the Boss or the Cop, but the Hun. Even his gentler bred comrades in the ranks understand him now—where they didn't back home—and they love him. They know, too, that when the woods stink of poison gas, when the shell flares are fanning the night, when your throat is burning up and you're

lying out there, that more often than not, it's the "rough-neck" who braves the *barrage* to bring you in—who is so careless with his own life, but not with yours. Perhaps it is because he thinks that your life is so much more worth while. Such things are truth.

THEY DIED ON THE GUNS

YOU remember little Jimmy who used to work in Fred Dawson's store, that colorless chap with the thin sandy hair? And Pete, who had the newsstand down at the station? And Bill Hayes, who did so well at college, and Tommy Lawson, who was supporting his mother? They're all in the A. E. F. now. They're all Doughboys, all toting Enfield rifles, and all wearing zinc helmets with broad leather straps under their chins and all cursing "Gas Defence" drill.

They crossed the Marne at five o'clock one morning last July—after the Marines and some Doughboys stopped the Huns at Château-Thierry. And chasing the Hun, our Doughboys were ordered to "get him." And they went so fast that their artillery couldn't keep up with them. The guns were no sooner unlimbered and emplaced than word would come back that our infantry had "gone on ahead." Yes, quite naturally the Doughboys chased the Hun that day without the artillery. They went at spluttering nests of machine guns, at German batteries, at anything that was in their road. Now much that happened can never be told. It died with them, but on the heights of the Marne one saw things and one could reconstruct what had transpired there. . . .

"There—just off to your left—just beneath the crest of that hill—do you see it? What a fight must have been there! Look, the German machine guns! And the German dead piled up. . . . Americans too. See that Doughboy there? He fell across the barrel. And that youngster, his hand is still on the cartridge belt. And the Corporal's hand still on the trigger. . . . They are German guns, but our boys had been firing them . . . they must have charged the nest! See, the Huns are bayoneted. . . .

And look out there . . . see, in the field—the German dead . . . hundreds of them. These four Americans then? . . . Yes, they took the guns and turned them on the Hun. They died with the guns turned toward Germany.”

No wonder the French General blew a kiss as our Doughboys tramped past on their way back to “rest billets.” “Ah, they are superb.”

OUR DOUGHBOYS TEACH LUDENDORFF

IT was near Vaux that our Doughboys drove home some truths to the great Ludendorff. If one recalls correctly, it was this same Hun who sneered at the American idea of the “melting pot,” terming it a “garbage can.” It was Ludendorff who furthered the idea in Germany that we could put no efficient army in the field because we had no “conscious nationalism.” The immigrants and the sons of immigrants who were in our land, refugees from absolutism, would not make soldiers, he thought. Only an autocracy could pound the “herd,” as he termed it, into an army; and in the summer just past Ludendorff woke up.

A “Very Secret and Confidential” report that Ludendorff had written for the private perusal of his “higher commanders” fell into the hands of the Americans when the Boche made his headlong retreat from the Ourcq. In this report Ludendorff discussed again the subject of the American “melting pot,” but it was a wiser Ludendorff.

“It is now possible,” wrote Ludendorff in substance, “to determine the calibre of the American troops. The ———, ———, ——— and ——— Divisions may be classified as ‘shock divisions.’ Strangely enough they have many foreign born in their ranks, many former subjects of Central, Southern and Southeastern Europe and Poles. It is quite incomprehensible, but these men all believe it is their duty to fight for the United States. Although they are none of them of pure American stock—many indeed can scarcely speak English and are quite ignorant—yet they naively call America their mother-land and are proud to die for her. . . .

The obtaining of information from these prisoners was extremely unsatisfactory."

Perhaps little Ajax Promazalos had changed Ludendorff's mind about the "melting pot." This young black-haired Greek used to have a flower stand on the Busy Corner of one of our smaller cities. Perhaps you used to buy sweet peas of him. One rather imagines that Ajax was an anti-King Constantine Greek and that he had burned with the treachery of the Hun in his old land, for when we went to war Ajax went with us. He enlisted.

It's a long way from Syracuse—where they sent Ajax to help fill up a regiment of Regulars—to Sergy, which is near Château-Thierry, but the little Greek got there. He got much further too, far into the Hun line where the deep dug-outs were, for he had been made a Corporal and was in charge of the "mopping up" for his platoon. The dug-outs were many and the "moppers" were few and Ajax became separated from his squad.

FROM SWEET PEAS TO HUNS

WHEN, at his feet, he heard a muffled "*Kamerad!*" it seemed to issue from the bowels of the earth. Looking down over the edge of a shell crater he saw that it was the camouflaged entrance to a dug-out.

"How many you men down there?" he called.

A voice answered gutturally from the earth, "Vun hundred and thirty-six men, zwei officers."

Now Ajax was descended from the race that held Thermopylae, but a hundred and thirty-eight Huns—whew! He thought swiftly.

"I tell you," the little fellow shouted down the dug-out. "You better stay there, till I tell you come up. Not safe now," which was true. "A crazy regiment here now—that no take prisoners," which was not true,—— "I tell you when all right come up."

"Gott," a terrified voice rumbled. "Ve vill all killed become."

"You do what I say," Ajax cautioned the men under the earth, meanwhile casting anxious glances about him, for there was not an American near. "You keep quiet. Bye and bye, my regiment, a good regiment, make you prisoners, after these crazy fellers go. Then you get plenty to eat."

Apparently that satisfied the Huns, for he heard, "*Gut. Zu Befehl.*"

Ajax took a deep breath. *Where* were his comrades? He looked around No-Man's Land; not a man in sight; the attack had swept on. Off there were some medical men picking up the wounded, and far away he could see a detail, probably "M. Ps," but out of hailing distance. And there he was, alone with a hundred and thirty-eight Huns!

The minutes dragged with the Huns constantly calling up to him. Had the "bad regiment" gone yet? They had not, he told them. Perhaps it occurred to the Hun that they were being saved for a holocaust, even as they had saved those first Canadian prisoners. Dark fell and in despair Ajax took a splendid hazard. He shouted down to the Huns to leave all their arms in the dug-out and come up in single file and walk toward the American lines.

"My company," he brazenly explained, "is in shell craters all around but will not shoot. I have spoke to the Captain. You will get plenty to eat."

And so one hundred and thirty-eight Huns were led into the American lines by one little Greek who used to sell sweet peas for fifteen cents a bunch. . . . And the Hun dreamed of winning the war!

JOLTING THE KAISER'S STAFF

OUR Doughboys cannot understand the German officer. When they compare him with the human democratic men who wear the U. S. on the collar, the Doughboys are bewildered. They were bewildered at Soissons when they went through the Hun line so fast and so far that a whole German staff was scooped up before those exquisite creatures of the War Lord could make a get-away.

Picture that afternoon near Soissons—a circle of weary and dirty Doughboys, their helmets tilted over one eye, the tops of their coats unbuttoned in a most unmilitary manner, pulling at cigarettes or easing a good chew from one cheek to the other. Imagine in the midst of those quiet, battle-stained American boys, a Prussian staff officer of high rank. He was that long-headed, thin, ratty-faced type which one notices now and then in the Prussian aristocracy. With a monocle screwed in one eye he surveyed his captors. They surveyed him, particularly the tight collar of his uniform. “How can the guy breathe in that?” They made various comments about the gorgeous gray cape, lined with brilliant red, which fell gracefully from his narrow shoulders. But it was the boots that took their eye—glistening, black patent leather boots, such as they had never seen before, save in a Winter Garden show, and excruciatingly tight boots, to judge from the way he walked. Silently, here and there, a mouth parted as our Doughboys sized up their prize. To them, he was a being from another world—monocle, high collar, red-lined cape, patent leather boots.

“Hey, Sid,” yelled one to a late comer, “get a look at this guy before I kiss him.”

Presently, with the air of conferring a vast favor upon ordinary beings by permitting them to observe the act, the Prussian pushed back his cape and with a bored air felt in his pocket—“Gwan, yer big stiff!” Somewhat effeminately he drew out a gold cigarette case studded with diamonds and lit a cigarette; then he looked languid.

“Saay, Corporal,” pleaded a big Buck Private, “lemme crown this guy,” and he fondled the butt of his rifle lovingly.

“Saay, Bo,” the Corporal admonished the Prussian, “I dunno how long I’m gonna be able ter keep these birds o’ mine from layin’ hands on you, so take a tip and get th’ rest o’ th’ officers in yer mob here, and form ’em up. Then we’ll march youse all back to th’ cage.”

“Corporal,” said the Prussian in icy English, “you are impertinent. I shall report you to your superiors.”

"Huh?" gasped the Doughboy. "And me tryin' ter be nice to the guy—hey boys?"

A mutter rose from his comrades, "Hand him one, Al."

But the Corporal turned down this advice; merely giving a tug at the Prussian's scarlet cape, "Cummon you."

Thunderstruck the Prussian regarded him. It was incredible! Hands—plebeian hands, moreover!—had touched the sacred person of an officer of the Kaiser's staff. He strove to speak but his face was purple.

"Cummon you," repeated Corporal Al, "and you other guys, too," this in warning to the shocked members of the exquisite one's staff. "Th' whole gang now. Forward . . . *March!*"

"But my rank!" gasped the Prussian, "It merits an automobile," and in alarm he glanced at his tight patent leather boots.

"Walk, yer terrier, *walk*," grinned the Doughboy, "an' it's a good six miles to where the Lootenant said to bring all youse guys."

"FOR THE FOLKS BACK HOME"

IMPRESSED by the elegance of autocracy? Not easily, our Doughboys. They are not even impressed by Boche shells which fail to explode. Now a wise Doughboy will tell you to give these "Duds," as they are called, a wide berth; one slight jar to the delicate fuse and the shell may detonate. But some of our Doughboys—and I have in mind a certain ravenous souvenir hunter from Toledo—so scorn everything Hun that they include his "Duds." On inventory, this youngster from the Middle West owned a German helmet, the trigger of a machine gun, a Hun gas mask and the tile of a roof which had once sheltered him from shrapnel. These he planned to bring back to Toledo. But his collection wasn't complete; he didn't have a Hun shell.

One day a "77" tore into the ground just outside the parados of his trench, and plop!—it was a "Dud." The Hun machine guns were chattering with "sweeping fire,"

but that "Dud" was too much for the Toledo boy. Out over the top he scrambled and in a moment was back jubilantly exhibiting the unexploded shell.

"Get that damn thing out of here before it goes off," his comrades yelled; and they made him crawl out again over the top and lay the "Dud" where he found it. Coming back, the souvenir hunter was wounded. "I'm cured," he told the doctor.

Yes, the Doughboys are passionate souvenir collectors. Although what with kit and rifle, they carry over fifty pounds on their backs, yet they load themselves down with junk and carry it for miles and months. "It will be nice for the folks back home." The Doughboy can exhibit his handful of shrapnel—"wot almost nicked me"—his "*Gott Mit Uns*" belt buckle—"what I grabbed off a squarehead at the Marne." Some of the luckier ones have Iron Crosses, German money and *Kriegs* rings stowed about their persons, "for Dad."

The fun comes when prisoners are brought in. After our Intelligence officers have questioned the Boche and confiscated any letters, diaries or documents that may contain "information," the Doughboys' chance comes. Often, more often than not, our kind-hearted boys feel sorry for the Hun, believe he is starving and will give him of their own rations. They open negotiations with the Boche. A bargain is struck in pidgeon-German. "Iron Cross, Fritz? Ich gabe five francs for das." Eagerly the Boche will sell, generally with a smirk, perhaps telling himself in his "blood and iron" way that these Americans are fools, buying things from prisoners when they could so easily steal them. But he's all white, the Doughboy, and as clean as a whistle.

THE DOUGHBOY WINS THE HEART OF FRANCE

IN his thirst for knowledge of France the Doughboy is rapacious. Put him down in a village for "rest billets" and in an hour he'll have the history of the place and a line on the social standing of the inhabitants. Asked how he gathered this latter more delicate information, he will reply: "Oh, that's easy. All the houses have manure piles in the

front yard, haven't they? Well the feller with the biggest pile, he's the big guy of the village."

How the Doughboy manages to make himself understood when he talks to the villagers is astonishing. His is a weird French, and with his "com-prong," "mon-jay" and "toot-sweet" he has wee-weed himself into the hearts of the French. One sees a Doughboy walking down the village street with some French Miss who can only say "Allo" and "Gud morning"—and you know what the Doughboy is limited to—yet they always seem to get along and to be having the time of their lives. And, bye the bye, there are French mothers—than whom there are no more practical and frugal persons in the world—who are not at all averse to their daughters marrying Doughboys, the idea being for the Americans to remain in France after the war and help run the little business. And could you see some of these Mam'selles—well, girls, you'd write often to Johnny.

The French like our Doughboys and they like the French. Often you see an old Poilu and a young American. The Frenchman offers his new ally a swig of the wine in his canteen, "*Pinard?*"

"Wee, Wee," says the Doughboy and offers his cigarettes, "Cigarette Américaine?" and so the alliance is solidified.

But even before the Poilu met our boys, when the old man was busy holding the line and America was back in training areas, the Poilu heard of the Doughboy from his wife. And she wrote *pere* how the *belle* young Americans were always ready to help anyone in the village at getting in a crop, or weeding a garden—never, however, cleaning out the yard, that being a very high crime in rural France.

Yes, in those early days there was good-will between the Americans and the French; but still the French did not know. The Americans were "*très gentils*," but could they fight?

See in your mind's eye that summer day when the French, outnumbered beyond all human resisting power, fell slowly back toward Paris and the whole world waited,

trembling. Imagine a dusty road confused with weary and heart-broken Poilus who had bled all the way from the Yser to Verdun, three, four wound stripes on their sleeves, ribbons for heroism on their breasts; and now, the thought that it had all been in vain, for the gray-green waves were rolling on—*Nach Paris!* Close your eyes and try to *see* that road—the bearded, grimey Poilus stumbling along, tears in some eyes, others openly weeping—“All is lost. They are too many.” See the hopelessness in the face of that young officer who has just put down his binoculars to cry out, as he points north, east and south of him, “Boche there! . . . Boche there! . . . Boche there! . . .” The agonized cries as they recede before the Hun hordes, “Ah, our France, it is lost!”

And then down this road, up which they are retreating, a solid, swinging, dust-colored column comes into view. Hearts jump! One by one, then, whole companies of weary Poilus turn once more to face the Hun. Help is coming! “Les Anglais!” they cry (“The English!”). At the head of the oncoming column, a band is playing—a band as they march into action—“*Mon Dieu!*” The young French officer looks bewildered. Then he sees a flag; the colors are of his own France, but——

“*Sont pas les Anglais!* (They are not the English),” he cries. “*Mais les Américains!*”

Old Poilus take up the cry, “*Les Américains!* . . . *Les Américains!* . . .” It flies from lip to lip; a whole battlefield is ringing with it; by night all France will be shouting it; a day and it will go round the world—“*Les Américains!* . . .” And on they come, singing,

*Hail, Hail! Th' gang's all here,
What th' hell do-wee care.*

And as you know, the Hun stopped. . . .

“We stopped them,” claim the Marines.

“Gwan, leather-necks! Youse wasn't th' only guys there,” roar the Doughboys.

“*Quelle belle soldats!* You are superb,” says France.

It's a fine old world for Americans these days—*Oui?*

NO RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM—WHY?

The Impending Economic War at Home a Peace Danger

By RICHARD BARRY

Business has enlisted in war service. When it is mustered out, shall it be further penalized by the neglect of Reconstruction Regulation—labor must be neutralized—great questions are facing us—why are they shelved?

MAY not the shock of peace to this country be greater than has been the shock of war? Advisedly I use the word "shock." Not in its reference to the thought or feeling of the nation; but in reference to its industrial and economic life.

At the end of 1918, the United States is as ill prepared for peace as it was ill prepared for war in the beginning of 1917. Before presenting the problem, it is necessary to record that in Europe the exact opposite is the fact. For over three years Germany intensively prepared industrial and commercial programs in every phase of her life which she had hoped might place her in a position to start the peace race with an edge on all competitors similar to that she enjoyed when she entered the war race. For over two years Great Britain has been doing similarly. She has had a Reconstruction Ministry long at work, with 140 Committees, 6 Commissions, 16 Departments and 3 Advisory Boards. The English have so thoroughly and carefully subdivided and classified their work that they know today all that is humanly possible to know of what will have to be met and how it can be met immediately after the declaration of peace. On the problem of shipping alone, England has 25 Committees. Since the spring of 1916, France also has been officially preparing a Reconstruction program.

The United States alone is sailing blissfully into the future without taking any advance stock of what she may

have to face, how she can protect herself from possible dislocations of industry or how she can guarantee for her economic life the prosperity which the war should win for her.

To get a bird's-eye view of this problem, which is so vast that volumes could be written without exhausting it, let me present a short balance, as it were, of a ledger, and cast up the probable debit and credit sides of the after-war sheet.

THE AFTER-WAR CREDIT AND DEBIT SHEET

ON the credit side America will find:

(a) Her loss of human life probably will be comparatively small. Some millions of her best young men will have spent considerable time being broadened and instructed by cosmopolitan communion with foreign fellow-soldiers abroad; they will be disciplined and hardened by army training, and will return full of confidence, with new unprovincial ambitions, and inclinations.

(b) With man power largely unimpaired, she will face a war debt which should not worry her. One-third of it is really a good direct or indirect investment, and the other two-thirds simply has been taken out of one pocket and put into another, while on the right side of the account she will find herself the gainer in several important directions.

(c) For over four years, her industry has enjoyed unlimited demands for her productions, and when peace is signed, she will find this unlimited market for four years has caused her enormously to increase her producing capacity, and so to improve her producing methods as considerably to reduce her average pre-war cost of production.

(d) In addition to this, she will find the war has enormously increased the demands in foreign markets, and considerably weakened her principal foreign competitors, especially Germany, whose products will meet with serious damaging sentimental prejudice for years to come.

But look at the debit side:

(a) At least ten millions of laborers have been employed in filling war orders, in making munitions for war, and in supplying with food, clothing and otherwise, our armies in

the field, while at the declaration of peace the United States will have in uniform in the army and navy four or five million men. What will happen to affect these soldiers and these laborers? The first thing probably will be the cancellation of war orders. Every factory, every industry organized on a war basis will be obliged, in the space of a few days, to place itself on a peace basis and in doing this it will face the stark unknown.

(b) If there are two million or more American soldiers in France it may require two years to bring them all home, but many of them will return immediately. Meanwhile, and this as soon as peace is declared, those assembled in cantonments in this country may be disbanded. What are these soldiers going to do, their former occupations largely gone, and coming back to a world where industries may be partly if not wholly stagnant, where offices are filled with substitutes, where factories may be closing down?

(c) We have been floating in the high tide of an artificial war commercial activity. How many have saved the extra wages earned? How many are ready to meet a protracted period of unemployment? Of course employers will make every possible haste to switch their factories over to peace products and to reconnect with peace markets and peace customers. But all this takes time. How much time? Thirty days? Six months? A year? Each man should ask himself—what has he saved, what place has he ready to jump into when the one he now occupies is taken from him by the shutting down of the work or by the return of soldiers to whom the country owes first care.

(d) Remember, too, that this shock of peace will hit us at the moment when the cost of living is at its pinnacle. Never before in our history will bread have cost so much, never before in our history will clothing, fuel and the essentials of life have been so high. Millions will face on one side the chasm of unemployment and on the other the mountain peak of the highest prices ever known for living essentials. What will happen when demagogues may appear on every hand to preach anarchy and fear and envy and distrust, and

when the demagogue has for an audience not only those of his own ilk, but a possible vast number compelled against its will to be idle and hungry?

Out of these four items on the debit side of peace will arise many questions for America to answer. Let me here enumerate merely a few of them:

CONDITIONS THAT CONFRONT LABOR AND CAPITAL

WHAT will happen to towns like Hopewell, Va., occupied entirely in the manufacture of war materials? What will happen to inhabitants of such towns when the cancellation of war orders suddenly paralyzes their activities? Where are they going, and how are they to get fresh jobs? What are the merchants of these towns going to do?

(b) What is going to happen to the hundred thousand war workers who have been added to the city of Bridgeport? To Buffalo? To Dayton? To Detroit?

(c) What will happen to the huge plants now working on tanks, aeroplanes, shells, rifles and guns?

(d) What is to be the fate of the hundreds of thousands who are making army cloth and army shoes?

(e) How long will it take to refit the innumerable hospital ships for freight and passenger traffic?

(f) How long will it take for new credit books to be prepared throughout the world so that bankers will know what foreign merchants' credits are good?

(g) Do we know what American goods are required by France and Belgium, by Roumania or Russia?

(h) How long will it take to find out how much and what sort of goods we require and to arrange for these buyers a system of credit which should be bankable?

(i) How are shipping facilities to be distributed after the war? Is cargo space to be given to the highest bidder, and will the small shipper find the cargo space all taken up by his big competitors? Will our emergency fleet pass into private control, or be held by the Shipping Board—how and in what name?

(j) Is the Government going to retain the control and management of railroads after the war? Shall we continue to pay the present enormous increases in freight, passenger and express rates?

(k) Will the manufacturer continue to pay excess profits taxes, or will he be allowed to use this capital to support and carry on his business?

(l) What sort of new tariffs are foreign countries going to place upon American goods, and will this tariff make it impossible for American producers to sell in the world markets?

(m) What sort of new tariffs must America have to protect her increased industry?

(n) What sort of new organization laws will be required? If industrial conditions in enemy and allied countries are bad, are we to permit an unlimited flow of immigration to America which may easily make American industrial conditions equally bad?

WHY HAS CONGRESS DEADLOCKED ON THE QUESTION?

NOW, the obvious next question, which, in a sense, embraces all the others, is: Why has the Congress of the United States done nothing as yet toward finding answers to these questions or toward adopting a Reconstruction program, or at least toward securing and classifying the vast amount of information that must be on hand and certified for ready reference when the moment of peace arrives?

The answer is that already four ineffective attempts have been made in Congress to do something, but that none of these has gotten beyond the first preliminary stage of introducing the resolution. While this record proves the recognition of the existing need it affords slight comfort to the thinking American who wishes assurance that his Government is on the job.

These attempts were:

(1) On September 25th, Senator Weeks, of Massachusetts, introduced a joint resolution, calling for the appoint-

ment of a Committee on Reconstruction to consist of twelve members of Congress, six Republicans, six Democrats, each of whom would have charge of one of the major divisions of the grand work. This being a Republican measure, although asking for a bi-partisan control of the initial investigation, did not muster the necessary majority and is still tabled.

(2) Five days later, Senator Overman introduced a joint resolution calling for an appointment by the President of a lay Commission on Reconstruction, consisting of seven members, with salaries of \$10,000 a year each. Although a Democratic measure, and with the sanction of the Administration, it could not muster sufficient support, for reasons which will be later explained, and was referred to the Committee on Judiciary where it still remains.

(3) A Republican Senatorial Committee next suggested that one Congressional Committee could not possibly be large enough or have the time to adequately consider Reconstruction and it therefore proposed that instead of one there be at least six Committees. However, such a measure had not received even the dignity of being offered as a resolution up to November 1st.

(4) The Democrats in the House Appropriations Committee, slyly attempted early in October to accomplish in an indirect way, practically the same thing aimed at by the Overman Bill. This was in the form of a rider tacked on to the general appropriation bill, calling for \$250,000, to be used by the President for the necessary expenses of a War Salvage Commission, which was to have five Commissioners with salaries up to \$10,000 a year, and to have an official life "six months after the President declares peace to be established." This latter phrase shared the ambiguity of the rider itself, as it did not say "After the declaration of peace," thus giving the Chief Executive a lee-way to be exercised in his own discretion. The House Democrats were checkmated on this, however, as the rider was thrown out on a point of order as an effort to enact original legislation under the guise of being a part of the war budget.

None of these attempts to get Congress, or the Government, or both, to work on Reconstruction have been successful. All have proven abortive. Why?

One obvious reason is that Americans never have acted like Europeans in articulating far in advance constructive commercial and industrial schemes when these have required a program on the part of Congress. It has been our habit in these matters to act after rather than before the event; which is in sharp contrast to our national character, expressed individually or corporately.

However, at this time and in this matter, there is delaying progress and frustrating vital preparation an issue which, probably by the time this is published, will have become apparent to all, as it is now apparent to a few who know how the advance skirmish lines have been thrown out.

SHALL THE PRESIDENT OR CONGRESS SHAPE RECONSTRUCTION POLICIES?

THIS issue is: Shall the President or shall Congress shape the policies for Reconstruction? The delays of the last ninety days, when to save time was so imperative and essential, may have been due solely to the fact that the President apparently has been determined to place himself in a position whereby he could control the Reconstruction policy; while Congress, recognizing instinctively the vast importance of this attempt, has preferred to do nothing rather than to place itself in a position where it might be obliged to continue delegating after the war the legislative powers which it willingly delegated to the Chief Executive under the stern necessity of war itself.

If either of the Democratic measures had been passed, the Overman Bill or the rider to the Appropriations Bill, it would have meant that a limited Commission appointed by the President would have complete charge of the preliminary work of Reconstruction. As the preliminary work may well be the most important and the most far reaching work of all, a majority of Congress, including all the Republicans and

enough Democrats, refused to permit these measures to become law. They recognized that whatever schedule was laid down in the beginning concerning any of these problems would have an extraordinary influence in shaping the immediate future of the nation, and that this influence might indeed be the commanding influence of the coming generation.

Because the thought of the members of Congress as well as of the people generally for the few months preceding November 11th was wholly absorbed in the military fortunes of the armies in Europe, and in the progress of armistice negotiations, these other problems, the ones which will dominate all of the immediate future after the war, have been allowed to go by default, while neither Congress nor the President would bring into the open or make a resounding issue of the overwhelming conflict that may be seen as underlying the approach to Reconstruction.

THE HIDDEN CONFLICT

IN the inevitable nature of things the President some day must cease holding the legislative reins that he has held during the war. It has never been contended by anyone that the Chief Executive should encompass the legislative powers of the Government within his own proper executive ones, excepting so far as the imperative necessity of war time measures should demand it, yet two of these measures introduced in Congress sought to extend into the post war period a condition which has been accepted as merely temporary. The fact that this construction must be placed upon their meaning further emphasizes their indirection, both in intention and in effect.

The true meaning of these measures (one calling for a Presidential Reconstruction Commission, the other for a War Salvage Commission, to be appointed by the President) is this: They aim indirectly to take from Congress the solving of the Reconstruction problem; they seek indirectly to extend indefinitely the Presidential war powers; they indirectly seek to add complication, delay and indecision to a

problem in which the chief element to overcome is that of time itself. Because, even though a Presidential Commission might make reports on the Reconstruction problem which the President might use as a basis for recommendations to Congress, it would then be obligatory for Congress to make for itself its own investigations before enacting legislation.

The question obviously in the minds of those who refused to let the measure pass was: why not let Congress make its own investigations and its own recommendations at first hand? Congress, therefore, apparently has regarded these measures as specious pleas for war time power which probably would be extended far into the peace period, but without any adequate assurance that there was no eventual ulterior object.

This, then, is the hidden conflict that has added a few months' delay, time unaccountably precious, to the normal postponement of Congressional consideration of Reconstruction. The time will doubtless come when this period will be surveyed as one of iniquitous hesitation, as one in which a failure to take some action proved worse than almost any action that might have been taken.

SHALL WE HOLD OUR WAR PROSPERITY?

ASIDE from the question of how and when something shall be done to solve these problems there is the all embracing question of whether or not America will be able to make secure the future prosperity which is offered her as a result of the war. That prosperity can be only the compound of the individual prosperity of her many citizens.

On the declaration of war the Government rightly commanded the services and the wealth and, if needed, the lives of all who enjoyed the protection of the flag. That was a positive act, a war necessity.

At the declaration of peace the Government will become sponsor for an act no less important to all its citizens, although a negative one, when it takes the war away. In taking the war away, it assumes no less a duty than it de-

manded of its citizens when it called upon them to sustain it on the declaration of war. This duty is to safeguard the transfer of its industries and of the work of its millions from a war to a peace basis in such a way that there may be no undue losses, that business men may not be bankrupt, and that laboring men and women may not be compelled unjustly to meet the terror of unemployment, and that neither will suffer the clash of economic disturbances that breeds strikes, lockouts and radically fluctuating prices.

If the Government summons to its colors all loyal citizens, does it not at the conclusion of the war owe a debt to the millions of young men who have fought for it every opportunity which they temporarily foreswore that they might carry on the flag of the Republic?

If on the declaration of war the Government demanded of all civilian workers that they toil for it without thought of selfish advantages, does it not at the cessation of the war owe them the assurance that their future means of livelihood shall not be denied them through a dislocation of industry resulting from a paralysis of the very activity in which they loyally have engaged?

If the Government, directly or indirectly, has been obliged to induce women in large numbers to change their methods of life and become enrolled in the nation's industrial and commercial army, is it not obliged to assure them that they shall not be unjustly discriminated against on the return of pre-war conditions, probably intensified? Or shall some governing board be established to insure impartiality in the post-war adjustment of the ratios between male and female labor?

If the Government, directly or indirectly, has induced business men to invest capital and to rearrange all of their affairs so that they might expeditiously manufacture war materials, does it not also owe them the duty of guaranteeing that they shall be protected from undue losses by the mere fact of the stoppage of that for which they are now organized, and in the successful accomplishment of which they have concentrated every financial and mental resource?

These questions demand the intensified work of *all* of the best brains of America. Why did they not earlier begin to find their answers?

Whether we will or not, the scope of the inquiry is beyond the grasp of any individual, set of individuals or organization of individuals. Only the Government, with impartially selected commissions, and not any one branch, is competent to undertake the solution, as the Government alone will have the power eventually to regulate the necessary provisions.

THE CHOICE

By J. CORSON MILLER

WEALTH hung a wreath of roses 'round my brow,
And said: "For certain, thou art happy now.
In all this world to thee is naught denied—"
"Excepting love," I answered him, and sighed,
For I was sad.

Love placed a crown of thorns upon my head—
"Thou must go down, ev'n unto death," he said;
"Hast thou the soul to meet the stern emprise?"
"Lead on!" I begged of him, with kindling eyes—
For I was glad.

PERSHING—OVER THERE

As Seen in Action with the A. E. F.

By "PRIVATE" ALDEN

NOT long after Pershing's "First Thirty Thousand" marched through Paris in 1917, Robert Underwood Johnson wrote for the FORUM a widely-copied poem, the first lines of which, read today, prove wonderfully prophetic:

"Oh, to be in Paris now that Pershing's there!
To hear the waves of welcome that greet him everywhere;
To see the children and the girls a-pelting him with flowers,
And feel that every petal is meant for us and ours;
To know the brave smile's come again to worn and widowed
France——"

It is the same Pershing in Paris today, the same erect, square-jawed soldier, that marched through the Capital of France in those grim days when the Teutonic beasts seemed at their strongest, their most inhumane.

But the test that stamps a man's character, his personality and his place in public opinion, must, after all, come from they who know him best, his own people. His coming was naturally hailed by the French, as would be the coming of any leader of men arriving to help in a black hour of dire need. His test was not only his military achievements but his place in the minds and the hearts of the two million Americans who ultimately made up the American Expeditionary Forces under his command.

There are two sorts of fighting men, those who click their heels together, who walk and speak and seemingly think like automatons; and the others who are equally strict in their military bearings but who keep a warm heart beating beneath their tunics. Pershing has the heart. He is human, he knows men, he understands the American dough-

boy from the sole of his march-blistered feet to the shrapnel dent in his "tin hat." The doughboy knows that he knows, and he speaks of "Gen'r'l Pershing" not with fear or awe but with pride.

PERSHING IS "SO-O-OME GUY"

THE individual fighter at the front knows little of what is going on outside his own little section of trench. The man back home who brings in his morning paper from the front stoop and props it up before him at breakfast soon knows far more of what has been going on during the preceding twenty-four hours than any of the boys who were over there helping to make it "go on." And when, after a hard time of it at the front pushing back the enemy, the boys are relieved and go back for rest, the first thing they seek is a newspaper so freely provided over there that he may know what he has been doing and what his comrades in arms in other sections have been doing.

One of these muddy doughboys, just back from the firing line, looked up from the paper with popping eyes and an ear-to-ear grin after reading of one of our successes.

"Ma-a-an!" he exclaimed, "Gen'r'l Pershing is *so-o-ome guy!*"

Only one thing in the world will make a commanding officer "so-o-ome guy" with the bayonet-pushers, and that is a personality that appeals to them.

Over there General Pershing has been, as one of his staff Americanized it, "strictly on the job every minute." The affair was no picnic, no sight-seeing tour, it was fighting from the start, and to the last. Pershing kept this uppermost in everyone's mind.

With some French officers Pershing was reviewing a body of French troops whose colors were about to receive that coveted honor, a decoration. Just as the officers were marching at their stiffest before the eyes of Pershing a little French boy, disheveled and muddy from squirming through the crowd, waved a rather tattered fragment of the Stars and Stripes that he had secured in some mysterious manner.

In the shrillest of boyish trebles, heard clearly above the measured tramp of marching feet, he shouted:

“Vive Pairshing!”

HE TALKED LIKE A NEIGHBOR

INSTANTLY Pershing wheeled and faced the lad. He did not grin, he did not wave his hand joyfully as most men would at a grinning boy, he did the one thing that made that little lad the happiest, he stiffly and smartly saluted the little chap, then turned to watch the marching men.

Pershing had temporary quarters in a small town—he was forever going about France and always for a purpose that made for a speeding up of efficiency of the A. E. F.—after he had gone and some other officers, stopping there somewhat later, learned of his previous presence, one asked of the woman who owned the place:

“How did our General look to you?”

“He look like ze statue carve out of stone, but he speak to me like a good neighbor who live long next door.”

In Washington in 1917 there came a cablegram of great length to the War Department from Pershing that caused some of those who read it to slightly elevate their eyebrows and murmur something about “red tape” and “formalities in combat.” It was a request that all of our soldiers in cantonments be thoroughly groomed in “military courtesy.” Pershing emphasized the necessity of this. And at the same time he issued to our troops over there several general orders dealing solely with the salute. It must be correct, it must be brisk, snappy, stiffly military. No slighting of it would be permissible.

Now they over here could not know the need of all this over there, but had they had the good fortune to have been over there they would have known in a flash why the commanding officer of so great a force should take the valuable time to give thought to salutes and the almost endless variety of strict military courtesies. Pershing was pictured, as so many generals have been painted, frowning deeply over a great military map, talking strategism, planning strategism, thinking strategism and dreaming strategism.

He knew something of the stiff formalities of European armies, of military courtesies abroad. And he found that the great struggle had not lessened these, had not permitted them to relax; hence his cabled orders to brush up our forming armies in cantonment here.

A STICKLER FOR MILITARY COURTESIES

THE soldiers of all armies over there expect it, and it appealed to Pershing, he believed that all men would become more efficient for it. Just as in the matter of personal appearance. No unpolished shoes must fall beneath his glance, no unshaven jowls, no tarnished buttons or unbrushed clothes.

"A man thinks more of himself, and consequently he performs his duties much better when he keeps clean and well groomed, it makes him alert, that's why Pershing is such a stickler," was the explanation given. There was a reason for it all, it tended to increase efficiency and Pershing went over there to see that American efficiency achieved top notch and remained there. He wasn't there on dress parade, but to help kill Germans. If adaptness in military courtesies, if the ability to give perfect salutes, if shining shoes and clean jowls and spotless tunics would increase that efficiency, as it was so well proven that they would, then Pershing would insist on them.

We have read, and doubtless the incidents were mess-room talk, from Pershing's West Point days to date, about our commanding officers in the Civil War who would throw off their coats and slouch into mess in shirtsleeves. Those have been called by many a brave old veteran the "good old days." But, when in Europe, do as the Europeans do so long as it means something worth while, was Pershing's motto. That he arrived in France with eyes and ears wide open, saying little but seeing and hearing everything, we all know. And it did not take him long to sift the chaff from the wheat. Whatever he learned that he saw would benefit our troops he promptly adopted and whatever habits and customs our troops may have had that were useless or detrimental, they vanished into thin air at once.

They were talking about him one day at a Paris café, some English, French and American officers, just as they talked about Foch and Haig, Pétain and Plummer and others. Said an American officer, "You will remember that in almost every story of a successful man who once taught school—and their biographers generally included this incident whether it happened or not—comes that hoary old anecdote of the time that the subject of the biography had to whip a scholar about ten times his size."

THE "KILL OR BE KILLED" SPIRIT

HIS hearers agreed. Probably half the big men of to-day who arose through their own efforts either taught school or were credited with doing it. The American officer continued:

"I read that Pershing, when eighteen, taught school at Prairie Mound, whipped one of the unruly boys and that this boy's father, the town bully, feared by everyone, came to school to simply beat Pershing to a pulp. The story goes that young Pershing picked up a club of oak firewood and told this man, 'Wildcat Card' they called him, to get out. Wildcat grinned and advanced. 'Get out or I will kill you,' is what the writers quoted Pershing as saying.

"When I read this I tossed it down and exclaimed, 'Bosh! that's what all biographers write,' but since I have seen General Pershing, learned how he works and been in his company over here on duty on many occasions, I am inclined to believe that story and I am sure that if this 'Wildcat Card' chap had not backed out, the little town of Prairie Mound would have had a funeral and it wouldn't have been young Jack Pershing riding inside the hearse."

Pershing over there gave all who had opportunity to watch him the same impression, bulldog tenacity, a good square friend if you met him, but the sort of an enemy that carried on to the end. Some of the captured German reports described the American soldiers as men who were there to "kill or be killed." That was the way Pershing impressed

everyone over there who came to know him, and it was the spirit instilled into our soldiers.

"By word of mouth" means even more in army life than in civilian. The news that Pershing personally complimented this doughboy or ordered that inconspicuous young officer to be promoted because of something that merited it, not necessarily valor in action, spreads rapidly. It flies around through the army in some mysterious way through those intangible channels that can only be described as "by word of mouth." This doughboy sees something that gives him an insight into the personality of Pershing and makes him repeat those classic words, "He's so-o-ome guy." He tells his buddy, who repeats it to another, and it may go to an officer's orderly and from there on and on. That is how our soldiers over there know so much about the personal side of Pershing.

The 78th Division had not been long in France when the time came for Pershing to inspect it.

"Pershing's coming to inspect us!"

PERSHING AND THE PLATOON

THE "word of mouth" flew up and down the lines, from barracks to officers' mess. From the Brigadier General down to the newest young Lieutenant there was a trace of nervousness, not exactly a "trembling in the boot" but a worry, a wonderment as to whether they could possibly squeeze by or would have to go in for more intensive training. Not so the doughboys. They were fit, they knew it, they felt that already weeks had been wasted on them and that they might just as well have pitched in and licked their share of the Huns long ago. Of course it was a great thing to have Pershing inspect them. They all hoped to get an "eye full" of the commander and probably every one secretly wondered what he would do or say if Pershing should by any miraculous chance speak to him.

They were drawn up in readiness.

"Pershing's here!"

The word went about, or perhaps a wink, a nudge, or some other slight sign, it all meant the same and in the terse lexicon of the doughboy long sentences are unnecessary.

Pershing approached, he walked with perfect West Point precision, but his eyes saw everything, including a very young Lieutenant and his platoon. Pershing paused, the Lieutenant saluted smartly, Pershing returned the salute with equal smartness.

Of course it was silly of the Lieutenant to think for an instant that General Pershing would bother to inspect one little platoon, one trifling handful, when he had come to inspect the entire division, yet Pershing was there in front of him, he had come only to inspect, he did not expect the Lieutenant to make a speech and the Lieutenant knew that Pershing was not going to make a speech. There was but one thing to do, absurd as it seemed to him, form his little handful of men for inspection.

“Open ranks—March!”

The Lieutenant gave the command, the doughboys whipped into formation for inspection as if they were automations with brand new and extra snappy springs inside them instead of human muscles.

Pershing's face was about as expressive as that of the Sphinx. He walked down between the short lines, the boy, who only yesterday had been sent over from Plattsburg, following and, so far as he can now remember, quite forgetting to breathe.

Brigadier Generals and Colonels and Lieutenant Colonels and Majors of the division waited, and waited. Pershing looked at every man in the platoon, at every button, legging, gun—there wasn't a detail that his sharp eyes missed. Suddenly he stopped in front of a corporal and looked at him sharply, looked him straight in the eye.

The corporal stared straight ahead, not at Pershing but through him. He was as motionless as a pyramid, he didn't bat an eyelash. Pershing was so pleased that he almost permitted himself to smile.

"You are a soldier. What is your name?" said Pershing.

PRAISE FROM PERSHING

THE corporal told him, not stammering, not choking, but straight out in clear syllables, with the "Sir" at the end. Pershing did smile then, and turned to the trembling young Lieutenant.

"A fine lot of soldiers you have here," he said.

If, on the next day, that Lieutenant had chanced to stroll across No-Man's-Land and bring the Kaiser and Hindenburg in, prisoners, he would not have been more than one-sixteenth as proud as he was when Pershing said to him, "A fine lot of soldiers you have here."

"'You.' He said it to me!" exclaimed the youthful officer later.

It seems a small thing. But it was typical of Pershing. Not at long range did he inspect the whole division, but he chose an obscure little platoon at random, found it to be perfection, and said so in as few words as possible. The men of that platoon will probably never lose the smile that Pershing's personal inspection brought to their faces. "Pershing praised *our* platoon," they boasted. Their company took it up. "Pershing praised a platoon of *our* company," the members boasted, in turn. The regiment took it up, "Pershing praised a platoon in one of *our* companies!" And so they all took it upon themselves, praise, though indirectly, yet to them, through brigade and division.

Always in need of ships, the more speed put into unloading them at the French ports, the quicker they could go back and return with more men and supplies. The work of unloading was done largely by American negroes, enlisted men, to be sure. It was natural that many of them should become restless. To be "wrestlin'" with heavy cargoes, piecemeal on trundle trucks, day after day, was not conducive to their happiness.

“ JUST NACHERALLY GOT SENSE ”

“ O H Lordy, Lordy, jes’ gimme a sharp baynit and let me at them boshes, that’s all,” was their ’plaint.

Pershing heard of it. He didn’t send them a note, he didn’t send orders. He took train across France and visited these colored men.

“ The quicker you unload these ships the quicker we get more men and more supplies. The quicker we get more men and more guns and more ammunition, the quicker the enemy will be licked. If you do in one day the work that would ordinarily take two days, you will be the ones who will have brought the war to an end one day sooner for every day that you do this.”

The colored men nodded, involuntarily, in agreement. Pershing did not say “ defeated,” he said “ licked,” a good old word that every colored man knew all about. He talked to them so that they understood.

“ I have commanded colored troops, they were the best soldiers I ever served with. The best soldiers obey orders without question. I know colored people, I had a dear old black mammy at home to take care of me. I just came over here to tell you that I know of the hard work and the good work that you are doing at these docks, and I want you to know that your work is as important as any in the front line trenches.”

And when Pershing got back across France to his headquarters there was a report wired on, already awaiting him, telling him how those colored men had redoubled their efforts, speeded up and broke all records in their line of work, and they kept it up.

“ Pershin’, eh? ” said one colored soldier, working at the dock, “ Well, well, he jes’ nacherally got sense, that man.”

A writer arrived at the Pershing headquarters. Pershing was busy. It was Summer. He could look through the open window. Pershing was sitting at his table desk, writing.

"It must be something very secret, something of great importance, that he does it himself instead of having an Aide de Camp do it," commented the writer chap.

"Yes, sir," was the reply. But the truth was Pershing was personally writing to a month-old boy up in the Bronx, in New York, telling him how pleased he was that this baby's parents had named him "Pershing."

Pershing likes to watch and to listen, but he can talk when occasion demands. His French is practically without accent, his phrases are crisp and to the point. When he stood before the tomb of Lafayette there was excuse for a long oration, for a windy bombast of spread-eagle words and phrases. But it wasn't Pershing's way of talking, any more than his way of working. He said:

"Lafayette, we're here!"

WHAT DOES RECONSTRUCTION MEAN?

Problems Involved at Home and Abroad

By HON. J. HAMILTON LEWIS

[U. S. SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS]

(An Interview with the Forum)

SO much depends upon how we apply the English language, how much reliance can be placed upon the uses of words, that as we approach the interesting phases of world reconstruction we must not forget that we also approach the language of world diplomacy. Diplomacy is constructive not reconstructive, because if it were otherwise it would become too complicated for treaty purposes.

The chief thought of our reconstruction in this country carries with it no secret advantage. It has above all other qualities a hope for intelligent results. No appeal to American intelligence is ever wasted, and therefore, divested of the difficulties of natural sentiment which is involved in the task of reconstruction, the Americans have only to protect their intelligence. This they have always done, and there is no reason to expect that they have lost the gift. However, the length and significance of the word "reconstruction" itself, permits speculation. There are questions to be answered that are almost intangible. For instance one of them is, "what is there in this country to reconstruct?"

There is really nothing. The return of the men from the front should bring no greater surprise or effect upon the existing order of business than when soldiers came back from Mexico, or from Cuba. The war has not done actual damage to our country, as it has in Europe. Our fields are protected, our houses are intact, our industries have increased their efficiency if anything throughout the war. In spite of our business sacrifices we have loaned enormous

sums to our neighbors across the water, and we have more to spare ourselves than we ever had before. The casual observer looking over this land of liberty sees no outward signs of things to reconstruct. And yet he is impressed with the necessity of reconstruction.

Of course he is.

We have emerged from this war with a realization that there is new blood among us, we feel the stir of a vast responsibility to that new blood. Our territories seem to be extended, our system of trade needs changes to meet the larger growth, our senses are tingling with a duty of neighborly obligation that will adapt themselves to the common interests of humanity.

“RECONSTRUCTION” MUST BE ASSOCIATED WITH EUROPE

THERE is some meaning to this word “reconstruction” and yet how are we going to grasp it without business changes being involved, without our national character being challenged?

Personally, I do not think the word itself is suitably chosen for the crisis of affairs. It has been handed down to us from the days of the civil war. At that time it was well chosen. After the civil war one-half of our homes were burned down, one-half of our households were destroyed, we were mortally wounded among ourselves, we needed immediate reconstruction. The word does not apply to the present conditions in this country as it did then.

It has a far greater meaning to the devastated regions of Europe than it has to us. It affects us only in our coming relation with the people of the old world, because of them we are involved in the meaning of the word. Europe lies charred, torn, bleeding from the disaster of the war. Many of the people are in the last stages of despair, their strength is gone, and yet they stand bravely in rags and tatters, loyal in their devotion to the ideals which this great republic has maintained so brilliantly. To the Americans reconstruction must therefore be associated with Europe. We are in the position today of a creditor nation to Europe, we are not

only bound to the welfare of the old world by ties of humanity but by ties of economic interest. The war has brought us into new forms of industrial problems from which we can profit only if we demonstrate a farsighted patience, only if we moderate our business habits with conciliatory sentiments for a bankrupt people.

To visualize better the nature of the word reconstruction as it affects our relation with the war stricken countries, we might say that as a nation we hold an immense mortgage on Europe. But while our advantage in this respect is great, we cannot afford to measure that advantage by the usual standards of mortgage rights. It is doubtful if we have thought at all in these terms of the business relation in which we stand with Europe. For illustration, however, these relations, as I have projected them, facilitate the understanding of the problem of reconstruction in Europe. Our share in it, aside from the plain humanitarian character of sentiment which has already done, and is still doing, so much for the love we bear those victims of a hideous military menace, is to enable the final payment of that huge mortgage.

WE MUST MAKE GOOD OUR MORTGAGE ON EUROPE

IT would be very shortsighted for us to wish to foreclose upon a property that was already destroyed when by just and careful management we can enable Europe to pay the obligation of that mortgage. That is one of our chief tasks in reconstruction. In it we shall find many interesting problems of finance to overcome, but we can meet them, we can wait till the period of restoration has come, because we are more prosperous now than we were before the war.

As to Europe, our prospect of reconstruction involves faith in our investment, an attitude of helpful, patient, indomitable trust in it. Just now there is, perhaps, no thought of this phase of our relations to Europe, because we are absorbed with the horror of those who are suffering there, of sympathy with the political change of heart that has seized all Europe, with our natural understanding of the

shock that has temporarily disturbed the economic character of Europe.

In the meaning of the word reconstruction there lies also the purpose of business stability, of restored trade, of an equitable balance of merchant life. It will be some time before this balance can be reached, and no impatience of profiteering, of anxiety for the future, of scrambling by competitive methods will bring it about. Behind the true meaning of the word reconstruction lies the large stride of the nations abroad, for upon the political decisions, upon the adjustment of religious differences, upon the softening of the passions and sentiments that have been roiled up by the storms of war, depends the economic settling of affairs. What we must do at once is to tighten the bonds of friendship that unite us, to assist the distress, to enable the wounded economic conditions in Europe to return to normal. If the word reconstruction is to remain in our thought as a pivot of opinion upon which we measure the rights and the wrongs of our future transactions with Europe, it must be considered with the utmost confidence by us. Our ability and our confidence must be in accord in trade, to resume our relations with European industries upon a far more prosperous basis than we have ever had before. That, to my mind, is our course of reconstruction in Europe.

WHAT WE MUST DO IN AMERICA—AND ABROAD

AS to America. As I have said, there is no internal reconstruction of a reactionary nature necessary. I am not assuming that political rumors of vast changes will occur. I am assuming that we, and this country, are economically so safe and sound that in our personal exchange of business we have only to go ahead. Our roads are open, our industries are solvent, our homes are in order, our money is well invested, we are ourselves well off. The matters that may come under our interpretation of reconstruction concern our temptation to impose barricades in trade. This we must not do. We must see that we maintain a delicate balance in exports and imports. We must not take advantage of the

necessities of others now, lest later on when the new social order has come about they take a similar advantage. We must nurse our foreign trade, we must look far ahead. With the political trend of the world towards republics we shall one day be one vast people on this earth dealing directly with one another. It is obvious that former standards of competition will be exposed to ruthless scrutiny. The merchants of the world will supply each other according to the will of the people they sell to, because there will be an end to preferred groups, to organized trade in corners. It is hopeful to believe that we shall have to reconstruct our ideas of commercial value, if we do not, if we are not in accord with the new order of social conditions we shall foster a boomerang in any effort we make to centralize our trade advantages. If we do not realize the new order of republics in the world, if we do not recognize the character of these republics, we will find an unexpected competition, an aggressive trade from Japan and South America, the two countries whose strength has been untouched by the war.

We must foresee that there will be no difference of trade advantage between the merchants of the world then. Behind them will be the people to balance their transactions. The merchant in Europe will deal with the merchants in America according to a world standard of business conscience. There will be no barrier, no screens, no secret prices, no adjustments that are not fair.

A WORLD CONSCIENCE IN TRADE

OF course these are questions of reconstruction, but they are in final analysis really matters of construction which this great war has helped bring about. The products of the earth will be for all the people, not for the few, but they will not be distributed according to radical dreams. They will pursue the present course of value for value, but the values will be closer to a true valuation. By degrees the balance of affairs, enormously extended, vastly simplified in trade, will rise to a grand level of equality. Merchants will deal with each other without suspicion because there

will be nothing to suspect. The republics of the world will dominate the conscience of trade.

As to the armies and navies of the world, they will be maintained, but upon a new order of reconstruction they will operate in accord with the neighborly obligations of their duties. They will not be in conflict, they will be in unison. Instead of being a menace to the safety of the people they will be their security.

Thus we have the three corners of the world's triangle, the pedestal upon which the proposed reconstruction of the world will stand. Above all things it is an issue of financing. If the financing is wisely done, well and good, if it is not the consequences will be serious. But I believe that in any event it will not be reconstruction, it will be construction.

A JAPANESE PRINT

By RUTH MASON RICE

A CURVE for the shore,
A line for the lea,
A tint for the sky—
Where the sunrise will be;
A stroke for a gull,
A sweep for the main;
The skill to do more,
With the will to refrain.

OUT FOR A "SOLID WEST"

The Coming Political Battle of the Nonpartisan League

By A. B. GILBERT

[ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF THE NONPARTISAN LEADER]

The political aspirations of the new western interpolitical organization operating in the western states in both great political parties, made up of farmers and industrial labor, seeks to dominate state and national politics, in its fight built upon "the farmers' and workers' demand for Justice," against "a few monopolistic and wasteful forms of business."

SO far from being a dying proposition, the Nonpartisan League is very much alive and the old line politicians have to face the strong prospect of a "solid West," built on the farmers' and workers' demands for justice. League organization is going forward among the farmers of Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, Colorado, Oklahoma, Texas, Washington, Minnesota, Idaho, North Dakota and Montana. This political battle has attracted nation-wide attention, not only because the West is closely associated with the East in these twentieth century days, but because there is nothing to prevent a "solid West" from running over into the big agricultural states of the East. Organizations independent of the League but with similar objectives are in fact now trying to function in New York and Maine. There is a strong probability that these western farmers will unite with organized labor throughout the nation to give the bi-partisan politicians a fierce political battle in 1920.

The political situation in Minnesota is one of especial interest, because more than half of the population of the state are employed in mining, manufacturing, and mercantile pursuits. Less than 43 per cent are farmers. From the League point of view, therefore, it was a difficult state, but it so happens that Minnesota is the headquarters of the big special interests which the farmers of the Northwest had organized to overthrow. In Minneapolis

and St. Paul is the home of the grain combine, the Northwest railroads, the dominating banks, and the big insurance companies. From these two cities, North Dakota and South Dakota were ruled like subject provinces. Hence the organized farmers felt that they had to get Minnesota, no matter what the cost. After a year and a half of organizing the League had 50,000 members in the State of Minnesota and was ready to enter the primaries. Nominations were made on the Republican ticket at a joint convention of organized farmers and city workers, and on June 17th the candidates for governor received a little over 150,000 out of 348,000 Republican votes cast. The other state candidates received smaller votes, but the League man for the clerkship of the supreme court, which is one of the key positions in the politics of the state, won out in a three-cornered fight. League men had not expected to get more than 130,000 votes, and had considered that this would be enough to nominate, but the unusual issues involved brought out a record vote and put at least 50,000 machine Democrats into the Republican primaries, with the result that Governor Burnquist was renominated.

SWEEPING VICTORY IN NORTH DAKOTA

THE anti-League forces made a specially strong effort to win out in the North Dakota primaries on June 26th, because of the tremendous propaganda value that could be derived from having the home state of the League kick it out, but they were doomed to bitter disappointment. In spite of the fact that Governor Burnquist of Minnesota and men of national prominence hostile to the League toured the state, and the fact that large sums of money were poured in from the outside, the League swept everything before it on election day. Governor Frazier, who had been nominated in 1916 with less than 5,000 majority, was re-nominated this year by over 15,000 majority. Congressman Baer was re-nominated, and League men nominated for the other two congressional districts on the big party ticket. In two of the congressional districts the League men will have no oppo-

sition in November, because the Democratic aspirants did not receive sufficient votes to get legally on the ticket.

At the November elections all of our nominees for state office except the superintendent of public instruction were elected. In addition the farmer-labor combination got 90 per cent of the lower house of the legislature, about as large a percentage of the state senate, all three congressmen, and the place on the supreme court to be filled.

On September 3d the League and organized labor carried six state offices on the Democratic ticket in the state primaries of Idaho. They nominated candidates for the other two state offices, the state treasurer and superintendent of public instruction, on the Republican ticket without a contest. The major nominations were made on the Democratic ticket in Idaho because the Democratic party happened to be the dominant party there; whereas in North Dakota the League nominations are on the Republican ticket. Furthermore the League nominated J. F. Nugent for short-term senator, Senator Wm. E. Borah (without contest), and candidates in the two Idaho congressional districts. These splendid primary results gave rise to the hope that Idaho would parallel the course of North Dakota but the general election turned out less favorably. The League has to be content with two state officers, the state treasurer and the superintendent of public instruction, the two federal senators, and a good number of state legislators.

INDEPENDENTS, IN SOUTH DAKOTA

THE League feels that it should have South Dakota in the ranks for the same reasons that it has North Dakota. The two states are very much alike, both being predominantly agricultural, and the farmer organization has been especially successful there. But for special local reasons it was decided not to enter the South Dakota primaries. All the League members and sympathizers stayed away, from the polls, and as a consequence the primaries in June were a farce. Later the League and or-

ganized labor of South Dakota nominated independent candidates, which go on the ballot by petition. The League is thus an independent in this state, partly independent in Minnesota, true blue Republican in North Dakota, staunchly Democratic in Idaho, and of mixed complexion in other states. It is a strange animal which the bi-partisan politicians do not know how to handle. They could put up a strong fight against an independent party, but they have not yet devised any means of preventing the League from taking what they consider their own party away from them.

In Montana the League secured one of the two state offices voted on, that of associate justice of the supreme court, and it may have also a membership on the railroad commission. The League will have a good block of representatives in this state. In Nebraska, a partly organized state, the League will have at least 7 assemblymen and 2 senators, probably more. It also is probably responsible for the re-election of Senator Norris and for the defeat of a League-hating governor. In Colorado there will be a small block of League legislators.

How shall these 1918 results be considered? The League has secured a good deal less than it aimed at. On the other hand the more sweeping victory in North Dakota and the results in the other states are all gains over 1916. More than this the League idea has been effectively advertised in every nook and corner of the West. Labor has been waked up to the possibilities of the combination. The League and labor association leads the opposition to the successful party in three big states—Minnesota, South Dakota, and Idaho. In Montana it is the opposition to the Copper trust and the interests allied with it which rule both old parties. Surely this development work and the election results secured speak well for less than two years of work!

THE DISLOYALTY CHARGES CALLED CAMOUFLAGE

THE Nonpartisan League, no matter how loyal its leaders or the trend of its platform, could not have possibly escaped the charge of disloyalty in these times. The opposi-

tion to the League is economic, with the popular arguments on the League side; consequently superficial issues were needed. Before the war the opposition talked of the evils of extreme socialism and of personalities; the war added to these the so-called "loyalty" issue.

The simple facts are: that from the time Congress voted for the declaration of war on Germany, the League has supported this as the decision of the American people, in speeches, resolutions, and literature; that the League has been a great factor in bringing the many different nationalities of the Northwest to the better support of the president where the strong arm methods of self-styled patriots unopposed would have produced sullenness and hate; that the federal government through its post office and its thousands of special agents has never questioned any of the League literature or speeches. The indictments of which so much has been press agented, were all the work of county officials dominated by the interests higher up. Five have been thrown out even by the lower court, one by the Minnesota supreme court, and three League men convicted in county courts in Minnesota have been out on small bail until their cases can reach the supreme court this fall.

If the many steps toward stringent state regulation and government operation which the federal government has taken are considered as contributing to our war efficiency, the League is deserving of special praise in that it has contributed greatly to the public support of these measures. It was ahead of the government action in advising and working for them. If we have to make a choice between those who are for and against these new departures, patriotic Americans must side with the League because the President has turned his steps in the direction of the League counsel.

THE OPPOSITION LINE-UP

CONVENTIONAL party politicians regard the League, of course, as a poison, but they merely reflect more powerful interests. The League attacks certain long established business interests, what we call vested interests for

short, and they have to defend themselves. Although the League is aiming only at a few special monopolistic or wasteful forms of business, these are able somehow to persuade nearly all the business men of the Northwest that they also are in danger and have a common enemy in the League. Why an independent manufacturer or retailer should develop this attitude is hard for the League man to understand, for they like the farmer are hit by monopoly; yet such is the present fact. The antagonism to the League is just as strong in many of the small towns (perhaps it is more so because it is more personal) as in the big cities; yet their merchants and professional men live almost entirely out of the returns the farmer gets for his products. Perhaps small town leaders hate to see their domination of the surrounding country passing away. With few exceptions the commercial clubs, trade associations, traveling salesmen, and specially formed organizations such as the America First Association in Minnesota or the now defunct Goo-Goo (Good Government) League in North Dakota keep up a steady drum fire of opposition. Only occasional individuals in the towns outside the ranks of labor are friendly.

In Minnesota the League's demand for a tonnage tax on all ore shipped out of the mines, brings the great Steel Trust which owns over 80 per cent of the merchantable iron ore in the state, into the lists. The big grain traders and millers are fighting to maintain their present status without state competition or further state interference, and those marketing other farm products such as the meat packers are in the same boat. The city utility corporations fear the new movement will strengthen unionism in the cities and the elements working for city ownership.

How desperate these interests regard the situation may be judged from the fact that when it looked as though the League would capture Minnesota in the primaries a veritable reign of terror against the organized farmers was let loose. League men were kidnapped, illegally deported from towns, arrested on false charges, and treated to tar and feathers. In 19 of the 82 Minnesota counties, subservient county offi-

cials arbitrarily forbade all League meetings. League sympathizers got threats, in one case the tar and feathers, and in a great many cases the yellow paint. The hardware store of the recent League and labor candidate for governor, for instance, at Tracy, Minnesota, was painted yellow because on one occasion he dared to address a speakerless meeting of League members. In Rock county, Minnesota, a self-appointed committee deported League farmers across the Iowa line because they refused to repudiate the League.

The opposition carried the primaries with the help of these methods, but they have placed themselves in a damaging position for future contests. The public conscience of many of our people may not be clear on questions of monopoly, rural credits, or state hail insurance but it would be hard to find a plain citizen in the Northwest whose mind is not clear on law and order. The news of the outrages permitted to carry the primaries, is getting around and the whole force of the pre-primary arrests was lost to the opposition when the Supreme Court of the state threw out the indictments against President Townley and Mr. Joseph Gilbert, general manager, for distributing alleged seditious literature.

In Iowa, where the League has gotten a good foothold, the usual opposition forces are augmented by a strong organization of cement manufacturers and road contractors that has been fighting with the farmers there for years. The fear of this organization is that the League may so strengthen the farmers politically as to enable them to win out. Powerful influences have been brought to bear to give Iowa rural cement roads chiefly at the farmer's expense. The direct hostilities against the League were under the command of the Greater Iowa Association and to a less extent the Iowa Defense Council. Until magnified by this League fight, the Greater Iowa Association was little more than a rich man's mutual admiration society. The man who promoted it about 4 years ago and thereby got a good job, collected \$100 apiece from Iowa rich men and contributing memberships ranging from

\$10 a year to \$3 from whoever would join. It has a bad record for undemocratic activity and maintains a corps of anti-League lecturers, an anti-League press service, and distributes tons of literature on the subject. But here again as in North Dakota the League is fortunate in its enemies. The mob violence and opposition to farmers in general stirred up by this propaganda has thrown into the League ranks the Iowa Homestead, a farm paper which goes to every other farm home in Iowa and has a subscription list of over 150,000. This paper is now boosting for the League as the only way back to fair play, law and order in Iowa. Its editor, being a man of some means, has publicly offered to help defend every victim of threats and mob violence in Iowa who needs his help with legal talent and publicity.

THE ORIGIN OF THE LEAGUE

THREE and a half years ago this organization of farmers, which now has a "solid" political West well under way, did not exist. Three years ago this September it published the first issue of its official weekly organ, the *Non-partisan Leader*. On February 3, 1915, Mr. A. C. Townley, a young farmer of Beach, North Dakota, secured the first member of the League. For several years prior to that time the farmers of North Dakota had been fighting to escape the domination of their grain market and their state politics by the grain interests centered in Minneapolis. In those days before the governor and legislature of North Dakota could do anything important, they had to get the approval of Alec. McKenzie, who handled the politics for the grain interests and the utility corporations from his headquarters in the Twin Cities. First the farmers tried co-operation and could do but little with it because the state laws discouraged co-operative enterprise and because state laws and state officials permitted grossly unfair competition with their co-operative elevators. Then the farmers demanded state-owned terminal elevators and mills; they not only wanted a fair market, but they wanted the mill

by-products kept within the state for stock use so that they could develop diversified farming. At two different elections the people of North Dakota adopted this measure by a four to one referendum vote, and each time the special interests in the legislature were able to thwart the expressed will of the people. Finally, when a special delegation of farmers went to the capitol to stir up action, they were not only turned down but were grossly insulted by the House leader with the words "Go home and slop your hogs; the farmer has no business in politics; leave the politics to us." This stupid political blunder set all North Dakota afire. The politicians had overplayed their hand. They had put bitter resentment into the hearts of the common people of North Dakota and an irresistible slogan in the mouths of the little group of reformers led by A. C. Townley. "We will fill the state offices and the legislature with hog sloppers"—became the strong selling point of the League organizers.

A prospective legislative program was drawn up and organizers scurried over the state getting the signatures for this program and \$6.00 from each farmer to pay for the cost of organizing, getting out a paper, and putting on a campaign. Later the dues were raised to \$9.00, because it soon became evident that \$6.00 would not be sufficient to put over a rousing campaign. The dues are now \$8.00 a year or \$16.00 for the two campaign years. For several months the League worked in secret and not until it had 23,000 members did it dare to issue a paper. The movement was then too strong to be killed off by high-handed methods. When the League first came into the open, the North Dakota politicians attempted to laugh it to death as another foolish rube idea, but the ridicule did not produce the desired result; it was too much in line with the appellation of "hog sloppers" which the League had made its own. On Washington's Birthday in 1916 the League members met at their voting precincts and nominated county delegates. Later these county delegates held county conventions and nominated men for the legislature. Later still there was the big state convention at which the farmer delegates from the

county conventions chose men to run for state offices. At the primaries on June 26, 1916, the Nonpartisan League dealt its first big blow to the anti-farmer interests. Mr. Lynn J. Frazier, a farmer who had never held political office, captured the Republican nomination for governor, and all the other Republican nominations, with the exception of state treasurer, fell into the League basket. It secured a nomination for the state treasurer's office on the Democratic ticket to appease the Democratic League members.

THE LEAGUE PROGRAM

AT the November 1916 election the League secured all of the state offices but that of state treasurer, which it missed by about 250 votes because the farmers lost track of their lone candidate on the Democratic ticket, 81 of the 113 members of the assembly, and 18 of the 25 senators to be elected. The League also secured all three judgeships of the state supreme court. A good indication by the way of how the League contributes to party independence is furnished by this election. Mr. Frazier, on the Republican ticket, carried the state by a vote of 87,665 to 20,351 for his opponent, and yet North Dakota went to President Wilson by 1,735. The results of this victory and the lesson it contained spread quickly, of course, to the neighboring states. These other farmers made up their minds that the League had the right solution to their problems, and the North Dakota Nonpartisan League became the National Nonpartisan League, working at the present time in thirteen states.

In each state the League has a different program, because the problems to be met are different. The North Dakota farmer is concerned chiefly with the grain market and the development of diversified farming. The Idaho farmer has big marketing problems—and the water power and lumber interests to deal with. In Colorado and Texas, for instance, there is beet sugar, irrigation, and the holding of land out of use. The one big plank of common interest in all the states is the reform of our marketing system, which nearly every-

one in these days admits needs a lot of reforming, but on which there is a vast amount of disagreement as to methods. The League proposes to reform the system by government ownership of the marketing facilities, such as warehouses, cold storage plants, and packing houses, and of transportation. In the resolutions passed by their several conventions, the League farmers have also demanded national ownership of the basic national resources, such as iron, coal, oil, and copper. They are backing up the Federal Farm Loan Bank and demanding state rural credit banks operated at cost, to give the farmer credit facilities as good as the city business men now enjoy—something which private rural banks have scarcely even pretended to do. The object is to add to rather than supplant our present banking system. Another common plank is that demanding the exemption of farm improvements from taxation.

This plank and those which substitute state ownership for the long tried policy of regulating monopolies afford the opposition one of their principal means of attack. It is the old trick, attempted against every reform movement, of dubbing it one of extreme Socialism or single tax, or both, and the more advanced of the opposition do not hesitate to tack on I. W. W. A fulsome account of the evils of extreme Socialism and reports of the Russian Bolsheviks then complete the argument. The solid farmers of the West obviously are not Socialists, nor are they members of the much criticized Industrial Workers of the World. They are property owners who believe that regulation of monopolies has failed and who believe that the state ownership of the things they have mentioned in their program will be good business for themselves and the rest of the common people. History shows that these farmers were the first to force regulation of monopoly upon the United States through their Grange and Alliance movements, and now that they believe this has failed, they are the first to try the only way out that is left, through their Nonpartisan League. To fight monopoly is not a new, radical step but a defense of long established American traditions of equal opportunity or fair play for all.

THE AIMS OF THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESS

Some of the Problems that Our Legislators Must Grapple

By HON. LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN

[U. S. SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS]

(An Interview With the Forum)

WHILE the aims of the Republican purposes in National legislation of the next Congress have been fairly well outlined, and while the expectations of the Republican party have been properly exalted to hope for the best, it will be impossible to make any radical changes in the existing embarrassments within less than a year. The obligations by appropriation which the present Administration has incurred, must be fulfilled. All existing contracts, taxes, administrative promises made under democratic interpretation of war measures, will have to be fulfilled. There is no relief that can be given immediately, but there will be obvious evidences of rescue work in the forthcoming Congress.

Government ownership dragged from the inner faith of socialism is an unpopular creed, but having been adopted by the powerful opportunity which the war has given the present Administration it will be difficult to disturb the feast. It is not the intention or the sentiment of the Republican party to spoil any legitimate festivities. We do not wish to dampen the ardor of the celebration of our great victory, but it will be necessary, in accord with Republican policies to suggest an economy of appetite. If the ambitions of the present administration were able to pursue their imperial course without interruption and without protest, the Nation would be reduced to the patriotic duty of working for the Government. That is what Government ownership means. For the man who has no home, and doesn't care very much about paying his debts, and has no scruples about borrowing money when he

can and where he can, Government ownership is an attractive theory. It is a very nice thing for the man who has nothing. It promises him a job, with de luxe wages, and no very great fear of being thrown out, so long as he votes satisfactorily. But to the man who has a home, a business, an embarrassing conscience about his debts and an objection to borrowing money, Government ownership is a menace.

THE PLAN AS PREPARED BY OUR FATHERS VERSUS GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

AND after all, camouflaged as it is by promissory propaganda, attractive as the employment it offers seems to be, it has not occurred to those who favor Government ownership to ask the question of where the Government is to get the money to pay these magnificent wages. It has to come from somewhere, and before it is taken it has belonged to somebody. There must, therefore, be a large floating population of philanthropic rich people from whom this money must come. Under the pressure of war emergency all the dollars of all the people are at the service of the Government, of course, but having contributed sufficient to beat the Hun, why inaugurate a system of Government which only came into existence for emergency conditions.

And, in the ultimate financial adjustment of Government ownership, there is extreme difficulty in tracing the final destiny of the money involved. It seems to me that while the splendid wages given to those who are employed under the terms of Government ownership go into one pocket and are, in the course of individual obligations divided so that some of it goes into the other pocket, it does not evaporate. Is it possible that some one comes along and takes the money out of both pockets in the name of Government ownership and disappears with it?

It is a proposition which lays itself open to the discerning skill of a conjurer, and I have no such talent by which to solve the problem, but I am convinced that there was an excellent plan of Government prepared by the fathers of the Constitution, and I don't think anyone has been born since who is

capable of writing a new document for our National Government that can improve upon it.

TO COUNTERACT SOCIALISTIC TENDENCIES

ONE of the chief purposes of a Republican Congress will be to counteract the ambitions of socialism, and socialistic forms of Government that have and are threatening the stability and the grandeur of this Republic. Most of the socialistic radicals who are not in jail, are at present employed by the Government, and that is not an exaggeration for a close examination of the names of Government officers in the various important official departments of the Government have been recognized socialists. But, we can accomplish nothing at the opening of this 66th Session of Congress of any drastic effect. If the President, upon his return from Europe, should see fit to call an extraordinary session of Congress, we should then have an opportunity to curtail and to accomplish certain incisions in the body politic that will remove certain obstructions in our National health. Some of the operations may be painful, some of them will be painless if the patient is properly etherized. If an extraordinary session is not called, Congress will be too occupied with the general course of business, such as demobilization, reconstruction of industries, and a general effort to restrain the forces of Government ownership, to pass any new legislation. As a legislative body it will be the duty of Congress to ratify the executive orders of the present administration.

I look forward to extraordinary reaction of Congressional ideas when the Peace Treaty comes before Congress for ratification. The dim mystery in which that extraordinary document looms before us today, admits of conjecture that baffles the imagination of the brilliant novelist. It would be too much for a Jules Verne, for a Balzac, and I am afraid beyond the imagination of the present Administration. However, wherever it comes from, whatever it looks like, whenever it arrives, all the reason of the United States Congress will be focused upon that extraordinary document. It will

require a great strain on that reason, but we intend to be equal to it.

THEY DO MISSIONARY WORK WITH DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS

IT is, of course, with sincere regrets that the Republican Congress finds itself confronted with delays, but the task of the alienist is one of patience, and there is a duty of the unprofessional character which Congress is obliged to assume at this time, which is quite as sacred as the professional duty.

Many of us will have to assume the task of reformation. We shall have to do missionary work among our Democratic colleagues, but there are indications that that will not be so formidable as it might have been when the Republican representation was in the minority. In my association with my colleagues on the floor of the Senate, I have already observed an obvious intention among some of the leading Democrats to change their mind. A great wave of intelligence is sweeping over them which baffles some of them and refreshes others.

In the matter of reorganization of our business we cannot expect very much change of existing conditions for a while. When we find newspapers owned by Cabinet officers still advertising for many thousands of Government employees to carry on the enormous construction work for our next war—it must be our next war since our present war is over—when we find beautiful macadam roads being industriously built at the expense of the Government, when we find well equipped railroads being built, attractive bungalow villages being constructed, all at the expense of Government money, we naturally wonder what secret information the administration may have of the next war, for, if I am wrong, if the habit of conjecture has disturbed my reason and there is no next war, why are we doing these things?

This particular bit of construction which I am talking about is not far from Raleigh, N. C., a Southern State sufficiently remote from the seat of war in Washington to be tolerably safe since peace is in the air. It is possible that this beautiful spot newly equipped for the most modern comfort of

factory life, will be a delightful place for a manufactory of any kind. There it is, all ready to be organized.

THE SALVAGE OF WAR INDUSTRY

THE large industries that were taken over for the emergency of the war by the Government are still industriously making cannon, and shells, and arms of all sorts for the next war. Whether we are to become a belligerent nation under the pressure of this fast accumulating ammunition of course I can not say. I do not quite understand why we are using valuable steel, filling it with powder, and piling it up ready to kill somebody with. This wastage of steel is a very serious interference with steel construction. If the excuse is made that it would be unsafe to release the great number of Government employees who are working in these industries at once, and that they must therefore be kept at work, I would much rather see the steel saved than the possible menace of labor difficulties. There is no reason in the world why the Government should stop the pay envelopes of these people. They could still keep them on the pay roll and save the steel. What are we going to do with all these steel shells piled up mountain high? There is no possible chance of salvaging a loaded steel shell. We have simply got to fire them to get rid of them. Who are we going to kill? That may be a question that the Republican Congress will have to answer.

One thing is quite clear that if the splendid achievements of our great business captains in this country are to be surrendered to the policy of Government ownership, there won't be much left for the business man to do. He'll have to put on jumpers and go to work for the Government, and sleep in the pretty bungalows that are being constructed for him whether he likes bungalows or not, and he will have to fill his little dinner pail with a Food Administration bill of fare. Traveling will not be encouraged. He will probably have to punch a time clock which will not give him an opportunity to catch a train.

THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESS AND THE PEACE TREATY

WHILE all this is presented in an apparent form of levity, it is an actual possibility which only seems ridiculous by contrast with the principles of this republic. There are many things which have happened since the war ended that are unexpectedly absurd. I do not know whether the Republican party is interested in the proposed League of Nations, I know that they fail to see the possibility of a World of Republics with possibly an Imperial Chief President of the Republics of the World. Imagination topples at the thought. It is possible that a League of Nations might transpire, organized upon the basic principles of the United States, that is by preserving the independence of National boundaries operating as our states do and retaining local control of their National affairs. I cannot conceive how we can welcome the Turk with his Mohammedan faith as an equal with our own enlightened Republic. There are some strange human outbursts of tradition in Europe among the various European races, and how we are going to melt them down by the magic words of administrative authority I don't know. I have yet to see or to hear that wonderful man whose magic voice shall make the Lion and the Lamb lie down together. The character of the problem which this coming Peace Treaty is about to solve, is something like the nature of a miracle. There is no one yet since the days of the New Testament who can walk on the waters, or who can perform the great miracle of sacred history.

We shall see, and since we have a Republican Congress, we shall see well before we sign. There will be no dim light hanging over the legislative halls when the Peace Treaty reaches us for final ratification. We shall have our spectacles on, we shall look for every dot on the i, for every comma and we shall put the periods in ourselves.

DISTRUSTS GERMANY—WANTS NEW CONGRESSIONAL RULES

IT is impossible to see the issues of foreign trade, but there is one country which I believe should be shut out of the markets of the world, and that is Germany. I should personally greatly object to see Germans selling their goods or buying goods in an open market in this country, because I would know that every dollar they took out would be spent in creating another war against us. Germany should not be permitted to make blood money out of us.

There are conditions in our existing National Laws which should be changed. One of them is the rules and regulations that govern Congressional action. The position in which the American people are left through the adjournment of Congress suddenly, is one of helplessness. Between the time of the adjournment on November 21st, and the reconvening of Congress on December 2nd the entire power of the events of the nation are in the hands of the Executive office of the Nation. His power is vast, unbelievable to the people themselves. During the interval anything might happen, and the only resource of action for the people of the United States would not rest with their representative in Washington but with the President alone and by himself. The vote of Congress against adjournment was in the minority, and consequently the adjournment was taken. In England such a situation is impossible. It is only possible under a monarchy anywhere in the world excepting in the United States. This will be one of the problems which the Republican Congress will no doubt consider.

THE RED FLAG OF BOL-SHEVISM

The Spreading Disease of Anarchy that Is World Wide

By HON. JAMES A. REED

[U. S. SENATOR FROM MISSOURI]

REVOLUTION is always dangerous. From autocracy to anarchy—such is the swing of the pendulum. No race ever tamely submitted to physical slavery unless it had also been placed in intellectual bondage. An oppressed people is likely to regard any law as an instrument of tyranny. Accordingly, they arrive at the conclusion that all law must be destroyed in order that liberty may be attained. It follows that an ignorant and oppressed people in the first stages of revolutionary fervor, usually substitute the power of the mob for the tyranny of the autocrat; whereupon, there ensues a period of bloody terrorism out of which emerges a new despotism. This is but an epitome of the world's history. Countless rebellions have succeeded. For a day the people have dreamed of liberty only to find their chains more firmly riveted than before.

Excepting, of course, the case of conquered races held in subjection by superior forces, I repeat that every despotism presupposes intellectual serfdom. Men who are capable of appreciating freedom, never submit to any great degree of oppression.

The American Colonist rebelled because of a tax in itself inconsequential. They asserted their rights as Englishmen. They refused to permit any impairment of their just privileges. Such a people, believing in constitutions, appreciating liberty, knowing that freedom is the blossom and fruit of the law, were capable of establishing a stable government. It was to be a government of law created by a free people for their own control. To this law they gave a willing obedience. They recognized the fact that without law no

right can be secure, and that where rights are not secure there is no liberty.

STARVATION AND ANARCHY STALKING ACROSS EUROPE

THE Fathers of the Republic occupied a position of rare advantage. They had inherited their liberties. A long line of ancestors stubbornly resisting oppression, had wrung from the Kings of England the Magna Charta and established the principles of common law. They had, therefore, become schooled in the science of government. They understood the fundamental structure of a free state. I but repeat what has often gone unchallenged, that in all the history of the world there never was gathered in one assembly a body of men so skilled in knowledge of history, of statecraft, and of government, as the Continental Congress. Their greatness and understanding were typical of those they represented.

These observations may serve some purpose in considering events now crowding upon the world's stage. The carnage of war has scarce ceased. Through the smoke that is just lifting there can be seen two sinister figures—starvation and anarchy—stalking across the battle fields of Europe. The erstwhile soldiers of autocracy now march beneath the red flag. Kings are being tumbled from their thrones. Mobs riot in a dozen capitals. Anarchy prevails.

Some of these conditions—natural concomitants of war—are not surprising. They come in the natural course of things, and under ordinary conditions would give way to some form of organized government which might or might not bring to the common people a greater measure of liberty.

The astonishing, the sinister fact exposed by the European conflict is that the doctrines of anarchy have taken root in every country of the world. For years they have been secretly taught. The evil seed has fallen upon the fruitful soil of ignorance and criminality. The extent of this propaganda and its marvelous secrecy are difficult of comprehension. With an almost diabolic skill it played upon the

prejudices, hopes, and fears of vast numbers of people. To the unlettered Russian peasant, whose back had long bled beneath the lash, it promised freedom from the blows of oppressors; freedom from all the restrictions of law. It held before his dazzled vision promise of wealth without labor.

It was therefore not surprising that a people long oppressed could, by rapid processes, be led to the overthrow of their rulers, then to their murder, then to the betrayal of confederates and friends, and finally to a state of anarchy in which the cruelty of the mob has surpassed the tyranny of the Romanoffs.

ANARCHISTIC DOCTRINES THAT THREATEN AMERICA, DEFINED

IT further appears that this doctrine has its adherents in every part of Germany and Austria; that its ramifications extend into all European countries, and that there is even in our own land an astonishing number of men who, existing under the guise of various organizations, accept in the main doctrines that are entirely or partially anarchistic.

The I. W. Ws. deny the force of all law and have plotted the destruction of property in nearly every western state. This organization assumes a more serious and mischievous aspect when we consider it in connection with its kindred organizations in other countries.

It is not too much to say that a world conspiracy, looking to the overthrow of all governments, has been in process of formation for many years. To disregard these plain facts is not the part of wisdom. The magnitude of the movement can only be appreciated when we consider that many organizations and societies go far enough to advocate doctrines which tend to the destruction of law, yet do not boldly announce that as their ultimate end. Indeed, some of them are undoubtedly ignorant of the inevitable logic of their teachings. It may be useful to review a few of these dangerous doctrines.

It is asserted by some that the title to all property should be vested in the state. This is only a polite method of stating that the property of citizens should be confiscated.

It is claimed by others that the citizen should perform such duties as are prescribed by state. This in its last analysis makes of every citizen a slave, for each man is thereby obliged to do that which he is ordered to do by some other man.

It is argued by those of a milder persuasion that the government should control and regulate all important properties in the land. (I do not here speak of public utilities, which lie in a class by themselves.) But this doctrine, if ever established, will finally lead to public control and ownership of all property, i. e., the abolition of all property rights.

The advocates of these theories apparently do not understand that the establishment of any one of them destroys the very thing we call liberty, for liberty consists in the right to life, in the right to choose one's vocation, and in the right to toil and to keep that which has been produced. In a word, to move freely about the world; to possess and enjoy property.

AMERICAN DEMAGOGUES WHO ASSIST BOLSHEVISM

THERE is another class of "assistant Bolsheviki," which deserves special attention. I refer to those numerous and noisy agitators who for years have gone about undermining the respect and reverence of our people for law and for the institutions of government.

At the very head of this list I class those who in recent years have indiscriminately denounced the courts of our land. Reference is not here made to men who have properly pointed out abuses by individual courts of judges. I am speaking of that agitation for years carried on by aspiring demagogues, which among other heresies proposed a referendum vote upon the judgments of courts. That is to say, they declared that for the law of the land, construed by a court, should be substituted the opinion of a majority unregulated by any rule and responding only to the impulse of the hour. The Bolsheviki have not gone further than to suggest that the country shall be ruled by the opinion of the

mob, unguided by law and unchecked by constitution. At this point they touch hands with certain American publicists and politicians of great repute.

A part of the propaganda referred to found expression in denunciations of the precedents of courts. The advocates of this "reform" forget that the rule of precedent is only the rule of law, and that if precedents be ignored there will be substituted for them the opinion of the individual who happens at the moment to be acting as judge. Thus instead of a government of law we would have a government by petty tyrants known as judges, who would rule in accordance with their own will, and that is the very essence of despotism. In a word, we would have no law. The advocates of the insidious doctrine I am discussing are but a step removed from the Bolsheviki of Russia. And yet, they found so many followers in this country that they were able to write their principles into the platform of a great political party.

Recently these reformers have taken up the advocacy of another doctrine almost equally destructive. They insist that no court should ever be permitted to declare an act of a State Legislature, or an act of Congress, unconstitutional. They fail to comprehend that the establishment of such a doctrine works the annihilation of the federal and of all state constitutions. This results because if a state legislature, or the Congress, can pass a law in defiance of the Constitution, and no court is permitted to declare the supremacy of the Constitution over the statute, the statute becomes the law of the land. Thus the Constitution is wiped out.

THE ATTEMPT TO DESTROY STATE'S RIGHTS

THE Constitution of the United States might therefore be abrogated at any session of Congress, by the simple process of passing statutes in its teeth. Likewise, the Constitutions of the respective states could be similarly repealed or abrogated at any session of a state legislature.

If this rule were to be adopted any state legislature could

pass a law denying the right to trial by jury. Thereupon a citizen might be haled before any judge, denied the right to a jury of his peers, and sentenced to execution. An appeal to the Constitution of the United States would be answered by the statement that "no court is possessed of the right to declare an act of the legislature, or the proceeding thereunder, unconstitutional."

This vicious doctrine, utterly destructive of the Constitution, has been advocated in high places. Its protagonists manifestly fail to see that they propose the destruction of the Charter of the people's liberty. They evidently do not understand that when the people formed the Federal Government, and the governments of the respective states, they, the people, reserved to themselves certain rights which were deemed essential to their liberties, and that they declared these rights should never be taken away without their express consent, manifested in the manner and form provided for in the charters of their liberties. They fail to see that the proposition to make legislative and congressional acts superior to the Constitution places it in the power of the Legislature and the Congress to destroy all the Constitutional rights thus solemnly reserved by the people themselves. Stated differently, these reformers close their eyes to the fact that the doctrine they propose strikes at the basis of Constitutional liberty; that it makes legislative bodies supreme and empowers them to act without limitation of any kind. It places within a legislative majority the power to abolish the very form of our government, and to substitute an autocracy for our democracy.

When such doctrines as these are preached from exalted places, it is not to be marvelled at that the oppressed of other lands may, in blundering through the twilight of their ignorance follow the lurid glare of the red flag or weltering in bloody reprisals and revenges, imagine they enjoy the blessings of liberty.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE COURTS, THE PEOPLE'S SAFE-
GUARD OF LIBERTY

I COULD discuss many other false doctrines, alike destructive of laws, respect for courts, and reverence for constitutions. Perhaps enough has been said to suggest a final thought. At this tragic period of the world's history the business of all friends of liberty is to hold fast to the Constitution; to uphold the dignity of our courts, and to teach a fact too seldom dwelt upon—that constitutions are the charters of the people's liberties, to which they should cling as did the ancient refugee to the horns of the altar. We should remember that courts, although sometimes imperfect, are the only citadels within which the individual can find a refuge from private wrong or official oppression.

At a time like this we should be slow in changing any of the old principles of our government, however imperfect they may seem to some. Let it not be forgotten that they have withstood the storms of adversity and vicissitudes of fortune for 142 years. Let us abide in the faith that those rules of law and forms of government under which we have grown to be the most puissant nation on earth may be with safety tolerated yet a little while longer. It is our high duty just now to furnish to the world evidence of the stability of our institutions. Cannot the impatience of those who desire radical experiment abide the day when the world shall have settled back into a condition of sanity, when Europe's reconstruction may have been accomplished, and when our people, in the calm after light of contemplation may review the earth's tragedy and by its lessons and our own experience judge what should be our future course?

THE THEATRE IN REVIEW

By C. COURTENAY SAVAGE

New York's Special Victory Matinee

HAD any theatrical producer ended his play with a climax as dramatically sudden as the cessation of war hostilities, the critics would have cried "Machine-made" and condemned the play as unnatural. Which proves once again that everyday existence is frequently too theatrical for the stage.

There was nothing mechanical about the twin pageants—one false and one real—that marked the armistice. More than one producer must have studied the effect of spontaneous joy on the heart of the mob. Never in the history of the world has King Carnival reigned as supreme as he did during the nation-wide celebration of the beginning of peace. From the swinging doors of great office buildings, from the lobbies of hotels, from homes of every description, the choristers of the biggest chorus number that the world ever staged, rushed out to the streets, a song on their lips, their feet tingling to unheard dance music—flowers, flags, and confetti adding to the colorful scene.

The biggest city of the country presented some odd sights that Monday—not the least amazing of them being the ballyhoo who announced to the passing merrymakers that a Broadway success was giving a special Victory Matinee. At least three of the theatres gave special performance to crowded houses, and that night the standees cheered to the last echo the anthems of the Allies as they were played between acts.

What the abrupt ending of hostilities means to the theatrical world is a question. Several managers with war plays in preparation have decided to go on with their plans, while others are quickly changing the theme of their offerings. At least one current success—a play which centers on

the purchase of a wireless gun, is advertised as "not a war play"—while it is certain that the continuing of the conflict would have caused the military theme of the melodrama to be featured.

This play, "The Long Dash," is from the joint authorship of Victor Mapes and Robert M. Mackay. In addition to the novelty of a demonstration of a gun which aims, loads and fires itself by wireless—the play has a cast of unusual excellence. Robert Edeson has the dual role of two brothers, one a profiteer, the other a loyal and lovable American. On the physical resemblance of the two men hinges the climax of the story, and Mr. Edeson, with the splendid skill he possesses, makes each characterization distinct. Another noteworthy performance is given by Mr. Henry E. Dixey, who is a suave and subtle spy. Mr. Dixey also has a dual role, for he masquerades as an electrician in order to witness the demonstration of the wireless gun. "The Long Dash" is frankly reminiscent of the ten-twenty-thirty cent plays of the olden days. It is as exciting, and being well acted and well staged, has all the elements of continued success.

The War as "the big chance"

"THE BIG CHANCE" is a war drama of awakening souls. As *Mary* expresses it, "God turned back the clock, and gave men who never had a chance to live decently—a chance to find a decent death." *Mary* is the mistress of one man and the idol of several others—a typical group of worthless New Yorkers—*Larry*, the remittance man from Ireland; *Eddie*, the pool-room hanger-on, and "*Pinkey*" a millionaire's son with a love for fast cars and blonde ladies. Her lover is a weak-charactered boy from New Bedford, who has brought *Mary* from his own mill in that town. The first act is laid at the time of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and the second, occurring a year later, finds the girl awakened to the chance of self-reformation that the war offers. Her lover is in jail for forgery, but with impassioned appeal that it is their chance to make good, she sends the three men hurrying to Canada and enlistment. The story progresses

to an emotional climax in a regimental dugout, and proves to be one of the most dramatic offerings of the war. Even the cessation of hostilities should not hinder its success. The acting of the play is of the "all star" variety. Willard Mack, who is the author, plays the leading male role, the Irishman; Mary Nash gives a commanding performance as *Mary*, while William E. Meehan is the boy from the pool-rooms. They are an unforgettable trio. John Mason is also in the cast, as well as several other players of ability.

Playwrights in Varying Moods

IT is seldom that a playwright is able to keep an audience laughing for three acts and still hold them on the verge of tears. That is what Clare Kummer has done in "*Be Calm Camilla*," and it is that novel sensation which will make people wish to sit through the gossamer-like comedy a second time. "*Be Calm Camilla*" is feather-down. Its story is of a girl who finds her illusions shattered by a city, but who finds that the dwellers of the city are all anxious to protect her against herself. The waiter at the cheap hotel smuggles her food, the Broadway song writer offers her marriage, even the men who come to take the piano she cannot pay for, go away saying that they will report she is not at home. Still she persists that she is a woman of the world. What action there is in the comedy comes through her love for a man whose automobile runs her down as she wanders half-starved through the streets. He is kind to her, lavish with money in order to heal her physical injuries—and she wants his love. In the end, of course, she gets it. But by that time the audience has witnessed one of the most charming comedies that Miss Kummer has written, and the splendid acting of Miss Lola Fisher, surrounded by a cast of real players. "*Be Calm Camilla*" is a fairy story for grown-ups. My sympathy goes to those who will not enjoy this comedy, for something of the never, never land is gone from their hearts.

Bertha Kalish has so definitely impressed her personality upon theatre-goers that one knows exactly what to expect of her in highly emotional roles. One might well wish

for something more modern than the Danish, old world setting, of "The Riddle-Woman," yet it serves to give Mme. Kalish an opportunity to display her art. *The Riddle-Woman* is the wife of a great merchant. Yet in spite of her place in society there is mystery hidden in her pale beauty. Among her circle of friends is *Count Helsinger*, a gambler and blackmailer. He is a male vampire, and *The Riddle-Woman* is one of his victims. Her struggle with this man, physical as well as mental, and her fear of losing her husband's affection gives the play its action, and allows for several emotional characterizations. The writing of the play is "old school," but its acting value is good. A. E. Anson is a villain of high order, while the rest of the cast is notable both for the names of the players, and their individual work. Mme. Kalish has devoted most of her time to the motion picture of late seasons. It is to be hoped that some manager will find her a thoroughly modern play, that will bring out all the charm of her impersonations. In the meantime Mme. Kalish and "The Riddle-Woman" are admirable.

The world runs to a novelty and so it will hasten to Maeterlinck's "The Betrothal," a sequel to "The Blue Bird," presented by Winthrop Ames. In "The Betrothal" Maeterlinck plays upon the fancy that the good, bad, or indifferent ancestors, working upon the present generation as a medium, project their tendencies into unborn impulses (children), and whether we will or no, points out our mates by the forces of intuition, the silent propulsion of heredity. It is a pretty theme as pictured on the stage in flesh and blood—and fairy lore.

The slight plot tells of Tytyl, hero of "The Blue Bird," grown to seventeen, and in search of his dream maiden. Most of the other characters of "The Blue Bird" appear again, and serve as vehicles for much trite, but commonly accepted, philosophy bearing upon cause, effect, human facilities and motives. "The Betrothal" offers a palatable evening for the romance in us all. Everyone will want to sit in the chrome of Maeterlinck's fancy and enjoy the whimsical play of lights, magic and dance.

In the Land of Song and Dance

GLORIANNA has two things that cannot be found in every musical comedy. One is the truly operatic voice of Eleanor Painter, who is the star of the new musical play, the other is the very splendid dancing of a half dozen members of the cast. The story of "Glorianna" will be reminiscent to many playgoers, for Mrs. Cushing, the author, has re-written her play, "A Widow by Proxy," and allowed the action to stop long enough for the introduction of music. The story is not hilariously funny, but it holds the interest, and, as seems to be the fashion in musical comedy this season, does not get lost in the second act. The music of "Glorianna" is interesting, and several of the tunes are of the popular variety that makes them remembered after the fall of the final curtain. Miss Painter, who has divided her time between the concert and the legitimate stage for the past few seasons, is welcomed back in light opera. She has a charming voice, and can act. The dancing is of sufficient quality to make any musical comedy a success.

Another new musical play is "Little Simplicity," which has been playing in the smaller cities since early fall, awaiting an opportunity to give a metropolitan showing. This musical comedy of rather conventional style is carried to success by the novelty of its last act setting, a Y. M. C. A. hut in France—with the whole cast in khaki, canteen costumes, or turned entertainers for the fighting men. The action starts in a Tunis cafe, goes to the Latin Quartier, Paris, and then to the front, with considerable period of time between each act. Some of the music is pleasing, and both Carolyn Thomson and Carl Gantvoort, who play the leading roles, can sing. The honors of the performance, however, go to Marjorie Gateson, who has for several seasons been making her steady way towards popularity. She plays with vivacity the role of a cabaret performer who is thoroughly conversant with the habits of men. The choruses have a spirited dash that is refreshing, especially one of war workers which brings the last act to a climax. "Little Simplicity" will doubtless be popular.

In "Head Over Heels" Mitzi, the diminutive lady who is no bigger than her name, is herself again. "Cunning," the ladies say, "funny," according to the men, and they both might add: "The cleverest little comedienne on the stage." There is not much more to add about Mitzi in "Head Over Heels," except that she is entertainingly surrounded by clever people, and that the Book and Lyrics are by Edgar Allan Woolf, and the music by Jerome Kern, which insures a clever and tuneful evening.

The question, "Who ate the canary?" has been revived, only this time it is not a bird that has been swallowed, but a diamond of great value, the real reason for the swallowing being to provide the newest musical comedy with a title, "The Canary," and a slight plot on which to hinge its laughter, good music, dancing, and pretty girls. "The Canary" gives Joseph Cawthorn another chance to make the war-worn world laugh and grow fat. One of the really funny men of the theatre, Cawthorn is, as one of a party of girls from a select school expressed it, a "pet." The production glistens with stellar people. Julia Sanderson is herself, as usual, and therefore charming, as *Julie*, dainty and full of animation. Funny as Mr. Cawthorn is, he is greatly aided by Maude Eburne, who gives a ridiculous characterization of *Mary Ellen*, in pursuit of a husband. Sam B. Hardy, as a self-appointed pet of the ladies, displays his usual brand of humor, supplying whatever fun Mr. Cawthorn and Miss Eburne omit. James Doyle and Harlan Dixon as the dancing detectives conclude the list of players featured in the cast. Altogether "The Canary" is a perfect evening, and it will be unfortunate when we have all seen it, for then we will have to take our laughter to other shrines. Score a high mark for Mr. Dillingham who has given us the best musical comedy of the season.

A Season of Revivals

ROBERT MANTELL, who is the only portrayer of Shakespearian and romantic roles to constantly associate himself with such performances, is playing an engage-

ment in New York. For his first two weeks he offered his ever-famous "Richelieu," and followed it by a repertoire of Shakespearian plays. Mr. Mantell is a splendid actor, and his productions are directed with careful taste. Further criticisms of performances that have been famous for a score of years would be foolish, and it is to the credit of the public taste that his engagements are always popular.

Another familiar performance is Mr. David Warfield's "Auctioneer." Mr. Warfield is playing the familiar role with the same sympathetic interpretation that has delighted thousands—or would hundreds of thousands be more correct? With "The Music Master" to vary the monotony of his stage existence, Mr. Warfield need never look for a new play.

Still another play to be revived is Jean Webster's comedy, "Daddy Long Legs." This romance of the Foundling Home is still as charming as it was a few years ago, and the present production is enhanced by the performance of Mr. Henry Miller as *Jarvis Pendleton*. Ruth Chatterton is still playing *Judy*. Her work has gained in artistry since she first appeared in the familiar role. She brings out the humor in the character, as well as the delicate sentiment. The love story is refreshingly true to life, and the happy ending is welcomed by every audience, for the character is captivating. Mr. Miller gives dignity and sentiment to the role of the wealthy benefactor of the foundlings, and his emotional passages have a convincing reality that is not always to be found in plays of pure sentiment.

The Editor's Un-Easy Chair

(Contributions to this department must be addressed to the Editor and should not exceed 1,000 words. Manuscripts should contain addressed envelope stamped.)

The Days of Leveling at Hand

TOLSTOI once said that marriage was a failure to just that extent that every other human institution was a failure. It is evident that all human institutions are in the last analysis doomed to failure, because they lack the necessary reach to apply to changing and advancing conditions of life and the growth of human intelligence. We cannot anticipate with sufficient perspective, therefore we cannot organize and legislate to meet conditions yet unborn.

Out of the world war, however, has come a consciousness of the need of unification and control. In throwing down one crown we reach for another. In questioning the personal control we are reaching out for the control of law and government founded upon justice and equality by the consent of the majority of peoples.

New problems are protruding themselves with confusing rapidity and accepted principles of law and economics are becoming dead letters. What individuals may not do, properly constituted government by consent may do; but in it all we are wondering if the old enemy to peace will prevail, to wit, human greed.

Greed is a word of broad significance and comprehends many aspects, political, economic, religious, territorial, industrial, personal.

Thinking men and thinking women are aware that in the readjustment of home and international affairs conditions may not and never can revert to pre-war conditions. War necessarily has put us upon a military footing, which means general mobilization and control for a unified purpose. While in numerous ways government control has brought better conditions for war purposes, pointing to prog-

ress; in some aspects it is pregnant with danger to our very institutions.

Erected upon the foundations of liberty of speech and action, unhampered development of the competitive system, and the encouragement of foreign trade, our national industries and institutions have prospered to an amazing extent. In emergencies of war we find old conceptions of economics overturned, substituted by regulation and control, previously denied the individual.

Our national transportation, our systems of communications, our very industries under the edict, if not complete subordination of Washington, we as an industrial nation find ourselves in the grip of two organized powers: one, the elected majority in official life; the other, the self constituted majority of organized labor. In between these two clashing interests there exists, by government establishment, certain mediating boards. Will the awards of these courts be accepted? If they are repudiated by either party, industrial chaos faces the issue, government interference by confiscation, or force, follows, or industrial chaos.

Questions of Government Ownership

OUR greatest after war problem at home is the readjustment of industrial conditions. Force is at best a temporary expedient to make men complacent against their will, unless the judgment and public opinion of the majority sustains the use of force. Labor on a strike, perhaps with reason, will not, without all the protest that is within them, return to work under conditions of protest. Neither can industry survive under rulings that make profit negligible. And in the last analysis the cost of the conflict backs up upon the ultimate consumer—and the purchasing price of the dollar shrinks accordingly until its value is unstable in world markets.

Some economists who are studying our changing conditions, watching the soaring prices, the shrinking dollars, and the increasing and apparently irresistible demands of or-

ganized labor, see only one trend in the perplexing conditions: the radical change in the operation of the great "Key" industries—complete government ownership of all those vast industries that affect the fundamental necessities of life.

The cherished belief of idealists, that government ownership is a panacea of industrial ills, is not borne out by previous examples either here or abroad. We have seen the postal system of France held up by strikes that developed violence; the railroads of the same nation thrown into the hands of soldiers, and even in our war period we have had constant strikes upon Government work. The Government, by force, may put down a strike, but only by bloodshed can it hold it down, if the workers are not appeased in their demands. The strike is the formidable weapon of Organized Labor, and does not confine itself to the restricted case in hand. It spreads into sympathetic and allied trades as rapidly as the influenza. It is man-power as potent in industry, as is armed man power in warfare.

The only difference between a strike against Government owned industry and privately owned is that in the case of the former force may be employed, or the alternative of lifting the wage scale at the expense of the consumer or tax payer. Mere government control does not solve the labor question—nor, as far as experience reveals, reduce the cost to the consumer.

So we come around the circle, back to Central control, except, under a democracy instead of an autocracy. Inspired by the ideals of war, democracy is safe, for a time, but this is the period for preparation against that time when the human equation will, as of yore, reassert itself, and idealism will, as before, be shelved.

The World's Interlocking Interests

THE governments of the world are in evolution. We are reestablishing small nations, but are recognizing the international character of every nation. Again comes the necessity of a greater control—a control by agreements,

treaties, co-relating interests—self-protection and protection against each other. Out of it all seems to come one hope, the rising tide of world consciousness and universality of a greater intelligence on the part of the peoples of all nations. How far this impulse of general uplift and educational development may prevail and be depended upon to sense questions of human rights and international comity and justice is a problem that will be constantly before us all. How to solve our domestic and international questions, and at the same time give to the workers of the world what they are seeking, looms large in the perspective. The Days of Leveling are at hand. How close may we approach each other and hold to fair values and just rights, without conflict, challenges the greatest brains and the best impulses of thoughtful and far-sighted statesmen, honest labor leaders and the peace loving public in every nation.

Uncle Sam Goes to Sea

THE basic hourly wage, for the principal skilled crafts, decided upon by the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board, is eighty cents per hour. This will go into effect April first. There are still needed 200,000 men to carry out the work of the building of the mercantile marine, planned by the Shipping Board. It is proposed to continue the shipping program; to build a great Peace Fleet to capture the trade of the world, or at least such a part of it as our shipping organizations are able to secure; to restore the American merchant flag to trade; to place our ships in every port where there is business to be done—in other words, to stimulate foreign trade, is the plan of Washington.

“We shall want thousands of men for our Peace Fleets,” said Mr. Hurley. “Our recruiting service, with twelve training ships, and bases at Boston, New York, Norfolk, New Orleans, San Francisco, Seattle and Cleveland, will keep right on preparing men for jobs under the American flag on merchant ships. This service is training at present 4,000 apprentices a month, and is planning to increase its

output. Recruits for the peace fleet will be accepted at any one of 6,800 drug store enrolling stations maintained by the Shipping Board."

The continuation of our Great Fleet program—the building of ten to twenty ships a month—and the vast shipping organization to stimulate trade in foreign countries, opens up international questions of great reach. Too, it opens the door to a new calling, to tens of thousands of American boys. It puts the American in every port of the world, his customs, his dollars, his business and banking interests. It makes for the freedom of the seas, and the closer ties of all nations.

Coincident with the continuance of the merchant marine program comes Secretary Daniels' announcement for an increasing naval program—a significant fact that reveals a future policy of American interests wherever trade and diplomacy may carry us.

The International Period of our growth is foreshadowed by the hand-in-hand policy of the two marine branches of the government. These plans involve vast expenditure of government treasure. They suggest vague possibilities of all sorts of international competition in waters where we have long been strangers. They open up trade rivalries in fields others have developed. They involve great vital questions bearing upon the inflation of wages. They take their fundamentals in government ownership and operation. They suggest rivalries in home shipping circles and coastal industries. They question the laws of supply and demand and have a bearing upon established laws of trade economics.

Our Great Peace Fleet projects our activities beyond our borders and describes to us a Sea Nation where our responsibilities will never cease.

A wonderful vision—will it pay dividends to Uncle Sam?
We hope so.

Whence Came "Doughboy"

ENGLAND called him "Tommy Atkins"; Kipling did that. To Mother France he was the *Poilu*, for Papa Joffre loved the name. And in Russia when he swung past

with his great lumbering strides, he was "Ivan." All these lands had their pet name for him, so when we went to war a name we had to have, too. Some correspondent pinned "Sammy" on our boys and they groaned. Then they tried "Yanks," but "Looka here, sir, I'd like tuh state that"—so the army dropped "Yanks." And then, quite naturally, they took unto themselves a name; and the name is "Doughboy."

To be entirely precise, "Doughboys" are infantrymen. Artillery is artillery and an engineer is an engineer, but there's really only one picturesque term for our fighting men—"Doughboys." And the name "Doughboy," where does it come from? An old Non-Com with fifteen years' service put away in the Regulars declares that "Doughboy" comes from the old days, when for parade the infantry used to whiten the stripes of their blue trousers with flour. While a hoary Supply Sergeant avers that the infantry got the name because of the mud they churned up marching on soggy roads, likening it to the kneading of dough. While yet another Regular scornfully asserts that "Doughboy" came because on pay day the infantry always had plenty of money, whereas the artillery, docked for breakages to their costly *materiel*, would be "busted." But "Doughboy" it is. And the Doughboy will go down in history as the best fighting man in Europe.

Should the Right of Dower Be Abolished?

SINCE women have received the right to vote in the State of New York, the question of their privileges naturally arises. One of these, as ancient as the hills, is their Right of Dower; and the question may be now asked, should this Right of Dower be abolished in New York State?

Kent, in his justly celebrated commentaries, thus defines Dower: "The next species of life estates created by the act of the law," says he, "is that of Dower. It exists where a man is seized of an estate of inheritance, and dies in the lifetime of his wife. In that case she is at common law entitled to be endowed, for her natural life, of the third part of all the

lands whereof her husband was seized, either in deed or in law, at any time during the coverture, and of which any issue which she might have had, might by possibility have been heir."

It is to be observed that Dower is a right handed down to the women of the United States of America with the Common Law of England. It exists only where the husband is seized with an estate of inheritance. Consequently, in England, where the poor for many years could not hold land under a fee simple title, it was a privilege only of the rich and noble. In America, too, it more nearly affected the rich than the poor. Its value, in America, therefore, where the laws are for the masses, and not for the rich and titled few, as in England, is somewhat doubtful. For this, and the following reasons, it seems, therefore, to be fast losing its hold upon the American states.

Ten of the states in the Great American Union have abolished Dower. These states are Arizona, Idaho, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wyoming.

The Right of Dower should be abolished, because it gives a woman an unequal hold upon a man's real property. In most of the states, by statute, a woman's property, whether real or personal, is at her own disposal. She may sell it whenever she pleases, whether her husband wishes it or not. On the other hand, a woman's Dower Rights prevents a man from disposing of his real property, unless the woman joins in the deed of sale, waiving all her rights of Dower. This, of course, under the theory that women shall have equal rights with men is, eminently unjust. Under the theory of equality, the wife should not have more right over the husband's property, than the husband has over the wife's property.

Dower should be abolished, because the law of Dower is very complicated, often tending to involve a decedent's estate in lengthy litigation, to the detriment of the heirs. "Dower," says Baird, "is barred (1) by release of the wife joining in a conveyance of the property with her husband; (2) by adultery of the wife, followed by divorce; (3) by

testamentary provision in lieu of Dower, which the wife accepts; (4) by any defeat of the husband's estate; (5) by eminent domain; (6) by judicial sale, foreclosure, etc., if allowed by statute, and (7) by jointure."

Dower should be abolished, because all the rights which it pretends to safeguard in the interest of a wife, can just as well be protected by a contract between the parties before marriage, without any of the disadvantages that attend the right of Dower, both to the wife and to the husband. The main object of Dower is to provide for the wife after the husband's demise, so that she may properly care for and educate the children born to her by the marriage. But these provisions can be better and more securely made in a contract between the parties before marriage. Such contracts between husband and wife were not possible under the old common law system. But in almost every state of the Union today the right of contract between husband and wife holds good after marriage as before it. Thus provisions may be made for the wife that cannot be defeated. It may be provided that she is to receive a certain sum of money, in case of an absolute divorce; that on the death of the husband, she shall receive a certain definite portion of his estate whether real or personal; and that proper provisions may be made for any and all contingencies.

Realize What the Animal Doctor Has Done

CONTAGIOUS and infectious animal diseases cause a loss to live stock interests at \$200,000,000 annually. We produce annually about one and a half billion dozen eggs and it is estimated that about one-fifth of this is wasted and spoiled on the farms and on the way to the consumer. The food value of this waste is enormous. Again, our total annual production of creamery and dairy butter amounts to about 1,650,000,000 pounds, which releases about 33,046,000,000 pounds of skim milk and buttermilk and we find most of this valuable food is wasted. The food thus lost and wasted would be sufficient to feed the people of Belgium and Serbia for more than a year.

By authority of the United States Food Administration it is stated that since the war began there has been a world decrease in food animals of about 28 million cattle, 55 million sheep and 33 million hogs, and is continuing from day to day. The reduction of food animals involves not alone the supply of meat and dairy products, but also fats, wool, leather, and other by-products. For some time the European countries will necessarily be compelled to rely upon us to furnish them large quantities of animal products, and their depleted herds will have to be replenished as rapidly as possible. It is then our duty to produce food for a large part of the world.

The veterinarian in his role of animal economist plays an important part in this world drama. Whether in the army or civil life, he aids in the protection of the lives of men by guarding against the communicable diseases from animals to humans; he is the guide and adviser to the farmer, the breeder, and army remount staff, and above all he is the expert in the treatment of the sick and wounded of our dumb animals.

It is but too early to forget their indefatigable work in the recent outbreak of "Foot and Mouth Disease" and now completely they banished that scourge from our shores. They have pledged their services in the crusade for the elimination of tuberculosis from our dairy herds, and they are seriously engaged in the eradication of contagious abortion, anthrax, black-leg, scabies and Texas-fever from our cattle, the elimination of glanders, influenza and mange from our horses, the control and reduction of hog-cholera and swine-plague, and the extermination of pests and infestations among our sheep.

In the field of meat and milk hygiene, the veterinarian is doing his full duty in guarding against the possible release for consumption of unsound meat and dairy products. From the time the animal leaves the farm or ranch to the time the meat is ready for the home or mess kitchen it is under the watchful eye of the veterinary inspector. Up to date, of the millions of tons of meats and meat products sup-

plied to our armies, practically no complaint has been made against the inspection forces, nor have they found any putrid or decomposed meat which came from inspected establishments. What a significant comparison with the conditions that existed in the war of 1898. The Federal Bureau of Animal Industry, with its super-efficient organization, met the emergencies of war. And the Army Veterinary Corps, from a mere handful of men, was expanded to meet the unprecedented conditions, as a Division of our great Army Medical Department—the Veterinary Corps, here and across the sea. Their co-operation with the medical fraternity in the promotion of health and sanitation, and with the agricultural leaders in the development of a bigger and broader agriculture, that a safe and sufficient food supply may be assured the people, is the great work of the veterinarians, important to the health and welfare of the nation.

To THE FORUM'S Readers

IF your copy of the Magazine has arrived late (and we know it has), during the war period, and particularly the October issue, please bear with us, as delays due to paper shortage, and strikes, have been the common ills of all publishers.

During this strenuous period, THE FORUM has not "struck" for increased price, although many of the magazines have been obliged to ask for an advanced rate. Beginning with the January issue THE FORUM's subscription price will be \$3.00 a year. This is a slight advance and absolutely necessitated by the increased cost of labor and paper. We shall guarantee you increasing value in the measure of our service; in the character of our Table of Contents, and in size—as soon as war restrictions are abrogated and conditions become normal in the printing and publishing trades.

We shall take care of renewals at the present subscription price.

AP

Forum

2

F8

v.60

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
